A G E N D A

July 28, 1961

Introduction

The Role of the Foundation

The Role of the Agencies

The Role of the Department of Justice

Discussion of steps to be taken

Summary Statement

Adjournment

Location of Project Office

Preferably, in some city, other than Atlanta. Nashville, Memphis, Richmond -- all would have certain advantages. So would Birmingham or New Orleans, although disadvantages would probably outweigh.

Activities

1. Coordinate registration campaigns of organizations working in this field. Objectives: a. Eliminate overlap. b. strengthen campaigns.
2. Stimulate organizations to work where no campaigns exist.
3. Handle publicity for campaigns.
4. Grant funds to support organizational activities

Staffing - Project

1. Project Director
2. Field Assistant to Project Director
3. Research Assistant
4. Administrative Secretary
5. State Director in at least some states

Staffing - Atlanta

One additional professional for SRC staff to aid in administration of grant.

Role of SRC

1. Convene and participate in Advisory Committee,
2. With its advice and concurrence, recruit project staff.
3. Supervise and control funds from two standpoints:
   a. Personnel, office, and related expenses of project;
   b. Use of sub-grants for tax exempt purposes.
4. Put its research resources at service of project.
5. Work closely with project in planning publicity.

PROJECT OFFICE

Salaries

Project Director	$9,000	$11,000
Assistant to Proj. Dir.	4,500	7,000
Research Asst.	5,000	8,000
Administrative Sec.	3,500	5,000
	$22,000	$31,000

Office rental, supplies, telephone, etc.	7,500	7,500
Printing	10,000	10,000
Travel	10,000	10,000
	$49,500	$58,500

State Director

Salaries

11 x 5,000 --	$55,000	
11 x 7,500		$ 90,000

Travel and Office Allowances

11 x 2,000	$22,000	$ 22,000
	$77,000	$112,000

ATLANTA

Assistant Field Director	$7,000	8,250
Travel	1,000	1,000
10% Overhead	14,945	19,970
	$22,945	$29,220

Recap

$49,500	$ 58,500
77,000	112,000
22,945	29,220
$149,445	$199,720

I. Mechanics of Co-ordination

A. Getting up a comprehensive plan

1. Each agency send into a central headquarters:

a. Description of what it would be equipped to do, given the necessary funds, and assuming some reasonable and workable expansion of present efforts;

b. Estimate of funds needed for this.

2. Compilation and analysis of foregoing:

a. Central headquarters summary and comments, with such individual follow-ups and consultations as might be needed,

b. A further meeting to discuss a final plan.

3. Questions re foregoing;

a. What central headquarters?

b. Who would finally determine a budget, and allocations?

B. Implementing the plan (after funds have been raised)

1. What co-ordinating agency to keep track, to exchange information, etc.?

2. Method of distributing and accounting for funds.

3. Periodic group meetings.

II. Launching the Plan and Raising the Money

A. Dramatizing the plan

1. Degree of publicity desired.

2. Content of publicity desired, and who would shape it and how.

3. Presidential role in launching?

4. Attorney General's role in launching?

5. Role of foundations and other agencies in launching?

6. What form of "calling group"?

7. Relation of calling group to central co-ordinating agency?

B. Raising the money

1. Foundations-who would initiate and follow through - the calling group?

2. Individuals

Same question; also compilation of names, and getting volunteer and professional help.

3. Governmental assistance in fund-raising - formal? -- informal?

4. Fund-raising potentials of the participating agencies.

III. Completion of the Plan.

A. Time-table, duration

/mh

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM July 31, 1961

To: Members of the Executive Committee
From: Leslie W. Dunbar

John Wheeler and I attended on July 28 the meeting called by the Taconic Foundation. Also present in the conference room of the Foundation's New York offices were the following: Stephen Currier, Lloyd K. Garrison, Jane Lee Eddy of Taconic; Harold Fleming of the Potomac Institute; Justine Wise Polier, Field Foundation; Vernon Eagle, New World Foundation; Charles McDew and Marion Barry, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; Martin Luther King and Wyatt Walker, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Roy Wilkins, NAACP; Thurgood Marshall and Robert Carter, NAACP Legal Defense Fund; Lester Granger and Whitney Young, National Urban League; Timothy Jenkins, National Student Association; James Farmer, CORE; Harris Wofford, White House; Burke Marshall, Department of Justice.

All stayed in attendance throughout the meeting, which convened at 10:00 a.m. and adjourned at 3:30 p.m., continuing through lunch. At precisely 2:11, for the first time, the idea of entrusting SRC with the central project role was mentioned and tentatively proposed. This was done by Martin Luther King. The concluding 84 minutes of the conference were quite full.

I believe there was complete agreement among all those present that voter registration is a matter of the highest, though not sole priority. There was also expressed willingness from all to increase

markedly their present efforts in this field, and to work together in harness.

The several lawyers present were most helpful in elucidating both the firm limits and the serviceable scope of SRC tax exemption. At all points their explanations coincided with those of Joe Haas.

By the time the meeting ended, there was agreement from all that SRC was an acceptable coordinating agency and that to organize the project in this manner was preferable to the establishment of an ad hoc group. John Wheeler and I both sensed that this agreement was genuine.

Indeed, I was deeply impressed by the amiability and harmony of the gathering. May all this continue!

A second meeting of the same persons was called and agreed to for August 23. By August 14, each agency is to send to Taconic a statement outlining in brief and in rough (though in as much detail as possible) the resources which it is prepared to put into the drive, and the methods and objectives it would follow. Taconic will mimeograph these statements and circulate to all participants in advance of the August 23 meeting.

Neither Stephen Currier nor anyone else was at all specific about the sum of money which might be raised. I believe the impression was successfully established that the amount would be substantial but not grandiose.

I am sending this for your information, and shall report again after August 23. Let me end by thanking you, and I am sure John Wheeler would concur, for the real help which your discussion of this matter in the Executive Committee was to us. The consensus which came from you was, I believe, faithfully restated.

Best wishes.

MEMORANDUM August 11, 1961

Notes on the morning session at the Taconic conference July 28, 1961. LWD

Introductory remarks by Garrison and Currier.

The morning was devoted to statements by the conferees as to what their organizations are now doing in the voting field and their estimation of the importance of a larger effort.

1. John Wheeler. SRC wants to help. The Executive Committee regards matter as urgent. SRC has used consultants with great success in school desegregation; wisdom and value of their use in voting drives should be considered.

2. Timothy Jenkins. NSA will mobilize students nationally to help in any way they can. Efforts should be nationwide and interracial.

3. Burke Marshall. Commented on the value of increased voting in the South to the whole civil rights campaign, while noting that increased voting was no panacea.

4. Martin Luther King, Jr. SCLC has 50-odd affiliates in the Southern states. Considers itself a service group working through existent groups. Sees voting drive as embracing two aspects: in some places, arouse from apathy; in other places, overcome resistance. Aim should be doubled Negro registration in the South.

5. Vernon Eagle. Foundations will be leery about contributing. Have to take their fears into account. Emphasize the indispensable role of adequate money.

6. Robert Carter. Thinks a combined activity will work if agencies can come up with a plan and concrete role.

7. Lester Granger. Voting is within area of Urban League's interest. Must get support in localities from local groups and from other national organizations (e.g., Elks). Local Urban Leagues in South not likely to spark themselves into action, but will probably follow the lead of the national League. National staff could travel and help organize voting efforts. A large number of Negroes doubt that voting is worthwhile. This is not apathy; it is disillusionment.

8. Whitney Young. Urban League has some natural advantages: its locals have prefessional staff and long experience working with other community organizations. Traditionally, great spurts in registration

have required some dramatic incident. Problem: what substitute for an incident can we have?

9. Roy Wilkins. NAACP is more active in this field than any other organization. Since January, 1958 it has had established a Southwide Campaign. This is headed by Kelly Alexander of Charlotte, and has headquarters in Richmond directed by John Brooks. The Campaign is working in agreed upon urban centers only. It is doing no work in rural sections or in the tough urban sections. Registration increases often due to presence of particular candidates, either good or bad. We have to convince Negroes that there is some reward to voting.

10. Lloyd Garrison. There are three needs: 1) exhortation, 2) education, 3) get people to vote as well as to register.

11. Thurgood Marshall. Agrees with Whitney Young, dramatic incidents are the key to increased registration. We must have local groups we can depend on, and this excludes a lot. Legal Defense Fund now refers cases to the Department of Justice, but still stands ready to help. There needs to be more emphasis in the North, where the Negro vote is not "used" intelligently. The organizations represented around this table cannot afford the manpower for the necessary doorbell ringing and other hard detailed labor connected with a voter drive. They must have volunteers. Registration campaigns must be related to local issues and leaders. There is nothing to take the place of voting schools to prepare people for the literacy tests, doorbell ringing, and transportation.

12. Justine Wise Polier. Women's groups, etc, could supplement the voting drive. The project can be set up in such a way as to satisfy the tax laws.

13. James Farmer. CORE shares interest in voting. CORE is not committed to its methods as an end in themselves. Activities in the field of voting and other fields not mutually exclusive. CORE has a voter project in South Carolina. James McCain, its director, will seek to coordinate its activities and submerge CORE's interest and identity, though he will continue to get his salary from CORE. CORE's special assets for participation in any voting drive: energy, some experience.

14. Marion Barry. A number of students willing to take one or two years out of school to work on voting drive; how many not certain. Students would like to continue direct action, but also to work in the voting field. How much help the students can be in the voting drive depends on how the program is set up.

15. Stephen Currier. Increase in Negro voting will be a support to campaigns of non-violence in other fields.

16. Charles McDew. Students have come to realize that they have tremendous power, and also that their power needs direction. They are prepared to provide the manpower for a unified program. As a pilot project, Bob Moses is now working in Cleveland, Mississippi.

17. LWD/ SRC can contribute: 1) hopefully, some manpower through state councils; 2) more importantly, its research resources; 3) it is prepared to provide any administrative services which may be useful.

18. Wyatt Walker. A successful voting drive will have to have professional salaried people. Will also need creative ways of dramatizing the importance of registration. SCLC is underwriting Bob Moses' expenses, has taken on also some of the costs of voter registration work in Birmingham and other places. SCLC recently had a training session at Dorchester Center, McIntosh County, Georgia, made possible through a grant from Field. Persons brought to the Center will go back to their localities and train others to read, and give them some sort of leadership. This is itself a contribution to a voter drive. It is also a technique which could be particularly directed toward voting. SCLC is made up of churches and is recognition of the unique role of the church in the South. SCLC is willing to cooperate with other organizations.

19. Harold Fleming. There is much now going on -- what can be added to this existing activity? 1) federal government's increased interest; 2) coordination; 3) the energy of the student movement, (how harness?); 4) money.

20. Harris Wofford. Spoke of the concern of the President. Described a subcommittee which he heads dealing with civil rights. What is missing from present activity in behalf of voter registration? 1) a call and coordination; 2) professionalization; 3) money.

cc John Wheeler

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cc John Wheeler

Policy - VEP

~~Voter Education Project~~

VEP

MEMORANDUM
from the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
(for discussion August 23, 1961)

The Southern Regional Council is considering, along with other principal civil rights organizations, a joint and large effort to increase voter registration in the South. Without abandoning other programs, these organizations are contemplating an expansion of their activity in this field, and a close coordination of work toward the goal of greatly enlarged registration and voter turnout. This memorandum embodies the Council's opinions regarding the desirability of such an effort, and an indication of the role the Council might be able to fill.

Obstacles to Success

At this stage of consideration, it is well to hold clearly in mind the practical difficulties. There are many, but perhaps they come under six main categories. Discussion of them occupied a large part of the July 28 meeting.

(1) An intensified registration drive will, at least in some parts of the South, intensify the opposition. The weight of official and economic power can be expected to contend against it, with methods ranging from the ingenious to the crude, and probably including the brutal. (2) Citizen indifference, a product of tradition and disillusion, will be a drag on any effort. (3) Spurts in Negro registration have usually occurred when some dramatic incident, issue, or candidacy arouses the people. Unless the drive happens to coincide with a local or statewide fever of interest, its path is uphill all the way. (4) Registration campaigning, in the absence of dramatic causes, is hard, grubby, tiring, unspectacular, frequently discouraging. (5) Feasible ways of harnessing several national and regional organizations into a common plan and direction are hard to come by. At least as difficult is the enlistment of local groups and the mobilizing of volunteer manpower. (6) Money -- and regarding this no comment is necessary.

The Value at Stake

Tough as the obstacles are, they seem to SRC worth an attack. Voting is no panacea, nor even the ultimate weapon against discrimination. An enlarged electorate is so important, however, that if a means can be found to combine organizational energies with each other and with money, no other civil rights goal has equal claims on our efforts. Moreover, an enlarged electorate is needed now, and not at some long-off date. As we see it, there are four values that increased voting in the South would immeasurably help to realize. Only a quick mention of each is required.

(1) Increased Negro political power is negotiable into civil rights gains in all fields. Because southern politicians are in fact the product of typically small -- and easily controlled -- white electorates, expansion of white registration can also be helpful in getting a different type political representation. (2) An enlarged electorate is necessary if the South finally is to become a democracy, and the people of the South are to enjoy the dignity of members of a democracy. (3) The politics of the South will have to become responsive to the interests of Negroes, or else Negroes will justifiably lose trust in political processes. (4) Free and full participation of Negroes in southern elections, and the consequent respect which Negro citizens will be accorded, may be the surest means of ending or at least decreasing southern preoccupation with race and the racial prejudice that grows from that.

The Role of the Southern Regional Council

If the principal organizations decide to join forces in a registration drive, the Council would be prepared to offer help in several ways.

(1) SRC is affiliated with Councils on Human Relations in 10 states and about 60 localities. We would hope these could provide some manpower and administrative service, and

SRC would endeavor to secure their cooperation. These state and local groups are of varying strength. There are several which are soundly enough organized and based to be able to assume important roles: these would include, for example, the local Councils on Human Relations in Alexandria, Arlington County, Fairfax County, and Lynchburg (Va.); Savannah (Ga.); Charlotte (N.C.); Nashville and Oak Ridge (Tenn.)*; Austin and Houston (Tex.). The South Carolina Council on Human Relations, because of its strong Negro representation, might also be useful. Local councils in Richmond and Norfolk (Va.); Gainesville, Jacksonville, and Daytona Beach (Fla.); Atlanta (Ga.); Memphis (Tenn.); and Little Rock (Ark.) are examples of councils which might be of valuable secondary support.

(2) SRC is prepared to put its research resources fully behind a registration campaign.

(3) Over the years, SRC has developed skills and contacts in press relations which may be of advantage.

(4) SRC can, under mutually agreeable arrangements, provide administrative services. Because we have tax exemption, the July 28 meeting discussed the possibility that SRC might fill a central administrative role in a united campaign. Although any outline of a mode of organization can be, at this time, merely tentative, the following paragraphs describe one basis on which SRC could accept this function.

A POSSIBLE PLAN

1. In a venture of this sort, the manner of launching is of first importance. There should be a public announcement made under auspicious circumstances and coupled with

*The group in Nashville is known as the Community Relations Conference; that in Oak Ridge, which is not formally affiliated with SRC, is the Community Relations Council.

a call to mass action. There would be tremendous stimulus if the call could obtain the prompt endorsement of the President, and if he stated that increased voting was a national objective.

The announcement might take the form of a joint press release by the organizations, setting forth an intent to associate themselves in a massive registration drive. (It would be highly desirable if the sponsors could include agencies such as the AFL-CIO, National Council of Churches, American Friends Service Committee, National Y.W.C.A., etc.) Along about paragraph 4 or 5 of the release, there could be a short statement that the sponsoring agencies pledge themselves also to support Project _____, administered by the Southern Regional Council, and directed by _____; a few lines of biography of the director could follow. The press release should be accompanied by a fairly brief, carefully thought out, quietly eloquent statement describing the purpose of the drive, subscribed to by all the sponsors; this would serve, then and later, as a sort of creed or manifesto for the drive.

The announcement and call might well be followed within the next few weeks by local (and perhaps state) meetings, where the local affiliates of the sponsoring agencies together with other local organizations would commit themselves to the drive. There is, however, a risk in holding such rallies, and that is that they may in fact siphon off energy and give participants the feeling that they have already accomplished something.

2. Project _____ should have an independent office. Atlanta would seem to be the best headquarters city, because of its central location, and because of the presence there of offices of many of the sponsoring agencies. The latter factor, though, could be a disadvantage as well as an asset. Richmond, Charlotte, Nashville, and Memphis are other places which might be considered. Memphis in particular combines some interesting advantages: closeness to some of the trouble areas; a militant Negro community; a state government which probably would not harass.

3. The Project director should be Negro, a man of stature, vigor, and sagacity. He will need to have the confidence of all sponsors. These being nearly impossible qualifications, the finding of the right man will be hard.

4. To anticipate Project staff size or organization at this time is foolish. One might hazard the thought that there might well be an aide to the director for research and writing, and one for field work. We think the latter could deservedly be a student leader. There might be also 4 or 5 travelling consultants, men or women with previous experience in registration work, who would assist in planning and administering the local campaigns. A first rate administrative secretary will be needed. One or two of the staff should be white, in order to certify the desire of the drive that whites and white organizations will actively cooperate. A staff of this size and composition would represent a salary budget of approximately $50 - 60,000. A roughly equal amount would be needed for office and travel.

5. The functions of the Project staff would be, principally:

a. To help the sponsoring agencies and local groups allocate areas in which to work.

b. To assist in organizing and following through on local drives.

c. In cooperation with SRC's Atlanta office, to plan research and publications.

d. To advise all participating agencies on public relations.

e. To allocate funds among participating groups.

6. In allocating funds, the Project director will have to have undivided responsibility and authority except as qualified in the next two paragraphs.

7. The Project should have an Advisory Committee, composed of one leading figure from each sponsor. The Committee should meet frequently and regularly to review policies and decisions, and to advise the Project director. Good administration dictates that the Committee be advisory only. Common sense points out that unless the policies of the Project director satisfy the Committee, changes will be in order.

8. The Southern Regional Council need not control, and would not want to control, the policies of the Project except as follows:

a. a veto over any grant of funds which would violate SRC's tax exemption charter;

b. a withholding of any grant of funds until the recipient has insured adequate accounting of the use of the funds;

c. appointment of Project staff: SRC recognizes, however, that Project effectiveness requires that staff have the confidence of all sponsors;

d. supervision of administrative practices of the Project.*

9. The first task of the Project director and his staff should be a careful study and definition of the best methods for conducting registration drives in the various sections of the South. On the basis of this study, the Project director, with the advice of the Advisory Committee, should draw up a statement of policies which will guide

*The administrative load which the Project would add on SRC's Atlanta office, plus SRC's involvement in the Project's research and writing activities, would make necessary that some funds to support these functions be charged to the Project budget.

the Project in determining whether to cooperate financially and administratively with the activities of any agency or group. It is SRC's opinion that in some sections of the South, non-violent demonstrations will be among the practical methods which should be supported. Moreover, while the policy statement, once adopted, should be firmly adhered to, it is SRC's opinion that the statement should be so phrased as not to inhibit novel methods, so long as they accord with the spirit and aim of the Project.

10. It should be emphasized that success of the drive will depend not only on the sponsoring agencies, but on the support and diligent activity of local voters leagues, churches, Urban Leagues, etc. In the localities there should be a pooling of resources and a uniting of the efforts of all groups there represented -- national, regional, and local. Project _____ should help bring this about. If, however, for any reason a joint plan is not developed or carried out, the Project's consultants should be available to assist whatever agencies do move ahead.

11. It would be hoped that the initial call and subsequent state and local rallies would impart great momentum to the registration drive. Nevertheless, there will be a plenty of arduous organizational work to do before important results can be achieved. It is, therefore, SRC's belief that the Project should have a life of two years. We do not think it should continue much beyond that. Hardening of the administrative arteries sets in fast on activities of this kind, and the spirit of cooperation thins. Moreover, one of the principal goals of the Project should be the strengthening of local initiative and organizations.

/mh

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JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

(Draft 3) September 5, 1961

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, 38, New York

Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

Mr. Lester B. Granger, Executive Director
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

The Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Executive Director
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
208 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Charles McDew, Chairman of the Executive Committee
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
197½ Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Timothy L. Jenkins
National Affairs Vice President
United States National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Dear Associates:

You will recall that the August 23 meeting at Taconic closed with a request to SRC to submit to each of you a sketch of the manner in which SRC would administer its responsibilities under

a grant for a voter registration campaign. Much of this letter will be only a re-statement of points made in our memorandum presented at the August 23 session, and a summary of discussion that took place then.

This letter will be concerned only with SRC's role as recipient and administrator of a proposed grant; this letter will not deal with the voter registration programs of your agencies.

Because of the importance of the matter, and in order to expedite a final decision, I have consulted with each member of SRC's Executive Committee in the drafting of this letter. You can, therefore, assume that on the general plan outlined here SRC is prepared to commit itself to the undertaking. Although I am authorized by the Executive Committee to consider suggestions you may have for modification of this plan in particulars, and to accept such suggestions as seem valuable, we wish that there be full understanding that the underlined passages of this letter represent the least possible definition of SRC's responsibility and controls, and, therefore, cannot be modified directly or indirectly.

After your replies to this letter have been received, we shall, if it then appears there is a viable agreement, submit to Taconic a formal request for funds, with the understanding that Taconic may obtain help from other foundations and friends in providing the money. As accompanying documents with that request, we shall transmit a copy of this letter, a copy of each of your replies, and a memorandum setting forth our reactions to suggestions or comments which may appear in your letters; copies of the entire submission, as well as Taconic's final response to it, will be furnished you. Funds adequate for a two year program will be requested.

SRC does not assume any obligation to engage in further fund raising.

Let me say, at this point, that I beseech your pardon for the formal tone of this letter. I think we are at a stage where we need to be precise, and I am sure that you agree.

As John Wheeler and I have said at both the July 28 and August 23 meetings, SRC would prefer not to have the role it is asked to fill in the campaign. There are serious risks involved both for our legal status and in regard to our ability to continue to carry on the program with which we are now engaged. We are willing to accept those risks only because of our wholehearted and positive agreement on the need for a greatly enlarged voter drive, and because of our confidence in your agencies. If an acceptable alternative method of funding the drive can be found or devised, SRC will be glad to step aside.

ORGANIZATION

1. SRC will create a special project, with a distinct name.

2. The Project will conduct research to determine the areas of lowest voter participation in the South, and the most effective means of encouraging increased voter registration. The Project, in addition to its own research functions, will participate in and assist the registration programs of other agencies when pursued through means that accord with the Project's research findings, and when of a nature that is consistent with SRC's tax exemption charter.

3. The general purpose of the Project will be support and service of a coordinated voter registration drive in the South. Your agencies will be considered the "sponsors" of the drive; neither SRC nor the Project* will be a "sponsor," and will not be so identified in any public announcement.

   Publicity regarding the Project will be held to the necessary minimum, and will be handled exclusively by SRC or the Project.

4. You may wish to consider among yourselves the inviting of other agencies to act with you as sponsors; if so, we assume that SRC will be consulted regarding any choice before an invitation is issued. You may also wish to have more than one class of sponsor; i. e., recommending to SRC that some be invited to sit on the Project's Advisory Committee, and that others be sponsors only in the sense that they endorse and identify themselves publicly with the registration drive. It is SRC's opinion that the campaign will be immeasurably strengthened if other agencies (such as the AFL-CIO, the Brotherhood of Railway Porters, the National Council of Churches, the American Friends Service Committee, the American Jewish Committee, etc.) are brought in as sponsors, at least of the second class.

5. It should be emphasized that the creation of the Project will not affect the autonomy of the sponsors. The expectation is that each will work in its field, will formulate its own programs, and will be publicly accountable for them.

---

* Although the Project will be a part of SRC, for convenience and clarity the term "SRC" is used in this letter to denote the present structure of SRC.

6. Each of your agencies, and such other agencies as will be agreed upon, will be invited by SRC to appoint one representative to serve on an Advisory Committee to the Project's Director; SRC will not have a member on the Committee, but an SRC representative will sit with the Committee to maintain liaison. The Committee will meet frequently and regularly to review policies and decisions, and to advise the Project Director. Good administration dictates that the Committee be advisory only. Common sense points out that unless the policies of the Project Director satisfy the Committee, changes will be in order.

7. The Project Director and his staff will be appointed by SRC; recommendations of qualified persons will be sought from your agencies.

8. Project headquarters will be in Atlanta.

9. Success of the campaign will depend not only on the work of the sponsors, but on that of local voters leagues, churches, Urban Leagues, etc. Consequently, such local groups should be eligible to receive funds and services from the Project.

FUNCTIONS

1. The functions of the Project will be principally:

   a. To help the sponsoring agencies and local groups allocate areas in which to work;

   b. to assist in organizing and following through on local drives;

   c. in cooperation with SRC, to plan research and publication;

   d. to advise all participating agencies on public relations;

   e. to allocate Project funds and services among participating agencies.*

---

* It may be of value to quote here the latest statements SRC has had from the Treasury Department concerning its tax exemption:

--from Treasury Department letter of January 29, 1960

"We deem it advisable to state that your present tax-exempt status may be jeopardized in the event you make distributions to organizations, which have not extablished an appropriate exampt status for Federal income tax purposes, or use your funds for purposes, which are not considered to be exclusively charitable or educational within the intent of section 501(c)(3) of the code. (continued next page)

2. In allocating funds and services, the Project Director will have undivided responsibility and authority, except that he must report regularly and fully to the Advisory Committee, and will be subject to the restrictions set out in paragraph 1 under "Southern Regional Council Authority." (See below.)

3. The first task of the Project should be a careful study and definition of the best methods for conducting registration drives in the various sections of the South. On the basis of this study, the Project, with the advice of SRC and the Advisory Committee, should draw up a statement of policies which will guide the Project in determining whether to cooperate financially and administratively with the programs of any agency.

4. The Project staff will include travelling consultants, in a number to be determined by need, who can be assigned by the Director to aid a participating agency in the planning and carrying out of a registration drive. Consultants will be selected on the basis of qualifications for voter registration work and will at all times be responsible directly to the Project Director.

5. In providing assistance to the program of any participating agency, the Project will determine in each case:

   a. how much, if any, of the agreed upon assistance can be provided through grants to tax exempt groups (e. g. churches) which may be cooperating in the program of the participating agency?

(continued from page 4)

--from Treasury Department letter of March 22, 1960

(1) If you make a distribution of your funds to an organization which presently has exemption as a charitable or educational organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Code, there is no further obligation on your part to satisfy yourself as to the use of the funds distributed.

(2) Contributions made by you to organizations, which have not established an exempt status for Federal income tax purposes, will not jeopardize your exempt status if the contributions are made and used only for one or more of the exempt purposes specified in section 501(c)(3) of the Code. In such an event, you should use reasonable care in ascertaining that the contributions will be used only for an exempt purpose and that you will be able to substantiate that fact if called upon to do so by the Internal Revenue Service.

b. how much, if any, can be provided through assignment of Project consultants to aid the participating agency? *

c. how much, if any, can be provided by direct Project payment for certain items, e. g. printing?

d. how much, if further is required, to provide through grants to a non-taxempt agency?

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL AUTHORITY

1. SRC need not control, and would not want to control, the policies of the Project except as follows:

a. Veto over any grant of funds incompatible with SRC's tax exemption charter;

b. Withholding of any grant of funds until the recipient has assured adequate accounting of the use of the funds.

c. Appointment of Project staff: SRC recognizes, however, that Project effectiveness requires that staff have the confidence of your agencies;

d. supervision of administrative practices of the Project.

FINANCES

1. SRC will receive and hold funds granted by the Taconic Foundation, and other foundations and friends cooperating with Taconic.

2. Your agencies are free to raise funds for voter registration purposes from other sources and to use such funds in whatever ways you decide. The question has been raised as to whether SRC, as a tax exempt body, would accept funds raised by you: SRC may, at its discretion in each particular case, and with the concurrence of the Advisory Committee, do so, but only if the funds are for voter registration work and are administered through the Project.

---

* At the August 23 meeting, someone suggested that nearly all staff needed by a participating agency for voter work could be hired by the Project, usually on nomination of the agency, and assigned by the Project to work with that agency; the thought behind the suggestion was that SRC would find it administratively simpler to transfer personnel rather than dollars. Further thought convinces us that this would not be a wise procedure, from any point of view.

3. SRC will disburse Project funds, subject to the limitations expressed in paragraph 1 under "Southern Regional Council Authority," upon requisition of the Project Director.

4. A semi-annual accounting of all Project receipts and disbursements, including those for SRC overhead, will be made available for the inspection of your agencies.

* * *

In conclusion, we would like to affirm again, as John Wheeler and I have at the two meetings, SRC's complete willingness to work in partnership with you in this endeavor. We believe that there exists enough mutual trust to insure a satisfying and successful joint striving toward a goal we all share.

CC: Mr. Robert L. Carter, General Counsel
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Twenty West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

Mr. Henry Lee Moon, Director
Public Relations Dept.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Twenty West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

Mr. Thurgood Marshall, Chief Counsel
Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York 19, New York

Mr. Whitney M. Young, Executive Director Elect
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
208 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Marion Barry, Field Secretary
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
197½ Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

U. S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

IN REPLY REFER TO
T:R:EO:3
RFB

MAR 22 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

This is in reference to a letter dated December 14, 1961, from Mr. Adrian W. DeWind, Attorney, New York City, in which he requests in your behalf a ruling that your present exemption from Federal income tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code will not be adversely affected by the voter registration program you propose to undertake.

The information available for our use in considering your request includes that furnished at a conference held in the National Office of the Internal Revenue Service on January 31, 1962, between our representatives and Mr. Harold C. Fleming and Mr. Adrian W. DeWind, as well as that presented by Mr. DeWind in his letter of February 9, 1962.

The purpose of the program called Project is to develop educational programs which will be most effective in providing voters with the knowledge and will to register. Inasmuch as there are various agencies and groups actively engaged in and staffed for work in voter registration areas, you do not propose to have Project do the field work itself. Rather, you believe that such work can be done most economically and effectively by organizations experienced therein. Accordingly, Project will grant funds and provide consultants for approved voter registration programs conducted by these organizations. In this connection, it appears that Project intends to support a variety of programs: Some involving voter education on an individual basis; some on a group or meeting basis; some working primarily through church organizations; others through community or civic groups. So long as a program is practicable and appears effectively designed to secure voter registration, does not unduly duplicate any other approved program, meets the conditions of Project and will be useful as a source of research, knowledge and experience, it may be considered for approval.

Programs of the cooperating organizations must be submitted to and approved by Project before any grant is made. Basically, approval will be limited to organizations which in your opinion have a background, experience, knowledge and personnel fitted to carry out the work of Project. No program will be approved which does not provide that the program, its employees and agents will refrain from any partisan political propaganda or activity aimed at influencing legislation or supporting any political party or the campaign of any candidate for election to public office. Further, cooperating organizations will be required to submit a proposed detailed budget of their programs, to establish and maintain separate accounting records for Project funds, and to conduct the Project program separately and apart from any of their other activities which are not exclusively charitable or educational. The Project staff will visit and work with the cooperating organizations in the field and the staff will also have the right at any time to examine the pertinent accounting records of each cooperating organization. You intend by such supervision to assure that any misuse of Project funds would come almost immediately to the attention of the Project Director. Furthermore, since payments on the grant to each cooperating organization will be made quarterly, the possibility of cancelling the unpaid balance of the grant will serve as a sanction against the diversion of funds by these organizations from their Project-approved programs.

In addition to the above activities, it is indicated that Project will be used to obtain reports of the programs from the cooperating organizations. The reports will disclose in detail information with respect to the activities, areas of operation, public response, problems encountered, solutions developed and results of the programs. The programs will be analyzed and additional independent research in the matter will be conducted by the Project staff and your research department. After Project has been completed, you intend to publish a report, analysis and evaluation of the programs.

We have concluded that, if you operate Project strictly in accordance with the representations made by Mr. DeWind in his letters of December 14, 1961 and February 9, 1962, the

activity will not adversely affect your present exemption from Federal income tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Code. In this connection, it is requested that you submit with your annual information return, Form 990-A, a statement in duplicate disclosing full details with respect to your operation of Project during the year covered by the return. The statement should include among other things a complete description of the activities of Project during the year, how the programs of the cooperating organizations are being conducted, the name of each cooperating organization and the amount of the grant made by you to each organization. There is enclosed a copy of this ruling which should be attached to the information return when it is filed.

The District Director of Internal Revenue, Atlanta, Georgia, is being notified of this action.

Very truly yours,

John W S Littleton

Director, Tax Rulings Division

Enclosure:
Copy of this ruling.

Rec'd 10/15/64
Juee V.E.P.

October 14, 1964

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Associate Executive
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

This is a belated thank-you for the fine job you did in working with our staff. They all spoke most appreciatively of the kind of information you gave.

I want to include some of the information you gave us as a part of the introduction to a report in relation to a foundation grant that we have had to work with teenagers in the Southern Region. I am enclosing a copy of what I would like to say in the report and would be glad to hear from you if you have any objections or if I have misinterpreted what you said.

It is always good to work with the Southern Regional Council people. We look forward to further contact.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth Lois Hill, Correlator
Southern Region

RLH:c
Enclosure

CC-Mr. Leslie Dunbar

VJ

"Mr. Vernon Jordan, assistant to the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council reviewed recent developments for the staff of the National Board, YWCA, based in the Southern Region in September 1964. He said that the Civil Rights movement appeared to be moving into a new phase with the emphasis now on education and job opportunities. This follows the long period of legal action, dramatically demonstrated by the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation in 1954. Efforts in the field of court action continue, but a new wave of activity started with the Montgomery bus boycott in ~~1960~~ 1955. The emphasis was on opening of public facilities and demonstrations were many and varied, including the tremendous March for Jobs and Freedom in Washington in the summer of 1963. In 1964, with the passage of the Civil Rights Bill he sees indications of a new political sophistication among Negroes, and he thinks that there will be a decrease in the use of direct action techniques as we move into a period of concentration on voting, education and employment. Work in these areas requires skilled leadership and constant untiring effort and it may prove more difficult to make noticeable progress than in some of the former efforts, which were, in a sense, more dramatic."

Copied 10/14/64/c

Recv 3/22/65

File VEP

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

✓ JV
PAV
SW

March 17, 1965

Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Wiley:

Some days ago I submitted for your consideration a proposal requesting a Voter Registration grant. Since that time the Arkansas Conference of Branches, NAACP, has made known its plan to conduct a campaign. My concern, as you know, is that a comprehensive registration campaign is waged in Arkansas, not who conducts it. The plan I submitted is sound and based upon my experience in two previous campaigns. The need here at this time, of course, is without question. However, the campaign need not necessarily be directed by me.

I should hope that you will look with favor on a grant for Arkansas and that it need not be predicated upon my conducting the drive. I'm confident that leadership problems can be worked out with the NAACP and a unified campaign planned. My cooperation will be given to whoever is designated to lead.

In as much as time is of essence, I would appreciate early consideration of the proposal for a grant for Arkansas.

Sincerely,

Ozell

Ozell Sutton

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Mr. Walter Pincus of the Washington Evening Star, Wash., D. C.

REGARDING:

Sources of support to VEP

DATE: 4/21/65

(SEE):
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Newspapers, et al - General

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Memo to RHA from LWD

REGARDING:

terminating consultant stipend (Samuel DuBois Cook)

DATE: 4/30/65

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Folder marked: Staff-LWD Memos

Rec'd 5/10/65

File V.E.P., 1965

PA

May 5, 1965

Mr. J. Sheehan
Collection Correspondent
Hertz Corporation
660 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Re: Invoice # 1650-6471307 $39.95
Jackson, Mississippi 12/19

Dear Mr. Sheehan

If you check with your regional representatives in either Jackson, Mississippi or Atlanta, Georgia, you should find that the account was not in my name but was in the name of the Southern Regional Council 5 Forsythe Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia, and that they should bear the responsibility for the account in that the expense was made on their behalf.

My employers were of course, my supervisor Mr. Wiley Branton, Voter Education Project, 5 Forsythe Street N. W., Atlanta, Georgia and Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director, Southern Regional Council, same address.

Very truly yours,

John D. Due, Jr.

JDD/lf

cc: Wiley Branton
Leslie Dunbar

This has been straightened out + paid J. Vep.

May 4, 1965

Mrs. Wilber C. Roberts
1218 Marie Ann Boulevard
Panama City, Florida

Dear Mrs. Roberts,

It was a great pleasure to meet you and the rest of the Panamaneans.

I understand, you and the Panama City Council on Human Relations want to organize a local community action program in your area. According to the Community Action Guide, on pages 16 and 17, Section 5 and 6, during the initial steps, the local community action program should invlove resident participation and participation by broadly based agencies. Therefore I think the council should do the following: First it should hold a public meeting, preferably at the city auditorium, with permission of course of the City Fathers, on the question of the CAP..if not use a federal facility.. if not a church. At this public meeting you should invite Mr. Sam Hand and his staff to discuss the Economic Opportunity Law. At this public meeting there should be appointed a temporary steering committee to be composed of people from several areas. I suggest that the temporary steering committee be composed of the following: (1) a representative from the County Commissioners,(2) a representative from the City Commissioners, (3) a representiative from the Welfare Department, (4) a representative from the Board of Public Instruction, (5) a key representative from the business world, (6) a representative from the Air Force, (7) a representative from the Council on Human Relations, (8) a representative from a Negro organization, (9) another representative from a Negro organization, (10) another representative from a Negro organization, (11) a representative from the poor white community (12) another representative from the poor white community. I think that the people at this first public meeting could choose the people on this temporary steering committee at this point, or a preliminary steering committee could be appointed at this public meeting which has the duty

to request that each of the twelve areas choose their representatives to be on the temporary steering committee and that at a second public meeting, these representatives be publicized as members of the steering committee. After the steering committee is then chosen, it should hold a preliminary pre-incorporation meeting. Attorney Byers can draw up the articles of incorporation if he is chosen to be the counsel for the steering committee. And after these articles of incorporation are signed by each member of the steering committee, as subscribers, then Byers can send the articles of incorporation to the Secretary of State. You will then be certified as a non-profit corporation. I think the above steps should be taken, it is very improtant. If you do call a public meeting and if you do not get any cooperation from various areas, you should then find out why. After receiving this information, you should sign a statement showing the above. You then can incorporate yourselves as a non-profit corporation and be the sponsoring group and therefore be available to recieve funds under Section 204-206 for program development. However, and I believe Edwin Lewis will second this, it might be wiser for you to form a ~~second~~ SEPARATE non-profit corporation which is independent of the local Council on Human Relations. The advantage of incorporating the local Council on Human Relations is that you will be supported by the Florida Council on Human Relations and the Southern Regional Council which has a prestigeous background and reputation in the interests of the southern community. The advantage of incorporating a seperate group is that you can retain your identity as a Council on Human Relations and even be a gad fly. But the problem there is that you will need public official support which is not necessary to be presumed, of the support of a non-profit corporation which does have a history and background in being interested in the poor.

I have a friend, a white lawyer, Dennis Roberts, who is in southwest Georgia helping civil rights lawyers. He would like to take a vacation on the Gulf. Do you know of an inexpensive place for him to spend a weekend? His address is c/o Attorney C. B. King, P. O. Box 1024, Albany, Georgia.

P. S. I shall send to you incorporation forms and other materials.

Yours truly,

John D. Due, Jr.

JDD/lf

cc: Edwin Lewis
Spiver Gordon
Leslie Dunbar

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

WELD

REGARDING

$15,000 contribution from WELD to SRC

DATE: 5/20/65

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Folder marked: Committee for Welfare, Education, and Legal Defense

Rec'd 6/17/65 file V&P 1965

RHA

who knows?

June 12, 1965

Miss Janet Short
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atalanta, Georgia

Dear Janet,

These people are still bugging me: I thought Wiley said he took care of this matter !!

Hope to return soon.

Love and kisses

John

JDD/ lf

enclosure
cc Leslie Dunbar

Mr. Mac Barrett, Sales Representative at Atlanta Office is handling the bill has been paid but Cancelled Check had not cleared bank May 31. RHA

file vep finances

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Ford Foundation

REGARDING

24,000 Grant to the Voter Education Project

DATE

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

SRC's proposal to Ford describing proposed projects - among which is the VEP. dated July 16, 1965

August 13, 1965

The following notation with the enclosed registration data was sent to a list of persons whose names can be found filed under:

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT - Voter Registration Data
(Compiled 1965)

In the preparation of our final report and study on the Voter Education Project, we are re-examining registration data for each state. These revised data will be sent to you as completed.

Tables for the first state - South Carolina - are attached.

LWD

On subsequent tables, delete the last sentence above and say:

Tables for _____ are attached. Other states already completed are _____ _____ _____.

Subsequent mailings:

Mississippi - November 30, 1965

VOTER REGISTRATION
DATA LIST

Mr. Stephen Currier, Pres.
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 5th Avenue
New York 19, New York

Mrs. Jane Lee J. Eddy, Exe. Director, Taconic
666 5th Avenue
New York 19, N. Y.

~~Mr. Maxwell Hahn~~
Exec. Vice Pres.
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Mr. David Hunter, Dir.
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th St.
New York, NY 10016

Mr. David F. Freeman Rockefeller Bro. Fund.
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, NY

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Exe. V-Pres.
Potamac Institute
1501 18th St., NW'
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Louis Martin
Deputy Chairman
Democratic National Com.
1730 K Street, NW
Washington 6, D. C.

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Exe. Sec.
President's Council on Equal Oppor.
1800 G Street, Rm 703
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Roy Wilkins
Exe. Dir.
NAACP
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, NY

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, NY

Rev. M. L. King, Jr.
SCLC
334 Auburn Ave.NE
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Mr. William Taylor
U. S. Commission on CR
1701 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Carl Holman
U. S. Commission on CR
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Mr. John Doar
Asst. Atty. Gen.
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Raymond V. Humphreys
Republican National Com.
1625 Eye Street
Washington, D. C 20006

Mr. James Forman
SNCC
360 Nelson St., SW
Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Whitney Young
Exe. Dir.
National Urban League
14 East 48th St.
New York 17, NY

Mr. Adrian DeWind
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, NY

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, N. C.

Mr. Raymond Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, N. C.

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Ass. Director
Rockefeller Found.
111 W. 50th St.
4 ~~2nd~~ Fl.
N.Y., N.Y.

Mr. Samuel Lubell
Samuel Lubell Assoc.
845 West End Ave
NYC 10025
sent 9/7/65

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Dir.
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.
(added for miss. mailing)

AS EACH STATE IS COMPLETED, DATA IS SENT TO STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS AND SRC BOARD MEMBERS IN THAT STATE.

Set up file: Voter Registration Data, 1965 "General" (File in VEP Section)

August 24, 1965
AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Fred M. Talkington
Assistant Attorney General
Capitol Station
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Talkington:

I am sorry to be so long in answering your inquiry of last week.

The estimate of 375,000 Negro voters in Texas in 1964 was exactly that: an estimate. We had been associated from 1962 until the spring of 1964 with various drives in Texas; in particular, we had close association with the campaign of V.O.T.E. (Voters of Texas Enlist). As you know, official figures that show racial breakdowns are virtually impossible to obtain in Texas. From our association with the registration campaigns we developed both some feel for the state-wide proportion of the Negro voters and for the actual strength of Negro voters in certain areas.

For example, we were estimating in round figures the following 1963 and 1964 Negro totals in heavily populated areas:

COUNTY	1963	1964
Jefferson	9,000	17,000
Dallas	21,000	52,000
McLennan	4,000	6,000
Travis	5,000	7,000
Tarrant	9,000	12,000
Bexar	10,000	13,000
Harris	70,000	90,000

These estimates were based, as well as we could, on items of concrete information. For example, there are I believe some 43

precincts in Houston that are almost entirely Negro. In these precincts registration rose from 59,635 in 1963 to 67,425 in 1964, plus 9,000 free certificate holders.

Altogether, in the campaigns with which we were associated we estimated that approximately 280-290,000 Negroes who became voters, at least in federal elections, were reached during the qualifying time for the 1964 general election. Based on our experience in the state and with campaign workers, we estimated that about 8-90,000 other Negroes had qualified without reference to programs with which we were associated. Consequently, our estimate of 375,000.

Our figures show that this was 12.5% of the total registration in Texas. That percentage was based on the report of your Secretary of State, which gave a grand total of 2,976,967. (Actually, I think the percentage would figure out to 12.6.) The report is not dated, but was transmitted to us by letter of May 22, 1964, and indicated that it may be used in voting during the period February 1, 1964 through January 31, 1965.

Please let us know if we may try to furnish you with any other information.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

MJ - file

file - U.E.P., 1965 gen. Corr.

August 25, 1965

Mr. James A. Dugan
2411 South Kenmore Street
Arlington, Virginia 22206

Dear Mr. Dugan:

Thank you for the information about your proposed project.

When I called yesterday, Wiley Branton had returned to Washington. We wrote him, giving your phone numbers.

Keep us informed on what happens. The project looks very sound, and if nothing else materializes perhaps in several months we will be in a position to consider assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

2411 South Kenmore Street
Arlington, Virginia 22206
August 24, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Conference
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed is a copy of our joint Alexandria-Arlington proposal for a voter education project under Section 10d of the voting rights law.

I am enclosing this for your information and for the V.E.P. records.

Sincerely,

James A. Dugan

James A. Dugan

Enclosure

August 12, 1965

Mr. Wiley Branton
1800 G. Street, Northwest
Room 703
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Branton,

After conferring with the Arlington and Alexandria groups which have submitted proposals for voter registration drives during August and September to exploit section 10-D of the new voting rights bill, and discussing the added efficiency derived from a coordinated approach, we have developed a combined budget for your consideration (attached) to supplant our previously submitted separate budgets.

Payment and accounting procdures, to be most efficient for the Alexandria NAACP Voter Education Project and the Northern Virginia CORE might be as follows:

August 16--Check for $600 to Ira Lechner, 2901 John Marshall Drive North, Arlington 7, Virginia. He will establish a "Northern Virginia 10-D Project" Checking Account and will dispense the needed initial funds to the two Coordinators.

August 23--Two Coordinators will submit accounts of first weeks expenditures to Ira Lechner. He will then request additional funding as it is justified. This procedure will be followed weekly.

September 22--Final accounting and report from two Coordinators to Ira Lechner.

September 24--Final accounting and report from Lechner to Branton.

Please direct your reply and any amendment to the above procedure to Ira Lechner as soon as possible. Staff has been identified and is ready to proceed. Registrars in Arlington and Alexandria are being appraised of the new voting regulations.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

/s/ Dave Brooks

/s/ James Dugan

August 12, 1965
(Replaces earlier requests
from Arlington and Alexandria)

COMBINED BUDGET FOR

NORTHERN VIRGINIA 10-D Project

August 16-September 18 (5 weeks)

2	Coordinators	$100 a week x 5 weeks	$1,000
1	Clerk-typist	75 a week x 5 weeks (split between two offices)	375
Travel expenses for Coordinators		100 mi. x 5 wks. x 2 Coordinators x 10¢/mi.	100
Telephone expenses		$10 x 2 "offices"	20
Supplies		$60 x 2 "offices"	120
Rallies and entertainment (Alexandria)			110
		Grand Total	$1,725

File: SC VEP

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

SUBJECT:

Programming for Civic Education

RE:

Richard Miles' correspondence of August 26, 1965 on operation of the South Carolina Voter Education Project.

SEE:

VEP - 1965 Programming for Civic Education

OFFICE FILE COPY - NOT TO BE REMOVED FROM FILES

South Carolina

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Voter Education Project
August, 1965

VOTER REGISTRATION
SOUTH CAROLINA

COUNTY	Tot. Neg. Voters as of 11/64	Tot. Neg. Voters as of 4/62	Increase 4/62 to 11/64	NWVAP 1960 Census	% Elg. NReg. 1960 Census	Tot. Reg. Col. 1 + Chas. N&C Est. WReg.	% N. of Total Reg.	Tot. LBJ Vote**	Tot. BG Vote	Some More Current Fi Total Negr Voters
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
ABBEVILLE	(900)*	241	659	3,215	27.9	7,000	12.8	2,689	1,448	
AIKEN	4,725 (4,000)	2,498	2,227	10,040	47.1	30,725	15.4	7,622	17,467	
ALLENDALE	530 (504)	220	310	3,205	16.5	3,430	15.5	772	1,740	
ANDERSON	2,931 (7,500)	2,450	481	9,598	30.5	32,931	8.9	11,670	8,398	
BAMBERG	902 (1,400)	587	315	3,807	23.7	5,071	17.8	1,419	2,366	
BARNWELL	975 (1,500)	714	261	3,242	30.1	7,775	12.5	1,382	3,670	
BEAUFORT	3,606 (3,500)	2,727	879	7,247	49.7	10,106	35.7	2,747	3,432	
BERKELEY	4,645 (4,000)	3,250	1,395	7,619	60.9	14,645	31.7	3,537	6,100	
CALHOUN	339 (487)	128	211	3,318	10.2	2,754	12.3	612	1,591	
CHARLESTON	13,727 (13,976)	9,463	4,264	35,499	38.7	64,037	21.4	14,564	32,509	13,975 (3/65
CHEROKEE	1,362 (1,438)	890	472	3,360	40.5	15,607	8.7	4,258	3,627	

Voter Registration - South Carolina - 2.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
CHESTER	2,277 (3,000)	1,419	858	5,664	40.2	12,365	18.4	3,882	2,915	
CHESTERFLD	2,428 (2,400)	1,740	688	5,219	46.5	13,364	18.2	4,634	2,449	
CLARENDON	775 (523)	324	451	7,735	10.0	5,483	14.1	832	2,960	
COLLETON	1,985 (1,870)	1,280	705	6,180	32.1	10,030	19.8	2,051	4,637	
DARLINGTN	5,327 (5,000)	3,318	2,009	9,900	53.8	18,327	29.1	5,010	6,717	
DILLON	2,461 (2,500)	1,031	1,430	5,529	44.5	8,961	27.5	2,773	2,742	
DORCHESTR	1,215 (1,750)	720	495	5,370	22.6	9,079	13.4	1,604	5,109	
EDGEFIELD	1,117 (650)	400	717	3,764	29.7	5,062	22.1	824	2,489	
FAIRFIELD	1,771 (1,650)	900	871	5,536	31.9	6,821	25.9	2,628	1,997	
FLORENCE	5,512 (4,458)	3,181	2,331	15,951	34.5	29,393	18.7	7,157	10,346	
GEORGETWN	5,179 (4,604)	3,621	1,558	7,173	72.2	12,086	42.8	3,423	4,705	
GREENVLE	12,349 (8,368)	5,550	6,799	18,605	66.4	78,389	15.7	17,275	29,358	
GREENWD	1,600 (2,300)	1,150	450	6,764	23.6	17,314	9.2	5,479	5,653	
HAMPTON	1,129 (1,025)	626	503	4,052	27.9	5,825	19.4	1,439	2,259	
HORRY	2,875 (2,300)	1,890	985	7,429	38.7	23,575	12.2	1,002	1,593	
JASPER	1,875 (1,200)	678	1,197	3,333	56.2	4,455	42.1	5,444	8,293	

Voter Registration - South Carolina - 3.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
KERSHAW	1,976 (2,266)	1,740	236	5,903	33.5	12,838	15.4	3,168	5,617	
LANCASTR	1,600 (1,800)	1,250	350	4,762	33.6	17,865	8.9	4,970	4,742	
LAURENS	3,218 (6,400)	1,218	2,000	6,818	47.2	12,855	25.0	4,365	5,081	
LEE	1,774 (1,150)	1,160	614	5,466	32.4	6,128	28.9	1,156	2,489	
LEXNGTON	832 (3,500)	529	303	4,782	17.4	21,332	3.9	4,807	12,041	614 (1/6
MCCORMICK	362 (210)	200	162	2,248	16.1	2,262	16.0	498	939	
MARION	3,751 (1,200)	2,550	1,201	7,684	48.8	10,221	36.7	2,046	3,197	
MARLBORO	2,442 (1,200)	1,450	992	5,932	41.2	10,242	23.8	2,422	1,864	
NEWBERRY	1,900 (1,000)	814	1,086	4,954	38.3	13,100	14.5	3,222	5,571	
OCONEE	(1,400)	986	414	2,230	62.8	13,500	10.4	5,560	2,712	
ORANGEBG	5,820 (6,483)	3,223	2,597	17,355	33.5	21,439	27.1	5,607	10,456	
PICKENS	(1,700)	451	1,249	2,356	72.1	17,000	10.0	3,506	5,882	
RICHLAND	12,496 (8,750)	8,850	3,646	32,670	38.2	71,246	17.5	17,939	27,306	13,280 (5/6
SALUDA	863 (440)	553	310	2,327	37.1	6,703	12.9	1,409	2,524	
SPARTNBRG	7,277 (7,171)	4,419	2,858	17,047	42.7	64,606	15.7	20,034	18,411	
SUMTER	5,051 (4,200)	3,690	1,361	15,380	32.8	14,851	32.0	3,775	7,729	

Voter Registration - South Carolina - 4.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
UNION	2,116 (1,438)	1,500	616	4,125	51.3	15,539	13.6	3,892	3,815	
WILLIAMSBG	2,561 (1,933)	480	2,081	10,535	24.3	10,628	24.1	2,248	4,310	2,681 (6,
YORK	5,012 (3,500)	3,500	1,512	10,196	49.1	28,312	17.7	8,346	7,292	
TOTALS	146,668	89,559	57,109	371,124	38.2	825,227	19.5	215,699	309,048	147,602

*All figures in () are Charleston News & Courier unofficial estimates 11/1/64. Figures not in () are SRC's estimates, based on VEP records and other sources. In Abbeville, Oconee, and Pickens counties, we have no data other than the Charleston News & Courier estimates.

**South Carolina had an estimated 62.7% total voter participation in November, 1964 election.

September 4, 1965

Mr. and Mrs. Stephen R. Currier
Currier & Company
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Currier:

Thank you so much for your most generous gift to OPERATION REGISTRATION.

As we had hoped, we have been accepted by the community. The merchants, mass media, civic and religious groups have been most cooperative and helpful. Our publicity has been excellent.

Through our efforts, the Interdenomination Ministerial Alliance of New Orleans has become the official spokesman of the Negro Community. We are working very closely with them, planning strategy, publicizing and supplying them with information and literature. It was and still is our feeling that to remain effective, the "umbrella name" of OPERATION REGISTRATION must be kept out of any segregated publicit y. We have, however, taken a public stand against the Registrar of Voters for his "delaying tactics." Because of them, our goal of 100,000 new registrants will not be realized immediately, but we will continue to work and hope that it will be reached before the general election in April. The registration rolls weraepurged just prior to our beginning, leaving the total at approximately 190,000. At present the total is in excess of 196,000 - about 90% of the increase is Negro. For the first time Negro registration has passed 40,000 in Orleans Parish!

We have prepared flyers (enclosed) for broadside distribution. Both public and parochial school systems will distribute them to each school child -- 185,000 -- during the week of September 20th. Local newspapers and the advertising of many merchants will carry a reproduction of our flyer "Your Voice is Silent . . . unless you Register and Vote."

Our door to door efforts keep gaining in momentum. We are now actively working in 10 inner city areas. Sound trucks will soon tour these, and other areas. We have arranged for and are manning (womanning!!!) a voting machine and giving instructions as to its use in City Hall (next to Registrar's office) during registration hours. Candidates questionaires have gone out, and the responses will be printed and distributed broadside.

This week we will set our most ambitious plan into action . . . a simulcast (using the facilities of the three commercial television stations and where possible, radio stations) . . . to be viewed a week before the first primary. Our plan is to distribute sample ballots containing names and numbers of all candidates. The television show will review the ballot, and explain the duties and patronage that goes with each elected office. The Times Picayune Publishing Company has promised help with this. It is our hope that this will help the new voter to familiarize himself with the mechanics of elections and the issues in the current New Orleans election.

I will continue to send you periodic reports on our progress. In the meantime, if you have any suggestions, I'd certainly appreciate hearing from you.

Thank you again for all your help.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Lawrence H. Lader, Chairman
OPERATION REGISTRATION

Encs.

cc: Mrs. Jane Hamner, LWVEF
Mrs. Campbell, LWVEF

bc: Mrs. David Brown, LWV of La.
Mrs. Robert Johnston, LWV MO
Paul Anthony, SRC

operation registration
CITY-WIDE REGISTRATION
AND GET OUT THE VOTE DRIVE
545 Saint Charles Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70130
524-5201 523-5968

file vol. - 1965

LWD
SAV
MJ file

Dear Mr. Anthony -

Forgive my delaying in telling you the good news - We've gotten $3,000 from the Carriers (community wide) and the Stamps are matching funds on a $2 to $1 (from them) basis up to $3,000. So all goes well financially.

Please give my regards to Charles Wittenstein.

Bernice Leder

YOUR VOICE IS SILENT

....unless you Register & Vote.

WHERE TO REGISTER

CITY HALL—1st Floor
1300 Perdido St.

ALGIERS—For Ward 15
225 Morgan St.

GENTILLY—Wards 8 & 9
8500 Chef Menteur

HOURS:

Until September 8: Mon. to Thurs. 9 a.m.-4 p.m. FRIDAY 9 a.m. to 6 p.m.
Sept. 8 to Oct. 7: Mon. to Friday 9 a.m. to 8 p.m.

REQUIREMENTS:

- APPEAR IN PERSON BEFORE THE REGISTRAR OF VOTERS
- ESTABLISH IDENTITY & RESIDENCE: (Rent Receipt, Library Card, Driver's License, Utility Receipt, Lay-Away Receipt, Charge Account—Identification Must Include Signature and Correct Residence Either on One Document or on Separate Documents)
- BE A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES (If Naturalized, Bring Papers)
- BE A RESIDENT OF LOUISIANA FOR ONE YEAR—OF ORLEANS PARISH FOR SIX MONTHS—OF THE PRECINCT FOR THREE MONTHS.

WHERE TO REGISTER

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1300 Perdido St.

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THE TIME IS NOW!

- IT'S EASY
- GO TO REGISTRAR
- SHOW WHO YOU ARE WHERE YOU LIVE, & FOR HOW LONG

THERE'S NO EXCUSE FOR YOU - REGISTER & VOTE

WHERE TO REGISTER

CITY HALL—1st Floor
1300 Perdido St.

ALGIERS—For Ward 15
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ONLY YOUR VOTE CAN HELP

Register Now!

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- BE A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES (If Naturalized, Bring Papers)
- BE A RESIDENT OF LOUISIANA FOR ONE YEAR—OF ORLEANS PARISH FOR SIX MONTHS—OF THE PRECINCT FOR THREE MONTHS.

Make folder + file in VEP Section "Voter Registration Data 1965"
B.R. Brazeal

September 1, 1965

Dean B. R. Brazeal
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dean Brazeal:

This confirms the agreements that came out of our conference of August 27.

It was agreed that you would investigate and write short reports on voting conditions in six (6) Georgia counties. The format should be much like that of the reports you did for SRC some years ago, and the reports generally should be of the same nature as those.

We tentatively selected the following counties: Baker, Webster, Early, Laurens, Glascock, and Lincoln. It was understood, however, that you might suggest alternatives.

We further agreed that SRC would reimburse you for all travel expenses, would pay an honorarium of $150.00 per county, and would handle distribution of the reports.

We would be grateful to have you inform us as you make your plans and to keep us advised of your itinerary and schedule.

As you know, I am leaving SRC and will not be here long enough to see this project through. We are, therefore, designating Pat Watters to look after the project from this end.

We are all very grateful to you for agreeing to undertake this assignment.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Lost Thomas
Cc - Prof
file - Prof
Dean Brazeal

file
"Voter Registration, 1965"
B. R. Brazeal

MEMORANDUM September 1, 1965

To: RHA; cc: PA

From LWD

We have engaged Dean Brazeal for a research assignment. Earlier this year Duncan Gray received an honorarium done on the Mississippi Project. You will need to remember both of these next year when filing your 501-3 report, inasmuch as both men are members of the Corporation.

In case I am not here when the time comes to pay Dean Brazeal, he is to receive travel expenses, plus $150.00 per county studied; we have initially agreed on six (6) counties. This could be charged to VEP if there will be enough money in the VEP account.

BP - FYI

September 7, 1965

Mr. Richard Miles
Field Director
South Carolina Voter
Education Project
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Miles:

We have received your project report and your letter to Mr. Branton dated September 1, 1965.

The Voter Education Project has ended, and Mr. Branton is in Washington with the President's Council on Equal Opportunity. He has asked me to direct any correspondence regarding voter registration to the Council's research staff. Mrs. Barbara Patterson, our research assistant, is in the process of compiling the data collected by the voter project that will be published in book form at a later date. Perhaps you would like to address your correspondence to her in the future. We do appreciate your sending us your reports, and will continue to look forward to receiving them.

Mr. Branton, of course, maintains his interest in your progress, and if you care to write to him in Washington, the address is 1800 "G" Street, Room 703.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt

JCS

SOUTH CAROLINA

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

President
Dr. Charles H. Thomas, Jr.
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Vice-President
Rev. S. T. Spencer
Newberry, South Carolina

Secretary
Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman
Columbia, South Carolina

Treasurer
R. J. Palmer
Sumter, South Carolina

Chaplain
Rev. J. A. Curry
Camden, South Carolina

Field Director
Richard Miles
Columbia, South Carolina

Legal Adviser
Matthew J. Perry
Columbia, South Carolina

Congressional District Chairmen:

1st Congressional District
Billie S. Fleming
Manning, South Carolina

2nd Congressional District
E. A. Finney
Sumter, South Carolina

3rd Congressional District
Rev. S. L. McCain
N. Augusta, South Carolina

4th Congressional District
Harrison Rearden
Greenville, South Carolina

5th Congressional District
R. H. Haile
Camden, South Carolina

6th Congressional District
Dr. R. N. Beck
Florence, South Carolina

Rec'd 9/7/65

1719 TAYLOR STREET
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA
TELEPHONE 254-5953

September 1, 1965

Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Wiley,

Using the official figures supplied by the Secretary of State of South Carolina, we have compiled a new booklet of voting and registration figures for South Carolina, and I am happy to send you a copy.

I plan to be in Washington between the eighth and eleventh of this month, and I would like to call on you when I arrive.

Best wishes,

Dick

Richard Miles

RM:s
enclosures

Make folder
file in V.E.P. Section

September 9, 1965

Mr. Richard Miles
Field Director
South Carolina Voter
Education Project
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Miles:

Enclosed is our check for $100, representing a special grant to the South Carolina Voter Education Project. This grant is made possible by a gift from Mrs. Alice Spearman of Columbia.

Thank you for continuing to send reprints and information on your work.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:js
Enclosure - 1.

File - D.E.F. - 1965 - Cr. ref - NAACP - N. York

MJ - file

September 24, 1965

Mr. Mel Zarr
Legal Defense Fund
N.A.A.C.P.
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Zarr:

After promising relatively prompt response to your request, I find that it must be completed this morning if we send anything on schedule. Enclosed is a brief memo. I hope it will help.

Perhaps we'll be in a position to offer considerably more information soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony

PA:rh
Encls: Memo
Newspaper clips

September 24, 1965

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mel Zarr
FROM: Paul Anthony
re Current Voter Registration Practices in the South

The Council's information on current voter registration practices is incomplete. Such information as we do have comes largely from the press of the region and random field reports. We are in the process of collecting additional material and hope to be able to respond more fully to inquiries such as yours.

At this point, and emphasizing that our information is incomplete, the following observations may be of interest.

1. While federal examiners were hardly greeted warmly by whites, in most instances there was less hostility than might have been anticipated. Negroes in the affected areas clearly responded en mass, thereby removing any doubt on the part of their fellow citizens about lack of desire to participate in the political process. To date well over 40,000 persons (42,860 at last report) have been registered

by federal examiners, most of them Negro. This is a remarkable figure in light of the fact that it represents only those fourteen counties into which federal examiners were sent.

2. Sending federal registrars into the region clearly had an impact on many areas not directly affected. In Americus (Sumter County), Georgia where there had been demonstrations and considerable unrest over voter registration procedures, two Negro clerks were assigned to the registrars office when the new voter law went into effect. From approximately 1,000 Negroes registered previously, the total went to more than 2,000 in three days.

The justice department has estimated that approximately 60,000 Negroes have registered in areas not covered by examiners since the new law went into effect.

3. Some public officials and others are beginning to openly speculate on means of stopping or slowing the new registration procedures or of "capturing" these newly registered voters.

The traditional Southern response to unpopular legislation is to declare it"illegal" and "unconstitutional" and to promise that it will be reversed by the courts. While these promises are never kept and those who make them know they cannot be, their importance is in the fact that citizens generally are encouraged to defy the law.

This has again been the case with voter registration. At the recent Southern governors conference, three governors - Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina - met to discuss "court action against the Voting Rights Act." This meeting and the governors statements of intention were widely covered in the press.

In Alabama, registrars in six counties - Dallas, Marengo, Hale, Perry, Wilcox, Loundes - challenged registration of approximately 10,000 persons. An injunction was served to stop local probate judges from putting names submitted by federal examiners on the official voting list. Similar action has been taken in Jeff Davis County, Mississippi.

Charges of the use of the old tactic of the "slow down" by registration officials have come from such diverse areas as rural Dorchester County, South Carolina and metropolitan New Orleans.

4. In many areas of the region, particularly in the black belt, ~~where~~ there has been traditionally discrimination there likely will continue to be.

The first basis for this observation is the simple fact of life of the situation of the Negro in much of the rural South. The courthouse and the sheriffs office, tied closely to registration in rural areas, are areas where Negroes simply do not go.

The attorney general of Alabama, Richmond Flowers, has commented on this condition in Alabama and reportedly has gone to Washington to urge increased use of federal examiners. You should check this out, and attempt to talk with him.

The best example of this condition which has come to our attention is that of Baker County, Georgia. We hope to send an observer into that and other rural counties shortly. In the meantime, enclosed are several newspaper clippings about the situation there.

File
VEP. - 1965

October 19, 1965

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
Director
N A A C P
Southeastern Regional Office
859½ Hunter Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Ruby:

As you know, for some time we have been exploring the possibility of initiating a new voter education project with emphasis on civic education and leadership training.

We have received a foundation grant which will allow us to secure a staff person to direct this effort and explore possible programs and other sources of financial support. Such a person has been secured. He is, happily, Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., who has been on leave of absence from SRC, working with the Regional Office of Economic Opportunity. Vernon will return as Director of the Voter Education Project on or shortly after December 1.

In this new program, we hope to continue having the closest possible support and guidance from all of the persons and agencies whose experience and activities should be incorporated into any effort of this sort. Whatever financing may be available we do not envision a large SRC project staff initiating programs from this office. Rather, we think our past VEP experience has shown the wisdom of offering resources and assistance to those already doing the work, or at least potentially available to do it.

After he returns, Vernon will be in touch with you. This is to express our appreciation beforehand for your assistance and to express our wish for the closest possible cooperation.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:js

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

Rec'd 10/15/65

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Atlanta Regional Office
101 Marietta St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Vernon asked me to send you a list of names for the letter you are planning to write. It is enclosed with a note of explanation for Mildred.

Other names may occur to you and I know that Vernon will concur in any decision you make regarding additions or omissions.

Can we do anything else to help?

Sincerely yours,

Jean

Jean Levine
Secretary to Vernon Jordan

enc. 1

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

JEAN LEVINE

DATE 10/14

Hi, Mildred:

This list is from memory entirely so please forgive blank spaces and question marks. As you will see I have put question marks wherever I was not certain of either an exact title or street address.

I know that you won't have any difficulty getting these items because some of them you already have and any others will be on either the Rolodex I used in VEP ~~and~~ or of course, Janet Short will have them on hers.

In the case of Mr. Brooks of NAACP I can't remember for certain if he is in Virginia but, here again, Janet will have this.

Is James Farmer "Executive Director" or "Executive Secretary"?

SNCC has changed addresses so many times I can't remember the most recent one.

On Wiley we know this is no longer his title and organization but we know he is still using this organization and office address as headquarters.

Please call if there is anything we can help you with.

Jean

COMPLIMENTS OF DARBY PRINTING COMPANY

NAME	TITLE	ORGANIZATION
Mr. Roy Wilkins	Executive Director	NAACP 20 West 40th St. New York, N.Y. 10018
Mr. John Morsell	Assistant " "	"
Mrs. Althea Simmons	Director of Training	"
Mr. Clarence Mitchell	Director, Washington Bureau	"
Mr. W. C. Patton	?	" Memphis, Tenn.
Mr. John Brooks	?	" Virginia (?)
Mr. Richard Miles	"	" South Carolina
Mrs. Ruby Hurley	Director	Southeastern Regional Office 859½ Hunter St., N.W. Atlanta, Ga. 30314
Mr. Jack Greenberg	Counsel-Director	NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc. 10 Columbus Circle New York, N.Y. 10019
Mr. James Farmer	Executive Director	CORE 38 Park Avenue New York, N.Y. 10038
? Mr. Carl Rachlin	General Counsel	"
Mr. Marvin Rich	?	"
Mr. James Forman	Executive Director	SNCC _____ Raymond St. Atlanta, Ga. 30314
Mr. John Lewis	Chairman	"
Mr. Julian Bond	?	"
Mr. Whitney Young	Executive Director	National Urban League New York Address (?)
Mr. Clarence Coleman	Southern Regional Director	" Southern Regional Office 250 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Mr. Clifford Alexander
Special Counsel
White House

NAME	TITLE	ORGANIZATION
The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.	President	SCLC 334 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta, Ga. 30303
Mr. Randolph Blackwell	?	"
The Rev. Andrew Young	?	"
Mr. Louis Martin	Deputy Chairman	Democratic National Committee 1730 K Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006
Mr. Jesse Hill	?	Atl. Life Ins. Co ~~Atlanta Address (?)~~ 148 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Mr. Ozell Sutton	?	Little Rock, Ark. (?)
Mr. Phil Weightman	?	COPE AFL-CIO 815 Sixteenth St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006
Mr. Donald Slaiman	?	AFL-CIO Civil Rights Div. 815 Sixteenth St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006
Mr. William Taylor	?	U.S. Commission on Civil Rights ?1701 Penn ave. N.W. Washington, D.C.
Mr. Carl Holman	Information Officer (?)	~~USIA~~ ? Washington, D.C.
Mr. Calvin Kytle	?	Dept of Commerce Community Relations Service Washington, D.C.
Mr. Sam Allen	General Counsel	"
Mr. Wiley A. Branton	Executive Secretary	President's Council on Equal Opportunity 1800 G St., N.W. Washington, D.C.

Mr. Richard Boone, Executive Director
Citizens Crusade Against Poverty 2027 Mass. Ave. N.W — Wash - D.C.

Mr. Stephen Currier)
Mr. Leslie Dunbar)
Mr. Harold Fleming) Paul, please decide
? Foundations → Hold until PA is consulted as to which ones
State Councils)

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director
Dr. George A. Wiley
associate national director
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southern regional director
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel
Alan Gartner
fund raising director
James Peck
COREIator editor

NM - Shanter
MS - file

file - VEP - 1965 Gen. corresp.

October 25, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

First, allow me to introduce myself as the new Community Relations Director of CORE. Marvin Rich is now executive director of CORE Scholarship Education and Defense Fund.

We are very pleased that the Southern Regional Council plans to continue voter registration work using the V.E.P. model.

I look forward to being in touch with Mr. Jordan and to the development of the closest possible relationship.

Sincerely yours,

Alan Gartner

Alan Gartner
Director,
Community Relations

AG/rwb

File Sep-1965

SOUTH CAROLINA
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

President
Dr. Charles H. Thomas, Jr.
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Vice-President
Rev. S. T. Spencer
Newberry, South Carolina

Secretary
Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman
Columbia, South Carolina

Treasurer
R. J. Palmer
Sumter, South Carolina

Chaplain
Rev. J. A. Curry
Camden, South Carolina

Field Director
Richard Miles
Columbia, South Carolina

Legal Adviser
Matthew J. Perry
Columbia, South Carolina

Congressional District Chairmen:

1st Congressional District
Billie S. Fleming
Manning, South Carolina

2nd Congressional District
E. A. Finney
Sumter, South Carolina

3rd Congressional District
Rev. S. L. McCain
N. Augusta, South Carolina

4th Congressional District
Harrison Rearden
Greenville, South Carolina

5th Congressional District
R. H. Haile
Camden, South Carolina

6th Congressional District
Dr. R. N. Beck
Florence, South Carolina

Recd 10/28/65

1719 TAYLOR STREET
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA
TELEPHONE 254-5953

October 27, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your informative letter of October 26. We are of course, delighted that Vernon Jordan will be returning to the Council in any capacity. It will be a pleasure to work with him.

Mr. Fleming, Chairman of our Ways & Means Committee, and I recently visited New York in search of funds. We were able to have a cordial visit with Leslie Dunbar who seems happily sconced in his new office which comes equipped with a fireplace. I had visions of secretaries carrying armfuls of firewood up to the fifteenth floor.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Miles

Richard Miles

RM:bb

mmj: The following letters were mailed 10/26/65 to:

Mr. Sam Allen
General Counsel
Community Relations Ser.
Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Roy Wilkins)
Mr. John Morsell)
Mrs. Althea Simmons)
Mr. Clarence Mitchell)

Individual letters; N. Y. office
NAACP
20 West 40th Street

Mr. John M. Brooks
NAACP
404½ North Second St.
Richmond, Va.

Mr. W. C. Patton (NAACP)
234 Hernando St.
Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. Richard Miles
Field Director
SCVEP
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, S. C.

Mr. Jack Greenberg
NAACP Legal Defense and
Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
NYC 10019

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Avenue
NYC 10038

Rev. M. L. King, Jr.
SCLC
334 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 30303

Mr. Louis Martin
Deputy Chairman
Democratic National Com.
1730 "K" St., NW
Washington 20006

Mr. Philip Weightman
COP - AFL-CIO
815 16th St., NW
Washington 20006

Mr. Richard Boone
Executive Director
Citizens Crusade Against
Poverty
2027 Mass. Ave., NW
Washington

(Ltr given to PA for
personal note -- not mailed
with others.)

Mailed 10/28/65:

Dr. Samuel D. Cook
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

MJ

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019

JUdson 6-8397

Rec'd 11/4/65 file Sep. 1965

October 29, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I was very happy to hear of the renewed interest that is being shown in the voter education project. As you know, we worked very closely with it in the past, providing legal assistance whenever it was necessary.

You can feel free to call upon us should the need develop in the future.

Sincerely,

Jack Greenberg/rh

Jack Greenberg
Director-Counsel

JG:rh

Contributions are deductible for U. S. income tax purposes

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

STAFF DIRECTOR

MJ

File Sep-1965

Rec'd 11/4/65

October 29, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of October 19 on the initiation of a new voter education project. I am glad to learn that the new program will be underway and even more glad that Vern Jordan will be heading it. Of course, we will cooperate in any way we can.

In setting up the new program you may want to consider the relevance of the recommendation the Commission made in its report on Voting in Mississippi, "...that the resources of the executive branch be explored for the purpose of establishing an affirmative program to encourage persons to register and vote."

We have had some informal discussion on this recommendation, but no action has been taken thus far to implement it.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

William L. Taylor

File
Sept. 1965 - Gen. Corresp.

Circ ed

Telephone - 355-3874

October 29, 1965

Miss Marian E. Wright
538½ North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Miss Wright:

Thank you for your letter of October 25. It is wonderful to know of your interest in the voter registration program continuing, or rather being revitalized. We also appreciate your sharing your ideas with us, and I feel sure we will find the contacts most helpful.

If, at some later time, you should have time to go into much more detail on your ideas as you mentioned, please make them available to us. We are soliciting all ideas in an effort to make the program a continuing success.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

538½ North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi
October 25, 1965

355-3874

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

I'm sorry that I am so late in replying to your letter of August 27th. I have been out of town for several weeks and am very much behind in everything. I hope, however, that this will be of some help to you.

Am heartened that your office is interested in revitalizing the voter education program. I was extremely disturbed when the program lapsed. It is more crucial, not less, with the new Federal voting law, to mobilize the Negro community around issues of importance to them and begin to prepare them for effective use of the vote as well as actually encouraging them to register and vote.

At present, I know of no effective full time effort being made in the voting area. Of course, voter registration is the underlying purpose of most groups but except in a few areas where Federal registrars have been appointed, there is little activity. The question facing all of us is can the FDP and other organizations, construct and sustain a program around local issues.

In order to do this: (1) intensive attention must be given to organizing techniques. Most efforts, some successful, have been hit and miss and few of us really know how to approach, mobilize and influence the Negro community. Leadership workshops in organizing techniques would be of great importance.

(2) Realistic goals must be constructed in order to gear the community toward specific ends. Some intelligent and imaginative choice of issues - schools? - which affects people directly and are a priority - should be seized upon.

Many discussions have been had on those points and several new groups, in addition to FDP and NAACP, are becoming involved. The Citizenship Subcommittee of the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches is planning workshops. This committee is headed by Dr. Gayraud

Wilmore at 475 Riverside Drive, New York City and he would be worth contacting. Mrs. Victoria Gray also informs me that SCLC is planning a series of political education workshops. You might inquire into this. The Jackson committee of the NAACP also discussed last Sunday how to get an effective voter registration campaign launched in Jackson.

In all instances, what seems lacking is the kind of full time, imaginative leadership with long-term commitment to the grass roots organization that's going to be required. At this point, there aren't people who are willing to do the door-to-door canvassing needed and if your groups knows of effective organizers it would be a great boost. Attorney Carsie Hall is one of the local officials who has requested help and would appreciate information from your office. He is at 115½ North Farish Street, Jackson.

This is hurried and perhaps in later leisure I will have time to go into much more detail. Right now, however, immediate contact should be made with those mentioned above.

Sincerely,

Marian E. Wright

Marian E. Wright

MEW j

Recd 11/3/65

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018 • BRyant 9-1400

Please direct reply to:
Washington Bureau
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.
Telephone: National 8-5794

file sep-1965

November 1, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of October 26 concerning the appointment of Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. We have great respect for his ability and welcome his return to non-governmental employment. For your files, please note that my address is 100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., and not 20 West 40th Street, New York City.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence Mitchell

Clarence Mitchell
Director
Washington Bureau

CMM:ewh

MT-file

MEMORANDUM November 3, 1965

To: Paul Anthony

From: Vernon E. Jordan

This prospectus for a southwide voter project is three-pronged. It focuses on the needs of the million and a half Negro voters in the region whom we now can reasonably expect will comprise the total of those who have become initiated to the political process between the spring of 1962 and the fall of 1966. It focuses on registering the two million we can also reasonably anticipate will remain unregistered by that date. And it focuses on a pragmatic appraisal of the Southern Regional Council's past Voter Education Project for what is applicable to the situation in the fall of 1965.

In three and a half years of scrutiny we have observed no area where civic education and voting are not needed. We know of some places where civic education is the greatest need and of others where registration should have priority. There is evidence that in both instances one catalyzes the other.

Among the two million unregistered are an incalculable number which will not ever become registered without

innovational programs and concentrated resources to trigger their activity. In the Foggy Bottoms, Vine Cities and Dark Towns as well as among the more dispersed populations of rural counties there is a need to find, support and develop indigenous leaders. Persons do exist of the caliber of an illiterate Georgia house painter who persuaded the local school principal, accountant, preacher, lawyer and cook to pool their skills and buildings for a Headstart project after he had heard of the plan, decided his town's children needed it, and produced from Washington the requisit forms. When questioned as to why he of so few talents was designated "Project Director" after their plan was approved, he explained that everyone except him had been leery of so signing the government papers. His talent was clearly leadership.

There is also a need to provide already established, somewhat politically sophisticated groups such as the Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting, the Mississippi Democratic Coalition, the South Carolina Voter Education Project and the Tennessee Voters Council with the impetus and means to reach down to their own hard-core unregisterables and not rest on the attainment of middle class enfranchisement.

Our findings from past efforts have established that it often has taken as much organization and funding to get persons to the polls to vote as it did to accomplish registration. Because of a lack of understanding, many newly registered voters have felt that the act of registration alone was the ultimate in civic responsibility. Of particular interest are two patterns of response to the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In areas where there has been registration and civil rights activity prior to the passage of the law, registration has continued to climb. In areas where there has been little or no community activity for equal rights in the past -- not necessarily this summer -- registration has failed to increase noticeably. We conclude that such activity in communities should be on-going with the emphasis now much shifted from protest to meaningful political activity and education.

The Voting Rights Act does provide new easements to Negro registration. It does not deal with other related problems. At precisely the moment a person presents himself to the registrar and is enrolled on the books, the desirability of civic education and organization concurrent with registration drives becomes apparent. Once registered, a voter is a wielder of power and should be made aware of its effective use. More voters committed to the actual

exercise of the franchise would be developed if the program which initiated their registration were tied in with the promotion of voting for some immediate, tangible gain. (The 1964 election saw the power exercised by the Negro electorate in voting against something.)

Secondly, the newly registered voter is a potential power to someone. The approximately 152,000 voters signed up in five southern states (Ala., Ga., La., Miss., & S.C.) since the bill passed are in many concentrations where there is a leadership vacuum which will not be long neglected by politicians of record. In these areas of no previous political participation, education programs could lessen the danger of the metropolitan oligarchies which have leached so much of their local power from Negroes outside the South.

In this region, more than in any other of the nation, there is the as yet untapped potential for power without the abuses of power. Already the complexion of some southern state and local governments has altered either with the actuality or the inevitability of greater Negro suffrage. So-called white resistance is, perhaps momentarily, fragmented, in assessing the new political day. It is the time for bold, imaginative steps to help

some of the equally dazed national organizations not fail to make the most of the moment. And, finally, in all the confusion of the times, it is more clear than ever before that a registration effort mounted together with a program of issues (as, for example, was the Democratic Coalition in Texas on the poll tax) can be a force for integration. Minimum wage, medical care, housing, crop allotments, and food stamps are specific, binding interests, not effusions of a vague new South.

Rec'd 11/5/65

VJ
MJ

CCAP CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036
Telephone 202 / 234-3645

File VEP-1965 Gen. Corresp.

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C. Virgil Martin
James Patton
Elizabeth Wickenden

Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

November 3, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am in receipt of your letter of October 28 concerning the future plans of the Southern Regional Council and those of Vernon Jordan in particular.

We look forward to a close working relationship with you and Vernon. There will be a lot we can do in common!

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Dick Boone

Richard W. Boone

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

1965 VEP

REGARDING

Barbar Patterson is enclosing figures with some elaborations attached to Leslie W. Dunbar. lth 7

Date (s)

November 17, 1965

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT
Field Foundation

file
O.E.P. 1965
(gen. corresp.)

November 29, 1965

Mr. Russell Sugarman
588 Vance Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Russell:

At the request of David Hunter, enclosed is a copy of a memorandum that you might find interesting.

We are happy that you have agreed to serve on an advisory committee which will, I hope, see that we do the best job possible in any future voter programs.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - Programming for Civic Education
cc: Mr. David Hunter

OFFICE FILE COPY - NOT TO BE REMOVED FROM FILES

Mississippi

PA

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Voter Education Project
November, 1965

VOTER REGISTRATION
MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY	Tot. Neg. Voters as of 11/64	Tot. Neg. Voters as of 6/62*	Increase 6/62 to 11/64	NW Voting Age Pop. 1960 Census	% of Elig. Negroes Reg.	Tot.[4] Reg.	% Neg. of Tot. Reg.	Tot. LBJ Vote	Tot.BG Vote	No. Neg. Reg. Most Current Fig.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Adams	1,050	1,050		9,340	11.2			1,051	5,732	4,340
Alcorn	61	61		1,756	3.4			1,965	3,260	
Amite	1	1*		3,560				133	2,691	
Attala	61	61		4,262	1.4			248	4,206	
Benton +	150[3]	30*	120	1,419	10.1	2,281	6.6	236	956	248
Bolivar +	612	612		15,939	3.8			740	4,607	1,115
Calhoun	0	0		1,767				295	3,228	
Carroll	6	6		2,704				98	2,042	
Chickasaw	0	0		3,054		4,548		260	3,138	
Choctaw	10[3]			1,105	.9			151	2,096	
Claiborne	50[3]	15*	35	3,969	1.2	1,554	3.2	84	1,225	1,600
Clarke	34[3]	1*	33	2,988	1.1	4,893	.7	253	2,670	

Voter Registration - Mississippi - 2.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Clay+	10	10		4,444				207	2,849	87
Coahoma+	1,371[1]	1,061*	310	14,604	9.4			962	4,158	3,871
Copiah	20[3]	25*	-5	6,407	.3	7,558	.3	239	4,579	
Covington	202	202*		2,032				392	3,056	
Desoto+	4[3]	11*	-7	6,246				461	2,990	
Forrest	172	22*	150	7,495	2.3	13,489	1.3	1,119	9,306	2,172
Franklin	146[3]	236*	-90	1,842	7.9			91	2,211	
George	13[3]	10*	3	580	2.2	4,214	.3	242	2,793	
Greene	43	43*		859				216	1,848	
Grenada	61[3]	135*	-74	4,323	1.4			155	3,650	
Hancock				1,129				1,502	2,576	
Harrison	2,500	2,000		9,670				5,390	16,326	2,825
Hinds+	6,092	4,756*	1,336	36,138	16.8	68,026	9.0	4,994	36,752	8,872
Holmes	41[3]	8*	33	8,757	.5	4,820	.8	110	2,853	741
Humphreys+	2	2		5,561		2,538		82	1,861	167
Issaquena	0	0		1,081		645		34	456	
Itawamba	47	47		463	10.2			1,393	2,649	

Voter Registration - Mississippi - 3.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Jackson	1,400	1,400		5,133				2,269	11,352	1,797
Jasper	6	6		3,675	.16	4,510	.13	154	1,397	
Jefferson+	0	0		3,540				69	1,258	
Jefferson Davis	76	76*		3,222		3,362		235	2,344	462
Jones	623		623	7,427	8.4			2,090	13,036	2,189
Kemper	10[3]	30*	-20	3,221	.3			193	2,090	
Lafayette	134	134		3,239	4.1			717	3,136	
Lamar	0	0*		1,071		5,752		289	2,830	
Lauderdale	1,200[3]	2,000	-800	11,924	10.1	19,700	6.1	1,604	13,753	3,800
Lawrence	356	356		1,720				216	2,375	
Leake	150[3]	116*	34	3,397	4.4	6,220	2.4	320	4,051	676
Lee	231	231		5,130	4.5			2,480	5,111	
Leflore+	358 470[2]	258*	100	13,567	3.5	7,629	4.7	380	5,574	496
Lincoln	516[3]			3,913	13.2			437	6,850	
Lowndes	70[3]	95*	-25	8,362	.8	8,786	.8	526	6,122	
Madison+	151	121*	30	10,366	1.5	6,474	2.3	246	3,314	4,741
Marion	400[3]	363*	37	3,630	11.0	15,506	2.6	531	5,460	609

Voter Registration - Mississippi - 4.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Marshall	182	57*	125	7,168	2.5	4,406	4.1	340	2,253	
Monroe	9	9		5,610				1,069	6,074	
Montgomery	11	11		2,627	0.4			131	3,190	
Neshoba	8[3]			2,565				256	5,429	
Newton	32[3]	104*	-72	3,018	1.1			238	4,718	143
Noxubee	0	0		5,172				68	1,903	
Oktibbeha	107	107		4,952	2.2	4,541	2.4	390	3,965	
Panola	902	2*	900	7,250	12.4	6,800	13.3	403	3,987	1,665
Pearl River	0	0		2,473				722	4,011	
Perry	127	127		1,140	11.1			178	1,795	
Pike	250	207	43	6,936	3.6			538	6,427	1,750
Pontotoc	6[3]			1,519	0.4			707	2,749	
Prentiss	18			1,070	1.7			1,009	2,300	
Quitman	435	436*	-1	5,673	7.7			337	2,066	494
Rankin	43	43		6,944	.6			332	7,408	200
Scott	28[3]			3,752	.7	5,416	.5	269	4,975	
Sharkey	3	3		3,152				127	1,114	

Voter Registration - Mississippi-5.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Simpson	61			3,186	1.9			271	4,948	
Smith	24	24		1,293	1.8			243	3,980	
Stone	41[3]	39	2	868	4.7			276	2,821	
Sunflower	167	161	6	13,524	1.2	7,267	2.3	156	2,816	793
Tallahatchie	17	5*	12	6,483		4,481	.4	255	3,157	387
Tate	0	0		4,326				283	2,393	
Tippah	176	176		1,281	13.7			970	2,475	
Tishomingo	6	6		359	1.7			1,007	2,024	
Tunica	22[3]	42*	-20	5,822	.4	1,445	1.5	99	945	207
Union	6	6		1,626				1,264	2,917	
Walthall	3[3]	2*	1	2,490		4,540		153	2,991	
Warren	1,100[3]	1,910	-800	10,726	10.3	14,087	7.8	1,531	7,369	3,339
Washington	2,762	1,762*	1,000	20,619	10.2			2,120	6,846	4,600
Wayne	0	0		2,556				258	3,364	
Webster	2	2		1,174				231	2,855	
Wilkinson	110[3]	60*	50	4,120	2.6			103	1,491	
Winston	57	57		3,611	1.6			237	3,949	

Voter Registration - Mississippi - 6.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Yalobusha	4	4		2,441				256	2,389	
Yazoo	178[3]	256*	-78	8,719	2.0			204	4,779	
TOTAL	25,448[5]	21,209	4,239	422,256	6.0	547,448[5]	4.6	512,756	602,381	57,523[6]

*Wherever available, Justice Department figures as of this date are used with an asterisk beside them. When the latter are not available, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights figures for 1960 are used as being the best available data on Mississippi.

Blank spaces indicate no available data.

[1]Justice 8/29/62; [2]Birmingham News 4/63; [3]Congressional Quarterly 7/5/63; [4]U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Registration and Voting Statistics 3/19/65; [5]As of November, 1964, SRC estimated white registration at 525,000 and, incidentally, Negro registration at 28,500. The total registration figure of 547,448 is the sum of 525,000 and 25,448, which now seems a more accurate figure although it does not reflect some unreported registration activity; [6]Sum of more recent figures, where avilable, and, where not, column 1 figures.

+Counties having federal registrars.

MJ. file (VEP—proposal 1965)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018 • BRyant 9-1400

December 3, 1965

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ATTENTION: Mr. Vernon Jordan

Gentlemen:

I am sorry I have not been able to write sooner to give the views of the Association on the prospective voter program to be undertaken by the Southern Regional Council. Herewith are a few observations above and beyond the fact that we are pleased to know of the proposed plans and will seek to cooperate in every way.

There is no question as to the immense value of SRC's previous voter registration project, both in adding a substantial number of Negroes to the voting rolls and in helping bring to public attention the difficulties encountered by many Southern Negroes in trying to become voters. The NAACP experience as a participant in VEP was marked occasionally by misunderstanding and by certain problems we faced in complying with the financial requirements through a rather cumbersome system, under which VEP funds came to this office and were then allocated to our voter registration directors (Mr. Patton and Mr. Brooks) and further dispensed by them for the on-the-scene costs of local campaigns. I would hope that participation in the new program will permit more direct remittance and accounting in the interest of greater efficiency.

The former Voter Education Project unquestionably found that problems of organizational competition were a continuing source of headaches. I am not sure that this factor can ever be totally eliminated, given the same circumstances, but I can pledge that the NAACP will do everything it can to keep these problems at a minimum. At the same time, I think it should be apparent that, because of our continuous activity in this field for a great many years, whatever their individual weaknesses may be in one place or another, the NAACP's network of local branches affords the most comprehensive base for voter registration effort. I hope that I can urge this purely on practical grounds and apart from organizational allegiance.

Obviously the amount of money which can be made available is of paramount importance. There is a notion abroad in some quarters that enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the governmental

activity flowing therefrom will pretty much meet the needs for the indefinite future. This, as you well know, is not the case, and its fallaciousness has been several times stressed by Attorney General Katzenbach who has said that the success of the Act is dependent upon voter registration campaigning by the voluntary organizations.

A minimum of one million dollars a year could easily, efficiently and feasibly be budgeted for this work, particularly in view of the need for carrying it beyond the simple registering of voters and into the vital business of voter education so as to ensure that those who are registered actually vote and that they vote intelligently.

I think you should be advised that the NAACP has within the past 30 days submitted a proposal to several foundations for grants to be used in its voter registration work. We do not know what the response will be, but I know it is obvious to all of us that even if we should receive all or part of it the need is great enough to sustain almost any amount of money that can be made available.

We are at present making our most consistent and sustained effort in Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina and Texas, but the restriction to these four states is solely a reflection of the limited resources upon which we can draw at this time. As additional funds come in, the programs will be expanded so that we can beef up the work being done in most of the other states on a more limited basis.

I shall look forward to hearing further from you as your plans and prospects mature.

Very sincerely,

John A. Morsell
Assistant Executive Director

JAM/eb

File copy
V. E. P.

A Proposal for Support of a Project in Citizenship Participation

- : -

Summary

The Southern Regional Council proposes a three-year project in citizenship participation. The primary purpose of this project would be to reach those persons in the region still unregistered and bring them and others more fully into the political life of their communities. To do this we propose to draw heavily on the experience gained from the now concluded Voter Education Project and to develop substantial programs in registration, civic education, and leadership training. Many of these activities would be carried out in close cooperation with the major national civil rights agencies as well as with state and local groups who have an interest in citizenship participation.

For these purposes we propose a budget of $35,900.00 per year for the three-year period. We now have a grant from the Ford Foundation which provides $24,000 per year for the three-year period for this project.

12-7-65

The Southern Regional Council has concluded a Voter Education Project begun in 1962. We believe that program was successful and base this proposal on the experience gained during that project and the needs it revealed.

A New Program

We propose a second project with a somewhat different emphasis. A central purpose of this project, as with the original project, is voter registration, primarily though not exclusively for Negro Southerners. But on the basis of experience, we believe that the achievement of maximum voter registration should also incorporate citizenship education and leadership training. We believe programs in these areas are essential if substantial progress is to be made in voter registration.

This proposal notes and attempts to put into perspective recent developments, particularly recent national legislation and the role and potential role of the United States Department of Justice. We do not anticipate a project in which private organizations would relieve any governmental agency of its responsibilities. Rather, we would hope this project would supplement, support, and encourage the implementation of national directives toward achieving full citizenship guarantees for all people. We believe that the involvement of private agencies is necessary, and that

a partnership between public and private efforts is essential if either is to succeed.

As with the last project, we shall make every effort to see that this program is completely non-partisan. This is not only to comply with the regulations concerning a tax-exempt agency, but because our interest is in a healthy functioning of democracy, and not in local or national partisan politics.

Interagency Cooperation

The programs in this proposal are recommended on the assumption that there will be the closest possible cooperation with the major national civil rights agencies and that these programs will, when feasible, be conducted with and through those agencies. Prior to submitting this proposal we have, by phone, talked with Mr. Roy Wilkins, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Mr. James Forman, and Mr. James Farmer. Generally, there was an agreement on the need for such a program, the hope expressed that such a program could be developed, and an expression of willingness to cooperate. We have been unable to reach Mr. Whitney Young. We did talk with Mr. M. T. Puryear of the National Urban League staff. He indicated he could not commit the League at this point. The director of the Southern Regional office, however, has indicated his wish for full cooperation.

We have talked, too, with a number of other persons in education, unions, political science, human relations, and government.

We are optimistic about the possibilities of cooperation and recognize its essential benefits. It would, however, be misleading to oversimplify this situation. There are strong and deep elements of competition between several of the agencies. This must be noted as well as the possibility of future disenchantment with this project on the part of one or more of the national civil rights groups. This is a situation which calls for candid expression. We note these difficulties to underscore the need and opportunity for a project of this kind to seek cooperation with and among the several agencies. Several references in this proposal are made to that end.

Voter Education and Citizenship Training

The Southern Regional Council proposes a three-year project with the primary purpose of reaching those people of the region who have previously been in varying degrees alienated from full citizenship participation. They will be reached in terms of exercising the franchise and in achieving the maximum degree of involvement in the total political process.

The present 2.3 million registered Negro voters in the South, a million and a half of whom were registered in

the last four years, represent those that were not too difficult to convince of the importance and value of registering and voting. This leaves to be registered better than two million persons many of whom reside in the ghettos, slums, rural poverty pockets and plantations of the South. This project is designed to initiate them into the political process.

Through citizenship education we will seek to show unsophisticated, unregistered persons the direct relation of politics to such bread and butter issues as better housing, employment, administration of justice, education, police and fire protection, office-holding, recreational facilities -- in short, their own self-interest. In this part of the program we will be in large measure developing and extending the work of the earlier Voter Education Project.

Leadership Training

Leadership, finding it and developing it, has been a major concern with all those persons whom we have consulted. What we face in many rural places in the South as federal and private efforts have increased the electorate is a leadership vacuum which will not long be neglected. Already we are receiving some disturbing reports that those presently in power are using, or are threatening to use, the most vindictive means, including economic and physical coercion, to see that those persons

newly registered -- or available to be registered -- will not influence the status quo. In the cities, newly registered Southern voters can be as easily removed from the obligations and blessings of citizenship as have their economic kinfolk in the non-Southern ghettos where power has been taken from them by a paternalistic oligarchy.

We propose an experimental program of some magnitude for the support and training of recognized and potential leaders. We can foresee placing such persons in workshops, day-long or week-long, in cooperation with national agencies, institutions of higher education, and other non-partisan resources. Exposing leaders to areas and problems beyond their own communities would be invaluable in lessening the isolation felt by many of them. It would give them the perspective of sharing experiences and sharing and learning new approaches.

We plan in this instance, and in other ways, to involve some of the colleges and universities of the region. We believe both the physical and intellectual resources of a number of the region's institutions of higher education can be profitably brought into programs of leadership training. Our early approaches to individuals connected with some of these institutions give encouragement to this idea.

The rationale for the leadership training aspect of the program is consistent with our main goal of increased participation in a democracy.

It seems important to note here that in leadership training, as in other aspects of the program, we will not seek to impose rigid formulae or to single out individuals for roles of leadership. Our function will be to provide the best resources available for the development of leadership according to individual potential and local needs. What we aspire to do is to nourish the constructive involvement of citizens with their society.

Method of Operation

To carry out this project we propose a small central staff and minimum central office expenditures with a maximum of the requested project funds spent in program. A proposed budget of $35,900.00 is attached. With the exception of rent, communications and related items noted, we do not propose an overhead expenditure for the Council.

This is an experimental project. We expect and welcome further consultation and guidance from the foundations we are approaching. The staff will place before the Council's Executive Committee any tentative agreements regarding this proposal for that body's approval and guidance.

As stated earlier, the first purpose of this project shall be voter registration. Therefore, we would hope to have an opportunity for the closest possible cooperation with, and support of, the soundest groups now organized for voter registration.

Besides the five major civil rights organizations, the groups include such state and local organizations as the South Carolina Voter Education Project, the Alabama State Coordinating Committee for Registration and Voting, the Tennessee Voters Council, the Durham Council on Negro Affairs, and the Jefferson County (Ala.) Coordinating Committee for Registration and Voting.

In addition to direct financial support, the project will offer central staff services to participating groups. We will in turn rely on these groups for program development and have, in fact, already begun this process.

Where we provide funds for local programs developed by chapters of national organizations we believe it will prove most efficient to give funds directly to the program group rather than route them through national offices. There seems to be general agreement among the agencies for this. If this is done, it will alleviate the need for the several agencies to establish the administrative machinery necessary for handling such grants. Their responsibilities would be handled by

project staff. The selection of such program groups and the extent to which they are assisted will be determined in consultation with the national agencies.

Other Resources

Various private organizations may figure in the project other than as direct recipients of funds or personnel. For example, the Labor Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, the Citizenship Education Program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, or Project Enable of the National Urban League will be developing programs which can make resource persons available to functioning programs. Conversely, the activities of those agencies may make use of the materials and personnel provided by this project.

Program, as it will evolve from the concerns of national organizations and from other groups geared to dealing with local issues will reflect what they, in their own judgment, can accomplish well and find desirable to attempt. Their purposes may sometimes be only akin to the aims of the project. The needs of many areas are not clearly and immediately known to us. There are techniques which either have been operative or are still on the drafting boards which have not come to our attention. And there are persons whom we do not know with skills and potentials which

we need. For these reasons it is felt that an advisory committee will bring to the project the best available thinking and information resources, which will cut across boundaries of place and special interest.

The committee will be composed of persons with no direct civil rights organizational identity but who are more than conversant with the work of the organizations and have some appreciation of the problems of competition for credit in this area. The committee members will also have some direct involvement in the areas of registration, voter education and politics, either through study or personal participation. The project would like to solicit viewpoints and the committee meetings should be in the fullest sense an open forum. Provision would be made for a minimum of four meetings annually.

Advisory Committee Members

What this committee can do for the project is perhaps best illustrated by listing those persons who have, thus far, agreed to serve if such a committee is formed. They are:

Norman Hill, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
Russell Sugarman, Memphis attorney
Frank Smith, Director, Tennessee Valley Authority
C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Richard Miles, Director, South Carolina Voter Education Project
Hank Brown, President of Texas State AFL-CIO
Jesse Hill, Atlanta businessman
John H. Wheeler, President, Southern Regional Council
Samuel D. Cook, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Atlanta University

Other persons shall be added to this list. We will make a special effort to see that representation from backward areas is included.

Involvement of Students

The project would seek a maximum involvement of young people, particularly those now in college. This has both an aspect of leadership training and of directing the energies of these young people into this area of concern.

In the proposed budget there is an item which would allow the project to give a number of modest scholarships to college students to encourage their interest and to allow them time to work in voter registration and citizenship education. This item is included in the proposal because of our observation of student activity in this area and the substantially greater potential if students are given direction, instruction, and financial assistance.

We also propose a similar number of grants to students for summer work. These students, carefully selected, would be made available to assist local programs in voter registration and citizenship education, including community organization.

Research

There is a substantial research and information program in this project. The first need is for brief reports for distribution to individuals and groups engaged in voter education and citizenship training on subjects ranging from voter statistics to a description of successful local programs. Primarily this function would be to quickly gather and share information and training materials.

We would also encourage and support local groups in developing their own materials. Effective communication below the level of the middle-class electorate is at once our greatest challenge and a goal of great constructive potential.

The adjunctive benefits of research undertaken or supported by the project would be two-fold. First, it would serve as a journal of events in this arena for which, incidentally, the only precedent is the book now being written from the Voter Education Project, scheduled for publication next year. Second, it will encourage an enlightened recognition of our efforts by the politically concerned everywhere.

Proposed Budget, One Year

Program and Administrative Costs:

Salaries and staff benefits (Including project director, field representative, research director, research aide, administrative aide, and secretary)		$ 48,500.00
Other central office costs		
Travel	$ 8,000.00	
Telephone and telegraph	4,000.00	
Materials and equipment	4,000.00	
Postage	4,000.00	
Rent	2,400.00	
Other	2,000.00	
Auditing	1,000.00	25,400.00
Consultants (Research & Program)		
Travel and fees		6,000.00
Meetings (Travel and Other Expenses)		
Advisory committee (to meet 4 times a year)	$ 4,000.00	
Statewide meetings (annually in each of 6 states)	6,000.00	
Other meetings and travel	4,000.00	14,000.00
Program Aids and Interns		
Salaries and Travel (full time)	$25,000.00	
Summer student workers (80 @ $250 each)	20,000.00	
Student work-scholarships (80 @ $250 each)	20,000.00	65,000.00
	Total:	$158,900.00
Funds for Program Grants, in cooperation with national, state and local groups		200,000.00
	Grand total:	$358,900.00

file
Sep - 1965

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Goodman, Mr. William B. and/or Wentworth, Richard L.

REGARDING: Correspondence related to:

Proposed VEP book and publication of same

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Folder marked: "Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc."
and,
"Louisiana State University Press"

file sep-1965

This prospectus for a southwide voter project is three-pronged. It focuses on the needs of the million and a half Negro voters in the region whom we now can reasonably expect will comprise the total of those who have become initiated to the political process between the Spring of 1962 and the Fall of 1966. It focuses on registering the two million we can also reasonably anticipate will remain unregistered by that date. And it focuses on a pragmatic appraisal of the Southern Regional Council's past Voter Education Project for what is applicable to the situation in the Fall of 1965.

In three and a half years of [redacted] scrutiny we have observed no area where civic [redacted] education and voting are not needed. We know of some places where civic education is the greatest need and of others where registration should have priority. There is evidence that in both instances one catalyzes the other.

Among the two million unregistered are an incalculable number which will not ever become registered without innovational programs and concentrated resources to trigger their activity. In the Foggy Bottoms, Vine Cities and Dark Towns as well as among the more dispersed populations of rural counties there is a need to find, support and develop indigenous leaders. Persons do exist of the caliber of an illiterate Georgia house painter who persuaded the local school principle, accountant, preacher, lawyer and cook to pool their skills and buildings for a Headstart project after he had heard of the plan, decided his town's children needed it, and produced from

Washington the requisite forms. When questioned as to why he of so few talents was designated "Project Director" after their plan was approved, he explained that everyone except him had been leery of so signing the government papers. His talent was clearly leadership.

There is also a need to provide already established, somewhat politically sophisticated groups such as the Alabama State Coordinating Assocaition for Registration and Voting, the Mississippi Democratic Coalition, the South Carolina Voter Education Project and the Tennessee Voters Council with the impetus and means to reach down to their own hard-core unregisterables and not rest on the attainment of middle class enfranchisement.

Our findings from past efforts have established that it often has taken as much organization and funding to get persons to the polls to vote as it did to accomplish registration. Because of a lack of understanding, many newly registered voters have felt that the act of registration alone was the ultimate in civic responsibility. Of particular interest are two patterns of response to the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In areas where there has been registration and civil rights activity prior to the passage of the law, registration has continued to climb. In areas where there has been little or no community activity for equal rights in the past - <u>not necessarily this summer</u> - registration has failed to increase noticeably. We conclude that such activity in communities should be on-going with the emphasis now much shifted from protest to meaningful political activity and education.

The Voting Rights Act does provide new ~~machinery to~~ easements to Negro registration. It does not deal with other problems related ~~to voter registration.~~ At precisely the moment a person presents himself to the registrar and is enrolled on the books, the desirability of civic education and organization concurrent with registration drives becomes apparent. Once registered, a voter is a wielder of power and should be made aware of its effective use. More voters committed to the actual exercise of the franchise would be developed if the program which inititated their registration were tied in with the promotion of voting <u>for</u> some immediate, tangible gain. (The 1964 election saw the power exercised by the Negro electorate in voting <u>against</u> something.)

Secondly, the newly registered voter is a potential power <u>to</u> someone. The approximately 152,000 voters signed up in five southern states (Ala., Ga., La., Miss., & S.C.) since the bill passed are in many concentrations where there is a leadership vacuum which will not be long neglected by politicians of record. In these areas of no previous political participation, education programs could lessen the danger of the metropolitan oligarchies which have leached so much of their local power from Negroes outside the South.

In this region, more than in any other of the nation, there is the as yet untapped potential for power without the abuses of power. Already the complexion of some southern state and local governments has altered either with the actuality or the inevitability of greater Negro suffrage. So-called white resistance is, perhaps momentarily, fragmented, in assessing the new political day. It is the time for

bold, imaginative steps to help some of the equally dazed national organizations not fail to make the most of the moment. And finally, in all the confusion of the times, it is more clear than ever before that a registration effort mounted together with a program of issues (as, for example, was the Democratic Coalition in Texas on the poll tax) can be a force for integration. Minimum wage, medical care, housing, crop allotments, and food stamps are specific, binding interests, not effusions of a vague new South.

Make folder
SRC Promotion - 1966

THE NATIONAL OBSERVER
WASHINGTON, D. C.
W. 205,878

JAN 10 1966

Biracial Group Plans Big Voter Drive In Seven Southern States

ATLANTA.

A major biracial organization, the Southern Regional Council, plans to undertake a three-year campaign beginning in February in seven Southern states to attain "a substantial increase" in the number of Negroes registered to vote.

Although no prediction has been made of the possible success of the project, it could put as many as 1,000,000 new Negro voters on the rolls in time for the next Presidential election.

The Council hopes to co-ordinate the campaign on a nonpartisan basis, with five major civil-rights groups doing the field work. The groups are the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee, Congress of Racial Equality, and the Urban League.

Vernon Jordan, who will direct the campaign, said the aim would be more than mere voter registration, and would include voter education and community action. "We want to get voters involved in the election process," he said.

The project will be concentrated in the seven Southern states affected by the Voting Rights Act—Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, and North Carolina—in which an average of 39 per cent of eligible Negroes are registered. —JOHN PENNINGTON

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1730 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

JOHN M. BAILEY
CHAIRMAN

TELEPHONE
FEDERAL 3-6750

January 17, 1966

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director, Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

I am advised that the Southern Regional Council is undertaking a second Voter Education Project which will concentrate on citizenship participation through programs of voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training.

The first Project sponsored by the Council had the full endorsement of the Democratic National Committee because of its interest in achieving a broader participation in the democratic processes by all citizens of this country.

The Democratic National Committee commends you on the substantial achievements of the first Project and wishes you every success on this second and broader effort.

We look forward to receiving the periodic reports and studies that the Project will distribute.

Best wishes for a successful program.

Sincerely

John Bailey

John M. Bailey

File
Rep. Gen., 1966

January 18, 1966

Miss Analoyce E. Clapp
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 18th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Miss Clapp:

Paul Anthony asked me to answer your query about our programs in Louisiana. It's too simple: we have none as yet. Consequently, I'm unable to give you any details about time, money, personnel, geographical area, or to make projections. What I can do is enclose fairly current county-by-county Negro voter registration figures. Also, if you are not already aware of Southern Consumers Cooperative (P.O. Box 3005, Lafayette, La.) and the on-going registration effort of the League of Women Voters in New Orleans, you will want to be alert to them both. The former is a predominantly rural organization now operative in 18 parishes, I'm told, which has done community programs and could do voter registration. The latter, of course, is urban . I wish we could be of more help, but the statistics at least give a pretty good picture of where registration stands now.

Sincerely,

Enclosure

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Research
Voter Project

~~To~~ Barbara Patterson
Please answer at your convenience and return to general files
RM per VA

Dear Paul:

I hope you can take a couple of minutes to answer a few questions about your voter registration projects. I am interested in Louisiana, because of the impending race there for U. S. Senate.

Can you give me an inkling about the size of your operation there: time-wise, money-wise, personnel-wise? How many new voters can you expect in Louisiana before the primary in August? Are you concentrating on rural areas or dividing pretty evenly between country and city?

I will appreciate ever so much being clued in.

Most sincerely,

Analoyce

Analoyce E. Clapp

The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 18th Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.20036
Jan. 6, 1966

P.S. - Need I say I am not working for the incumbent Senator?

Hi to Vernon

See sep. gen. Corresp. 1966

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Voter Education Project, 1966

REGARDING

System of accounting

DATE

January 19, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Sowell and Harden CPA Firm

Submitted to Adrian DeWind & Joe Hass - 1/21/66 see ltrs of this date

File Copy
[redacted] Sowell & Harden

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
Notes re System

/19/66
PD

The following ideas indicate our present thinking on the way in which the Voter Education Project's system should work.

Grant funds supplied to the project should be deposited to a general bank account of the Southern Regional Council. As they are needed for the functioning of the project, they should be transferred to the VEP operating account.

This operating account would be for the purpose of administering the grants to cooperate agencies. The regular bank accounts of SRC would be used for payment of VEP operating expenses as designated in the budget for the project. This would increase clerical efficiency in handling cash disbursements.

The Administrative Aide of the project would perform the following functions:

A. Maintenance of the Cash Receipts and Disbursements Journal for the VEP operating account.

B. Audit of the Weekly Reports submitted by cooperating agencies.

C. Disbursement of funds to cooperating agencies.

D. Estimating cash requirements for grants from month to month.

E. Maintenance of summaries of grants schedules and preparing lists each month of the status (total grant, disbursements to date, balance of grant) of the grants.

F. Reconciliation of the bank accounts of cooperating agencies and audit of their disbursements.

G. Estimating cash requirements for VEP operating expenses from month to month.

H. Examination and approval of all vouchers submitted for payment out of VEP funds.

It is our thinking that grants to the local agencies would be handled as follows. After approval of the grant the agency would be required to establish a separate bank account in its own locale. SRC would mail a deposit directly to the bank for an amount approximating two weeks cash supply for the program. This amount would be maintained on an imprest basis.

Each week the agency would submit a report itemizing all disbursements from this account and enclosing appropriate vouchers for each disbursement. No special check form is contemplated at the present time. The Administrative Aide would audit this report and reimburse the bank account for the amount spent. In this way the balance in the bank should be constant until the local project approaches termination. Then the funds would either be refunded or used up (with appropriate reporting).

The bank should be instructed to mail all bank statements directly to SRC. The Administrative Aide would reconcile these bank accounts and perform certain auditing procedures each month.

Few changes in the duties of Mrs. Alexander are contemplated. She would continue to reconcile the VEP operating account. She would also handle payment of operating expenses (after approval as mentioned above) for the project. Her monthly financial statements would be enlarged to include a Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the Voter Education Project.

SOWELL AND HARDEN
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS
BANK OF GA. BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
688-7195

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1625 EYE STREET NORTHWEST • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 • NAtional 8-6800

RAY C. BLISS
CHAIRMAN

February 8, 1966

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

I have noted with interest the activities of Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Republicans have always been dedicated to the development of a strong two-party system in every State of the Union. A prerequisite of a strong two-party system is a deep interest and participation in civic affairs by an ever-increasing proportion of the American citizenry.

The "office of the citizen" which all of us hold is a precious heritage and Republicans today, as in the past, commend those efforts which facilitate the strengthening of our two-party system.

Sincerely yours,

Ray Bliss

Ray C. Bliss

RCB:jd

orig & c to VEP

Orig NM 3-8-66

February 15, 1966

Mr. and Mrs. Buddy Tieger
P. O. Box 35
Powellsville, North Carolina

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Tieger:

Your request for assistance - which sounds to me a very sound one - is being forwarded to Vernon Jordan, Director, of our Voter Education Project. You will be hearing from him shortly.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 2/14/66

P.O. Box 35
Powellsville, North Carolina
February 9, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

My wife and I have been working here in Bertie County, and, to a lesser extent, in Northampton County, since July, 1965. We had understood that we were to be working with a SNCC North Carolina project, but that project never developed, and we were left holding a large bag of project expense receipts. We exhausted our own money (about $1,200) and have been getting along in the last couple months through an occasional ten or twenty dollars from this or that friend. Also our parents gave us the money to get a used Volkswagen when our car gave out. We have had to cutback to some extent on our work here, and the outlook is bleak for being able to continue. We spoke with John Ehle recently and he suggested that you might be able to help us continue our work.

Our work has been directed toward developing the Bertie County Voters Movement, a loosely structured group of Negroes from all parts of the county. The Voters Movement has been invloved in a wide array of programs and has won several substantial victories. Not the least important success has been the emergence of strong and capable indigenous community organizers in nearly every precinct. In October, 1965 the voter registration books were open for three Saturdays. Prior to that time only 1400 Negroes were on the books. The Voters Movement was largely responsible for getting 2,118 Negroes to register, bringing the total to over 3,500. Subsequently the books have been open on 6 additional Saturdays, and 220 more Negroes have registered. There are now 3,771 Negroes and 5,639 whites registered: Negroes have gone from 20% to 40% of the registered electorate during the past few months. There remain 2,442 unregistered adult Negroes, so only 60.7% of eligible Negroes have registered at this time. In the special Congressional primary this December, the Negro candidate came within 25 votes of carrying Bertie County, and we hope to elect significant numbers of Negro county officials in May.

We believe that we are on the verge of a real breakthrough here. We feel that some of the local people who have proved so effective in mobilizing their communities will be able to spread into neighboring counties to organize indiginous grass-roots organizations that will also be able to register large numbers of Negroes.

To carry on with our work here in Bertie County, and to begin to break ground in other counties we will need money for project expenses and some minimal subsistence money for ourselves, as we have spent all our money and have drained all other sources.

We can operate effectively on a budget of about $350 per month. Judging by past experience, this will break down somewhat as follows:

rent, electricity, wood	$45
car (about 900 miles/week)	100
telephone	60
postage, paper, mimeo material	45
food, personal, miscellaneous	100

If additional outside staff should be available to come here to work, or if local people should want to work full-time, there will be some small expense increment.

We hope to hear from you soon, and hope that you will be able to give us the help we need.

For Freedom--

Buddy Tieger

Buddy & Ginny Tieger

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS:

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1966

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

The two million unregistered Negroes in the 11 southern states and the two and a third million already registered will be the focus of an enlarged Voter Education Project announced today by the Southern Regional Council.

The Project is a continuation of a similar endeavor operated by the Council from 1962 to 1964. It is estimated that programs associated with the Voter Education Project registered 700,000 Negroes in the 11 southern states during a two and a half year period.

The Project will work cooperatively with the five major civil rights agencies as well as with non-affiliated responsible local organizations.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the National Urban League have expressed support for the aim of the Voter Education Project.

The Project will be located in Atlanta and will have Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., an attorney and native of that city, as director. Mr. Jordan was formerly assistant to the director of the Southern Regional Council. He served as consultant to the Community Action Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Southeastern Area, while on leave from the Council during 1965.

What has been accomplished to date in the South, according to Mr. Jordan, is "largely middle class enfranchisement. We need to reach down deeper into our communities and register people who have not been reached by past efforts."

He added, "We need to remember that political participation does not end with registration. Too many Southerners do not vote because they do not know how to relate their vote to the subsistence issues of their lives."

The special interest of the Project will be fuller participation in citizenship for all persons in the South, but primarily Negro Southerners. To encourage this, local programs of voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training will be sponsored.

In addition, a program of scholarships to students for involvement in voter activities is planned. The resources of numerous colleges and universities in the southern region will be involved in both the student programs and leadership training institutes.

The Project has been endorsed by the Democratic National Committee and the Republican National Committee. Endorsement has also been given by a number of private groups interested in the healthy functioning of democracy.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit, non-partisan organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

##

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

February 24, 1966

file

SRC
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT 1966

See: Letter of February 22, 1966
from Paul Anthony to

Mr. Adrian W. DeWind
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Also: Letter from Mr. DeWind dated 2/9/66
to Paul Anthony regarding VEP

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Katzenbach Luncheon - Monday, February 28, 1966
(First big event sponsored by Voter Education Project under Vernon Jprdan's directorship)

REGARDING

DATE

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

press releases, etc.

For all correspondence/relating to this affair see NOBBIE MORGAN's VEP files for 1966.

Make folder: Katzenbach luncheon file in V.E.P section

2/15/66

PA has written to the following sending invitations to Feb. 28 Katzenbach dinner:

S&B&
SRC Executive Committee - 15
SRC Board - 97(excluding Exec. Cttee.)
Press - 36
State Legislators - 17 (excluding Grace Hamilton(srcbd)
Mr. & Mrs. DeJongh Franklin
Miss Helen Bullard
Mr. Opie Shelton - Chamber of Commerce
Mr. Sam Massell, Jr. (Vice-Mayor of Atlanta)
Federal Judges
in Atl. Judicial Circuit - 5
Georgia Advisory Committee to CRC - 11
1966 Bd. of Directors
(Atl. Chamber of Commerce) - 36
Vernon Eagle, New World
Morris Abram, N.Y.
David Hunter, Stern Fund

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

News clip from Chattanooga Times (with no date indicated)

"Seek to Qualify Negroes to Vote!"

REGARDING

DATE

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Commendations -SRC
(an ~~&&~~ original copy also sent to the VEP files) 3/7/66

See Vol. Finances

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Taconic Foundation

REGARDING

$150,000 grant to the Voter Education Project; $50,000 of which is to be matched.

DATE

March 15, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Taconic Foundation - Currier ltr. of above date

Jan. 1966 cr. ref. Southern Consumers Co-Op. Inc.

March 16, 1966

The Reverend A. J. McKnight
President
Southern Consumers' Cooperative, Inc.
425 General Mouton Street
Lafayette, Louisiana

Dear Father McKnight:

It's good to hear from you again, and to know that Southern Consumers' has an interest in voter education.

Vernon Jordan tells me that the guidelines for the request of support from the Voter Education Project has been sent to Miss Hargrave. You can be sure any request will receive our careful consideration.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 3/15/66

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS'

COOPERATIVE, INC.

425 GENERAL MOUTON STREET · LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70501
P. O. BOX 3005 · PHONE: 232-1126

March 14, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Our Cooperative is still struggling for expansion and financial support. A number of good and important programs have resulted from our being involved in community organization, but we could do much more if we had more Central Staff.

In a few weeks we hope to begin Head Start Programs in about ten Civil Parishes. Some will be in the real poverty areas of North Louisiana. But if the programs are to be succesful it will mean some over-all staff must be available for programs with parents. This program should be Voter education and Social and Economic education.

If it is possible to receive help from your programs for voter education we would be most grateful for any assistance you might give us.

We did speak to Mr. Vernon Jordan and he said he would send us a guide-line and then we could submit a proposal. We are still waiting for a guide-line, but thought since you know of our work programs we might write and discuss the possibilities with you.

Thanking you for your continued help and encouragement in our work.

Sincerely,

A. J. McKnight

Rev. A. J. McKnight, C.S.Sp., President

cc: Vernon Jordan
Jack Sisson

file prep.

MEMORANDUM March 17, 1966

To: VEJordan

From: PAnthony

Attached is the letter of approval of the VEP grant from Taconic. The news that this grant will be paid in three (3) payments, the first perhaps as late as June 15, is very disturbing. I shall take this up with Jane Lee as soon as possible to see if we cannot step this up.

Are we in agreement that most of the program grants for this year need to be made by mid-summer?

Please note the request for detailed, quarterly reports and a request for reports of the Advisory Committee, and set up some sort of schedule for this purpose. In this instance I think they really mean it.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

SRC - VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT 1966

REGARDING

3/17/66
Letter to Mr. Stephen R. Currier
Taconic Foundation, N. Y.
from Paul Anthony

DATE

3/17/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Filed in Taconic Foundation, Inc.
New York, New York

Rec'd 3/21/66

MJ - file

VEP

ARKANSAS PROJECT
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
700 West Ninth
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

March 18, 1966

make cross ref. file

Mr. Vernon E. Jordon, Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordon:

The Arkansas Project of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has considered very carefully your response to their request for a voter registration grant. We regret to inform you that we will not be able to accept the grant proposed in your March 10, 1966 letter.

We are sure that you share our disappointment over this. There is not, in all candor, another group in all of Arkansas capable of implementing a voter registration project as effectively as we. This is particularly true of the places mentioned in our proposal. The Negro people in Eastern Arkansas will certainly be deprived by this situation of an oppurtunity to significantly augment their political power in this too much ignored state. We fear that the Voter Education Project's actions indicate an insufficient awareness of the requirements and potentialities of voter registration work in Arkansas.

In two basic respects the funding offered by VEP is unacceptable.

(1) Duration: The request we made covered a period of five months--from the present through the first primary this summer. A comprehensive program would have been possible under a grant of such length. A six week grant raises the following questions:

a) Is it efficacious to begin a registration drive of such length that its termination follows close upon the approach of maximum effectiveness?

b) Is it judicious to begin a registration campaign which terminates months before the primary election and thereby by

failing to take advantage of the incentive for registration which vigorous political campaigns characteristically generate?

c) We are cognizant of the fact that your letter stated that the grant would be renewed after the initial six weeks. However, in light of the fact that we have no idea of what criteria you will use to judge the effectiveness of our program we have serious doubts as to whether it will pay for us to establish intricate administrative and program machinery for a six week grant.

The answer to all of these questions, from our experience, is "no". If the Voter Education Project genuinely contemplates a six week campaign, we decline to participate in such a parody of a real program. If, on the other hand, V.E.P. anticipates extending the grant, we fail to understand the basis of the initial limitation. The reporting system insures that gross inefficiency can be met by cessation of funds. We had been sufficiently naive, moreover, to assume that SNCC's successful Jefferson County registration program in 1963 (funded by an earlier VEP grant) would have provided abundant evidence of our capabilities. If the Voter Education Project is unwilling to make a more sustained commitment to registration activities in Arkansas, we must remain firm in our decision to reject a grant.

(2) <u>Amount</u>: We appreciate the pressures under which the Voter Education Project must operate in allocating very scarce resources. But we fear that in its eagerness to enforce frugality (a requirement with which we are abundantly familiar), VEP lowered its appropriations below the minimum feasible levels. This infeasibility is reflected in three areas:

(a) Refusal to fund the Little Rock Administrative office. The whole recognition by VEP that a director and his administrative assistant are essential to running a multi-county program is inconsistent with its refusal to fund, on any basis whatsoever, such essential expenses of these administrators as transportation and communication. The rejection by VEP of suggests for funding this office even on a percentage basis (60%, for example, would cover the cost of the two items mentioned above) raises questions about the viability of the overall project, especially when considered in connection with the other limitations of the grant.

Moreover, we must emphasize that we regard as altogether inappropriate your attempts to persuade us to relocate our central administrative office. In response to your request at our first meeting, in Atlanta, we explained in detail why we feel this office must remain located in Little Rock, and why it is essential to the functioning of the registration project for there to be such an office.

(b) Insufficient funds for the operation of any system of communications in connection with the registration drive. In addition to the problem of the Little Rock telephone, the allocation for field telephones reflects a certain lack of realism. The fifteen dollars per project for telephones (which comes to ten dollars per month) is not enough to cover the base charges anywhere in the state. The whole concept of county-wide activity, moreover, requires long distance calls to be made regularly. This is not even to speak of the physical security of field workers. Perhaps one day the delta will be secure enough for far-flung SNCC workers to travel across it without fear -- and without the need for constant telephone contacts. That day, however, has not yet come. Funds may be scarce but we confess that we are unwilling to decide so easily to endanger the lives of our field personnel and those close to them.

(c) The mechanical reduction of salaries. We realize the temptation of the budget-slasher to pare every proposed item. However, a look at the salary proposed ($35.00 per week)

might have indicated that there was no padding there. As the Voter Education Project should well know, SNCC workers are not known to quit working as soon as they have put in forty hours a week. It would be more like an eighty hour week. The salary that you propose represents something in the neighborhood of forty cents an hour. Contrary to what many people might like to think SNCC workers do not enjoy going hungry. It is only that our past financial condition has forced us to accept this.

We wonder what the salary is of the person who cut our salaries to a mere thirty dollars a week. We feel certain that no one on the administrative staff of the VEP has a salary within $100 of what you expect us to work for.

As you will remember, in our initial conversation in your office, James Forman, the Executive Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, indicated that SNCC would only become involved with VEP if it was treated as an equal with other organizations. Three years ago when the first VEP grants were made, SNCC was not treated as an equal, and whether people want to admit it or not the things that are now possible in some areas of the South would not have happened if it had not been for SNCC people doing work that no one was willing to do. Despite all those accomplishments SNCC was not treated as an equal then and VEP seems determined not to treat SNCC as an equal now.

The Arkansas Project was tempted to accept this grant. We might easily have gone through the motions of running a meaningful registration project. But without phones in the project areas, without provision for the expenses of the directors of the program, without adequate salaries, and without adequate consideration to duration, how effective could we have been?

In any event, it would be as dishonest to the VEP as to ourselves for us to accept the grant on the terms mandated in your letter. We only hope that VEP has been more circumspect in dealing with the requests of states to which VEP perhaps attaches greater significance.

Our financial status suggests that it would not be unduly pessimistic to expect the liquidation or collapse of Arkansas SNCC within the next few weeks. If there is any willingness on the part of the Voter Education Project to arrive at signiificant accomodations with us, we respectfully suggest that this possibility be communicated to us promptly. A delay of any substantial length may find plans for our dissolution sufficiently advanced that the continuation of the Arkansas Project is no longer practicable.

Our best wishes for a fruitful project.

Yours truly,

Rev. Benjamin S. Grinage
State Project Director
The Arkansas Project

BSG:mhz

cc: John Lewis

Leslie W. Dunbar
Field Foundation

Director
Ford Foundation

Mrs. Jane L. Eddy
Taconic Foundation

Paul Anthony

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 3-6764

March 10, 1966

Mr. Benjamin Grenige
President
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
700 West 9th Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Mr. Grenige:

The Voter Education Project has carefully considered the request of the Arkansas Project, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee to conduct a voter registration campaign in eight counties, as listed below. We are pleased to inform you that we have approved your program in the amount of $4,350.00 for a six week period to run from March 21 to May 2, 1966.

We are limiting the grant to six weeks subject to review and the availability of additional funds. The amount granted is to cover the following:

St. Francis County

Rent @ $40.00 per month	$ 60.00
Utilities	20.00
Telephone	15.00
Transportation	112.50
Office Supplies	25.00
	$ 232.50

Phillips County

Rent @ $40.00 per month	$ 60.00
Utilities	20.00
Telephone	15.00
Transportation	112.50
Supplies	25.00
	$ 232.50

Lee County

Rent @ $40.00 per month	$ 60.00
Utilities	20.00
Telephone	15.00
Transportation	75.00
Supplies	25.00
	$ 195.00

Monroe County

Rent @ $40.00 per month	$ 60.00
Utilities	20.00
Telephone	15.00
Transportation	75.00
Supplies	25.00
	$ 195.00

Arkansas County

Rent @ $40.00 per month	$ 60.00
Utilities	20.00
Telephone	15.00
Transportation	75.00
Supplies	25.00
	$ 195.00

Crittenden County

Rent @ $40.00 per month	$ 60.00
Utilities	20.00
Telephone	15.00
Transportation	90.00
Supplies	25.00
	$ 210.00

Jefferson County

Rent @ $40.00 per month	$ 60.00	
Utilities	20.00	
Telephone	15.00	
Transportation	75.00	
Supplies	25.00	
	$ 195.00	

Lincoln County

Rent @ $40.00 per month	$ 60.00	
Utilities	20.00	
Telephone	15.00	
Transportation	75.00	
Supplies	25.00	
	$ 195.00	$1,650.00
Fifteen full-time staff workers, @ $38.00 per week	$2,700.00	$2,700.00
		$4,350.00

Our guidelines require you to establish a separate bank account, and forward to VSP a copy of the signature card, and an ample supply of deposit slips and the name and address of the bank. The Project will mail a deposit directly to the bank for an amount approximating two weeks cash supply for the program, a copy of the deposit slip will be forwarded to you. You should, however, instruct the bank to mail all bank statements directly to SRC. These will become a part of our records, and should you need access to them, they will be available.

A report itemizing all disbursements and enclosing appropriate vouchers for each disbursement is expected each week. This report is due Wednesday of each week. This report is to be certified by the individual responsible for your project reporting by placing his signature in the appropriate space on the weekly report. The Project will audit this report and reimburse the bank account for the amount spent. We are enclosing a copy of the Reporting Requirements of Recipient Organizations. You and other officers of your project should read these carefully and familiarize yourselves with the requirements.

To facilitate the Project's research aims, you are required to submit semi-monthly reports setting forth the following: a) number of persons registered, b) method used in getting persons to the registration office, c) increase of the number of new voters in the two week period, d) problems, if any, encountered with local registrars, police, or private citizens, e) threats of intimidation or economic reprisals, if any, f) samples of material, leaflets, programs. Suggested forms for this reporting are provided.

These funds may not be used to support partisan politics in any manner whatsoever, nor to influence legislation of any kind, nor in behalf of or against any political candidate. You should strongly urge and welcome non-partisan support of your voter registration activities.

Our Research Director, Mrs. Barbara Patterson, will write you regarding further special reporting requirements.

If you have any questions, please let us hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

cc: Mr. John Lewis
Chairman, SNCC
Atlanta, Ga.

The Arkansas Project
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
700 West 9th Street
(501) FR 5 9081

APPLICATION FOR VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT GRANT

Twenty-two per cent of the people of Arkansas are Negroes --nearly four hundred thousand individuals. Half of them live in a strip of flat, fertile, delta land next to the Mississippi River. Their mode of life there has long been determined by the predominant economic activity of the area, cotton production.

Cotton is a crop that requires intensive cultivation. This back-breaking labor has been performed mainly by Negroes. The pay is poor--80% of the Negro families and unrelated individuals who live in these rural farm areas earn less than $2,000 a year--and so grinding poverty reinforces the tendency to economic dependence and social subordination.

All of this has made the delta Negro highly vulnerable to a pervasive system of discrimination. A dual school system is maintained in Arkansas, twelve years after Brown v. Board of Education. Inequities in physical facilities, pay scales, student-teacher ratios, libraries, books and fees all serve to strengthen the inherently detrimental effects of segregation. The whole administration of justice is biased, and police freely engage in arbitrary arrests of Negores. Public services such as roads, hospitals, garbage collection, etc. are inferior for Negroes. The farm programs are notorious for their discriminatory practices--from acreage allotments to loans, from agriculture extension services to ASCS elections. And of course Negroes are still restricted, by and large, to menial work.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has been in Arkansas since the fall of 1962. It has been our belief that before meaningful progress can be made on any of these problems Negroes must participate in politics. When Negroes determine the election of sheriffs, mayors and state legislators, and influence the selection of welfare workers, agricultural extension agents and local poverty program officials, these officials will be responsive to the concerns of Negro as well as white citizens. To this end SNCC has long engaged in and encouraged voter registration.

In 1963, under a Voter Educztion Project grant, the Arkansas Project of SNCC conducted an intensive registration drive in Jefferson County, This effort in the period fron June until October 1963 increased registration of Negroes by 50%--from 5000 to 7500. In the following year registration went up to 9500 and for the first time in the county's history, a majority of voting age Negores were registered. In adjoining Lincoln County SNCC raised registration levels from 900 to 1800 in a similiar period and comaprable results have been obtained elsewhere. Overall registration levels for Negroes have increased from about 67,000 when we entered Arkansas in 1962 to about 90,000 by the end of 1964. Most of the increase was in eastern Arkansas where our activities have been concentrated.

Arkansas did not at that time have a system of permanent registration. To vote in any election, you had to have paid your poll-tax before the October 1st preceding the election. In other words if a person turned twenty-one on October 15, 1963 he would have first to wait until January 2, 1964 to register((county officials did not make a practice of selling poll-taxes between October and January). Then he would have to wait until after the following October 1st, 1964, to cast his ballot in any election. Anyone who wished to vote in the summer primary would have to remember to register by the preceding October 1st.

In the November 1964 general election, an amendment to the Arkansas Constitution was proposed to abolish the poll-tax and institute a system of permanent, personal registration. In a close vote, SNCC's earlier registration efforts paid off: The new, heavy Negro turnout in eastern Arkansas came through to pass the amendment.

Under the new system, anyone who registers more than twenty days before an election is eligible to vote in that and all succeeding elections until he changes his address or dies (hopefully not after). No figures will be available under the new system until June and they will no longer be available by race. Everyone must register again under the new system. This entails an enormous investment in time, energy and money. However, the new amendment offers a rich opportunity to build a large, permanent Negro electorate in Arkansas. This electorate could very largely come into existence in time to affect this summer's primaries.

Because this opportunity exists and because our own resources at the present time would make possible only the most limited program, we are appealing to the Voter Education Project for a grant to begin immediately a comprehensive five month, eight county voter registration drive. This drive would continue from the present time until late July, when the primary elections will be held.

The Arkansas Project now has field secretaries in eight eastern Arkansas counties: Arkansas, Crittenden, Jefferson, Lee, Lincoln, Monroe, Phillips, and St. Francis. More than one-third of the Negroes in Arkansas live in these eight contiguous counties. In four of them Negores comprise more than half of the voting age population and in two others they are almost fifty per cent. These are areas, then, of potentially enormous Negro political impact. (See Table 1 for population data by caonty.)

The political system in the Arkansas Delta is traditionally Southern; one party politics--no Negro elective officeholders. Most of the area in which we are working is in the first Congressional District which has returned E. C.(Took) Gathings to Washington for the last twenty-five years. Gathings chairs the House Agriculture Committee's Subcommittee on Cotton and has been a persistent opponent of progressive legislation.

Two of the counties are in the Fourth District which has represented by Oren Harris until his recent resignation to take a position on the federal branch. Arkansas County is in the Second District which is represented by Wilbur Mills, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee.

The eight counties in the proposal are characterized by one-man machine politics. Meaningful political dialogue has never existed. Usually the county boss id the sheriff, though occasionally it is the county judge. The Republican Party controls no local offices and in most cases is a paper organization.

The political system is monolithic in its support of the dominant economic interests, the planters. The cooperation of of these two groups--politicians and planters--has made it possible for the prevailing socio-economic system to survive unchanged for the last one hundred and twenty-five years.

Only recently has there been the possibility of a genuine political alternative in the delta. This possibility is the product of growing Negro political power and consciousness. In several of the counties in the proposal Negroes have been developing political organizations and influence unheard of a few years ago.

Jefferson County's Pine Bluff Movement has been politically active for several years. In 1963 it ran a Negro dentist for City Council and, in the 1964 general election, two Pine Bluff Negroes ran for the Arkansas House of Representatives. In Wabbasekka and Altheimer (Jefferson County) there were Negro candidates for the school boards in September 1965.

In Lincoln County a Negro farmer ran for the state legislature in November 1964 and a Negro ran for the Gould school board last September. Both candidates were members of the Lincoln County Civics League and the Gould Citizens for Progress. SNCC has been working with both of these organizations for several years, and helped organize the G. C. P.

In Phillips County a Negro minister ran in November 1964 for a City Council seat as a candidate of the Westside Voter's League--another group organized by SNCC. A Negro factory worker ran for the school board this last September. In Marvell there were Negro candidates for the school board in September of 1964 and 1965.

In St. Francis County, the St. Francis County Achievement Committee has for the last eight months had an sctive program delaing mainly in the schools. In September there were demonstrations in which hundreds of Negro citizens were arrested for marching on the Forrest City schools to protest continued segregation. SFCAC ran two candidates there in the September school board election. One candidate was a housewife and the other, a factory worker.

In Crittenden County a Negro candidate ran for the West Memphis school board with the support of the Crittenden County Council.

In Lee County a Negro farmer ran for the school board in the town of Aubrey. SNCC has not been working in Lee County as long as it has in the others, so there is not yet any really

functioning organization there.

In Arkansas County the Stuttgart Citizens for Progress was organized by SNCC this past summer. The only Negro candidacies so far have been for local ASCS committee positions.

SNCC has been working in Monroe County only a few weeks and current Negro registration there is much lower than in the other counties.

The hours of registration are fairly uniform in Arkansas. A person may register in the county clerk's office any day that the courthouse is open and this means all year round. The hours are typically from 9 a.m. to 4:30 pm. on weekdays and from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. on Saturdays

Traditionally, in eastern Arkansas as in the deep South generally, Negroes were forbidden to participate in politics. Many Negroes grew to regard that area of life as solely the province of white people. Inevitably, however. SNCC workers have found that by posing alternatives to the Negro community, that community can gradually reawaken to its rights aNd privileges. The main problem has been to start dialogue on the proper issues. When this dialogue finally begins the result is a hungering to be involved in the political, social, and educational life of the larger community.

A meaningful registration program must involve much in the way of voter education. Here in Arkansas the effects of increased registration have frequently been thwarted by vote fraud. (For a detailed account of these practices see the enclosed Special Report: Fraud in the 1965 Arkansas School Board Elections.) Unless voters learn how their votes can be stolen they can be as effectively disfranchised as if they were never registered at all. The tactics include the fradulent use of absentee ballots to manipulate votes, confusing and intimidating voters who aren't aware of their rights, mis-marking the ballots of illiterates, and many other illegal and unconstitutional practices. A vigilent, educated Negro electorate, jealous of its rights, is ultimately the only way to deal with these un-American practices.

The project will be carried out by our entire staff of

fifteen persons. Their names and positions are listed below. All field personnel are field secretaries engaged in community organization and voter registration.

Rev. Benjamin S. Grinage, State Project Director

The project director is responsible for maintaining the forward thrust of the overall project. The responsibility for coordinating and supervising activities lies with him. Much of his time is spent traveling around to the various projects and servin an advisory capacity to the field personnel.

William W. Hansen, Program Secretary, Administrative Assistant to the Project Director

The Program Secretary acts as an assistant to and shares many of the duties of the project director. He is particularly concerned with developing new programs and coordinating current ones. He spends much of his time traveling around the state to various projects and working with them. In the projected voter registration project, e.g., he and the Project Director will both work closely with field personnel in areas where various factors impede the progress of the registration program.

Little Rock Central Office:

Brian E. Rybolt, Finance Officer, Photographer

Mitchell Zimmerman, Research Director, Communications Officer

Margueritte Holeman, Printing, Research Department, Communications

Field Offices:

Arkansas County (Stuttgart): Dwight Williams
Crittenden County (West Memphis): Vernon Crutchfield
Jefferson County(Pine Bluff): Vincent O' Connor
Lee County (Marianna): Jerry Casey
Lincoln County (Gould): Robert Cableton, Laura Foner
Monroe County (Clarenden): Howard Himmelbaum
Phillips County (West Helena-Helena): Myrtly Glascoe
St. Francis County (Forrest City): Millard Lowe, Dave Archibald

The relationship of the field personnel to the registration project is obvious. They will canvass, tell people how they can register, drive them to the registrar's office and help them register, if necessary. The question of of why there ought to be a separate central office and office staff deserves more attention.

There are many reasons why such an office is indispensable.

1. The strict reporting system and the stringent financial controls which the grant requires calls for central administration. The individuals in the project areas are not accustomed to making financial and progress reports of this nature, frequency, and regularity, nor do their activities allow them time to do so. It is doubtful whether, as a practical matter, the reporting system could function without central personnel devoted to it. A system of files and records, and a finance and communications departments already exist in the central office. It would be a natural extension of their present responsibilities for them to centralize reporting under the V.E.P. grant.*

2. Agood deal of support in the form of brochures and other printed materials on registration procedures and rights will be produced by the Little Rock office for field use. A considerable amount of the day-to-day printed materials--announcing meetings to discuss registration, registration hours, etc.--are mimoegraphed in the field but much is also done in the central office.

3. For purposes of security, it is important to have a central office away from field offices. The conditions of work, while not unduly risky in Arkansas, still often involve problems of harrasment, arrests and violence. For

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* It might be mentioned at this point that, as per a conversation between Mr. Vernon Jordan of the Voter Education Project and Rev. Grinage of SNCC on February 8th, special arrangements are requested for the administration of salaries. This arrangement would entail the Arkansas Project sending a check for the total amount of salaries to the SNCC national office in Atlanta where seductions would be made for social security and various taxes. The checks would then be sent to the project personnel. The personnel would sign vouchers for each check they received and there would be a record of the check to Atlanta SNCC. Salaries would be paid on a bi-monthly basis.
The reason this procedure is requested is that the national SNCC office has all of the necessary machinery to deal with computing deductions, filling the proper forms, delivering the withheld taxes and social security contributions to the government and sending out yearly pay statements. We felt that it would be a heavy burden and an unnecessary duplication of effort for our office to create this machinery at this time. All other financial matters relating to the grant would be administered directly by the Little Rock office.

the safety of the staff and the stability of the operation it is important that there be personnel, themselves removed from the pressures of the field whose responsibility it is to maintain contact with field personnel and ensure their safety, to act to notify our lawyer, who is located in Little Rock, the police, FBI, press, nad other agencies when a crisis situation occurs. These sort of arrangements cannot be satisfactorily made on an ad hoc basis when a crisis does arise, and we do not wish to operate in the absence of these elementary safeguards for our staff and those lecal individuals who become involved in voter registration activities through contact with them. The importance of ready contact with our lawyer in Little Rock cannot be overestimated.

4. Our experience indicates that the physical separation of the office from the field project is requisite of the efficient operation of the office. Certain requirements of the office--order, quiet, lack of personal involvement in actual field activities--are not possible when field personnel and office personnel occupy the same premisis.

5. Little Rock offers certain resources and opportunities which we wish to continue to be in a position to take advantage of. Schools in the area represent a source of volunteer office workers which our experience has evidenced odes not exist elsewhere. Moreover, we have long been developing contacts in Little Rock in anticipation of the time when we begin a project in the city itself. This may well take the form of a registration drive this summer for which we may be requesting funds for volunteers' salaries in the future.. In any event we anticipate activity in Little Rock itself and desire to maintain our contacts here to that end.

6. Even if these considerations did not apply there are no facilities available at the present time sufficient to house both our central office and any field operation, nor do we believe any are available in our project areas. The cost of moving the office and the office staff would also have to be considered.

7. Amidst all of this it should be kept in mind that The Arkansas Project, as an organization, has obligations and committments other than those which will arise under the Voter Education Project. We plan to continue our operations after this and possible future grants run out, and our program calls for our continued presence in Little Rock. The presence of a large library, government agencies, and other organizations with which we wish to maintain liason are all factors disposing us to remain in Little Rock.

If Negro Arkansans are to be genuinely enfranchised before they become embittered with the political process we must act now. A rare opportunity is at hand. The Arkansas Project of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is ready to seize it. With money to support the program, great progress can be made, great obstacles overcome.

10 February 1966

TABLE 1. POPULATION BY AGE AND RACE, FOR EIGHT COUNTIES

COUNTY	All Ages TOTAL	WHITE	NON-WHITE no.	%	Voting Age TOTAL	WHITE	NON-White no.	%
Arkansas	23,335	17,584	5,771	24.8	13,398	10,589	2,809	21.0
Crittenden	47,564	19,461	28,103	59.0	23,440	10,569	12,871	54.8
Jefferson	81,373	45,915	35,458	43.5	44,789	27,284	17,505	39.1
Lee	21,001	8,167	12,834	61.1	10.502	4,545	5,957	56.7
Lincoln	14,447	7,430	7,017	48.6	8,198	4,619	3,579	43.5
Monroe	17,327	8,888	8,439	48.7	9,015	5 101	3,914	43.5
Phillips	43,997	18,552	25,445	58.0	22,639	10,431	12,208	53.9
St. Francis	33,303	14,324	18,979	57.0	16,366	7,963	8,403	51.4

PROPOSED MONTHLY BUDGET

LITTLE ROCK (Central admin istrative office)

Rent	$ 75.00
Utilities	25.00
Telephone	200.00
Gasoline and Repairs	150.00
Office Supplies	100.00
Printing and Photography	40.00
TOTAL	$590.00

ST. FRANCIS COUNTY

Rent	$ 60.00
Utilities	25.00
Telephone	25.00
Gasoline and Repairs	75.00
Office Supplies	25.00
TOTAL	$210.00

PHILLIPS COUNTY

Rent	$ 75.00
Utilities	25.00
Telephone	25.00
Gasoline and Repairs	75.00
Office Supplies	25.00
TOTAL	$225.00

LEE COUNTY

Rent	$ 50.00
Utilities	25.00
Telephone	25.00
Gasoline and Repairs	50.00
Office Supplies	25.00
TOTAL	$175.00

MONROE COUNTY

Rent	$ 60.00
Utilities	25.00
Telephone	25.00
Gasoline and Repairs	50.00
Office Supplies	25.00
TOTAL	$185.00

ARKANSAS COUNTY

Rent	$ 50.00
Utilities	25.00
Telephone	25.00
Gasoline and Repairs	50.00
Office Supplies	25.00
TOTAL	$175.00

CRITTENDEN COUNTY

Rent	$ 50.00
Utilities	25.00
Telephone	25.00
Gasoline and Repairs	60.00
Office Supplies	25.00
TOTAL	$185.00

JEFFERSON COUNTY

Rent	$ 65.00
Utilities	25.00
Telephone	35.00
Gasoline and Repairs	50.00
Office Supplies	25.00
TOTAL	$200.00

LINCOLN COUNTY

Rent	$ 50.00
Utilities	25.00
Telephone	25.00
Gasoline and Repairs	50.00
Office Supplies	25.00
TOTAL	$175.00

SALARIES

Fifteen full time staff workers at $35.00 per week	$2100.00

GRAND TOTAL	$4220.00

File
V.E.P.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Ascoli, Marion R. Fund
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

REGARDING

$1,000.00 confribution for 1966 "to be earmarked for the Voter Edcuation Project.

DATE

March 15, 1966
PA reply dtd. March 23, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

See: Foundations - Marion R. Ascoli Fund

file V.E.P.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony

From: Vernon Jordan (V. Jordan) March 31, 1966

RE: Voter Education Project Activity, Jan. 1 to March 31

Budget VEP has to date $225,000 of its anticipated, needed $350,000 annual budget.

Grants Seventy-four proposals for grants have been received from 10 states and amount to $765,000 in funds requested. The Project began funding programs March 2. There are presently 20 programs operative in 7 states representing $26,400 in committed funds. Two are for voter education. The balance are for voter registration on which emphasis will continue through the summer primaries.

Program A press release on Feb. 18 made VEP official and we received good press coverage. The VEP Advisory Committee had met in Atlanta Dec. 30, 1965. A Committee suggestion - that guidelines for developing VEP programs be circulated throughout the South - was implemented in February with the distribution of 1,500 copies along with a calendar of southern election dates. Preparation of statistical tables for the 11 states showing by county the Negro vote, 1962, 1964, and 1966, and the current white vote, is nearly completed. While the Katzenbach luncheon Feb. 28 was an SRC program item, the Council drew heavily on VEP associations and effort for persons who comprised the attendance of 275. Future plans requiring immediate work call for a leadership training seminar for Mississippi grass-roots leaders, instruction in poll-watching procedure for persons in Alabama counties having critical elections May 3, cooperation with the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council summer internship program, and publication of a registration campaign handbook.

Personnel The Project Director has spoken at meetins in Mobile, Jacksonville, Little Rock, Jackson, Macon, and Atlanta. As a member of the planning Council for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" he has been attending weekly sessions in Washington. On a recent trip to Mississippi he assisted leaders in six counties prepare voter programs. The Project Research Director has participated in conferences in North and South Carolina and the Administrative Assistant has reviewed a program in Augusta, Georgia. The Project is now staffed except for a field director.

Attachment III

Attachment III

APPROVED PROJECTS

VEP 66-1	SOUTH CAROLINA VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
VEP 66-2	NAACP (Mr. W.C. PATTON)
VEP 66-3	BIBB COUNTY (MACON, GEORGIA)
VEP 66-4	COAHOMA COUNTY (MISSISSIPPI)
VEP 66-5	SHELBY COUNTY (MEMPHIS, TENN.)
VEP 66-6	RICHMOND COUNTY (AUGUSTA, GA.)
VEP 66-7	Mr. & Mrs. BUDDY TIEGER (POWERVILLE, N.C.)
VEP 66-8	SNCC (ARKANSAS)
VEP 66-9	AUBURN LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
VEP 66-10	ALABAMA(HALE COUNTY)
VEP 66-11	OPA_LUCKA, FLORIDA
VEP 66-12	AIKEN COUNTY, S.C.
VEP 66-13	GRIFFIN NAACP (GEORGIA)
VEP 66-14	ALL CITIZENS, ATLANTA
VEP 66-15	TUSCALOOSA CITIZENS FOR ACTION COMMITTEE, (ALA.)
VEP 66-16	FORREST COUNTY NAACP
VEP 66-17	TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOC. (ALA.)
VEP 66-18	CONECUH COUNTY ASSOC.(EVERGREEN, ALA.)
VEP 66-19	LONGHILL LINDEN BRANCH NAACP
VEP 66-20	FLORENCE COUNTY
VEP 66-21	DURHAM COMMITTEE ON NEGRO AFFAIRS
VEP 66-22	RICHMOND BRANCH NAACP

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
GRANTS TO COOPERATING AGENCIES

Date March 1 - March 31, 1966

-1- AGENCY IDENTIFICATION	-2- TOTAL GRANT	-3- PRIOR DISBURSEMENTS	-4- DISBURSEMENTS THIS MO.	-5- TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS	-6- UNEXPENDED BALANCE
	~~250.00~~		~~250.00~~	~~250.00~~	~~-0-~~
VEP 66-1	4,275.00	-0-	428.84	428.84	3846.16
VEP 66-2	4,000.00	-0-	770.00	770.00	3230.00
VEP 66-3	1,975.00	-0-	690.00	690.00	1285.00
VEP 66-4	3,745.00	-0-	832.22	832.22	2912.78
VEP 66-5	500.00	-0-	500.00	500.00	-0-
VEP 66-6	2,195.00	-0-	1,199.95	1,199.95	995.05
VEP 66-7	600.00	-0-	234.19	234.19	365.81
VEP 66-8	[4,350.00]	-0-	-0-	-0-	[4350.00]
VEP 66-9	200.00	-0-	200.00	200.00	-0-
VEP 66-10	715.00	-0-	357.50	357.50	357.50
VEP 66-11	250.00	-0-	250.00	250.00	-0-
VEP 66-12	900.00	-0-	300.00	300.00	600.00
VEP 66-13	1,047.50	-0-	350.00	350.00	697.50
VEP 66-14	3,075.00	-0-	1,200.00	1,200.00	1875.00
VEP 66-15	710.00	-0-	-0-	-0-	710.00
VEP 66-16	900.00	-0-	-0-	-0-	900.00
VEP 66-17					
VEP 66-18	652.50	-0-	-0-	-0-	652.50
VEP 66-19	795.00	-0-	-0-	-0-	795.00
Total	26,785.00	-0-	7,562.70	7,562.70	19,222.30

Column 5 is column 3 plus column 4.

Column 6 is column 2 minus column 5.

File N.E.P.

Attachment III

APPROVED PROJECTS

VEP 66-1	SOUTH CAROLINA VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
GRANTS TO COOPERATING AGENCIES

Date March 1 - March 31, 1966

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	~~250.00~~		~~250.00~~	~~250.00~~	~~-0-~~
VEP 66-1	4,275.00	-0-	428.84	428.84	3846.16
VEP 66-2	4,000.00	-0-	770.00	770.00	3230.00
VEP 66-3	1,975.00	-0-	690.00	690.00	1285.00
VEP 66-4	3,745.00	-0-	832.22	832.22	2912.78
VEP 66-5	500.00	-0-	500.00	500.00	-0-
VEP 66-6	2,195.00	-0-	1,199.95	1,199.95	995.05
VEP 66-7	600.00	-0-	234.19	234.19	365.81
VEP 66-8	[4,350.00]	-0-	-0-	-0-	[4350.00]
VEP 66-9	200.00	-0-	200.00	200.00	-0-
VEP 66-10	715.00	-0-	357.50	357.50	357.50
VEP 66-11	250.00	-0-	250.00	250.00	-0-
VEP 66-12	900.00	-0-	300.00	300.00	600.00
VEP 66-13	1,047.50	-0-	350.00	350.00	697.50
VEP 66-14	3,075.00	-0-	1,200.00	1,200.00	1875.00
VEP 66-15	710.00	-0-	-0-	-0-	710.00
VEP 66-16	900.00	-0-	-0-	-0-	900.00
VEP 66-17					
VEP 66-18	652.50	-0-	-0-	-0-	652.50
VEP 66-19	795.00	-0-	-0-	-0-	795.00
Total	26,785.00	-0-	7,562.70	7,562.70	19,222.30

Column 5 is column 3 plus column 4.

Column 6 is column 2 minus column 5.

April 12, 1966

Automobile expenses will be reimbursed at the rate of 8¢ per mile. We suggest the use of car pools where feasible. Luncheon arrangements will be made.

If you can attend, please return the enclosed card by return mail.

We look forward to seeing you and your poll watchers in Montgomery on Saturday, April 16.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Greenberg

Jack Greenberg
Director, NAACP Legal Defense
and Educational Fund, Inc.

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

JG:VEJ:nm

Central files: EP

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

This is an urgent call for your presence at a Training Institute for all candidates in Alabama on Saturday, April 16, 1966, 10:00 a. m. at the Newtown Church of Christ, 1700 N. Decatur Street, Montgomery, Alabama, Reverend Fred Gray, pastor. This Institute is under the sponsorship of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., and the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Alabama law provides that each candidate who is properly qualified for the primary election to be held on May 3, 1966 is entitled to have one poll watcher at each voting place in the county or district in which he is running. (Ala. Code Tit. 17,5357.)

In this connection, the Institute on Saturday is primarily concerned with training poll watchers for each candidate in the May 3 election. Therefore, in addition to your presence, we need the presence of the individuals you have selected as your poll watchers for each of the polling places in the county or district in which you are running. If you have not selected your poll watchers, please do so at once and bring them to Saturday's meeting.

Instructors at the Institute will be lawyers from the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund staff. The program will center on the rights, duties, and responsibilities of poll watchers in the May 3 election. In addition, candidates will be instructed on the procedure as relates to poll watchers.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

V. E. P.

REGARDING

$75,000.00 grant to V.E.P. letter to Mr. Maxwell Hahn, The Field Foundation, New York.

DATE

4-24-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

FOUNDATIONS: THE FIELD FOUNDATION

See VEP "Statistics"

FYI

MISSISSIPPI REGISTRATION

BY

COUNTY, RACE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

(AS OF APRIL 30, 1966)

WHITE TOTAL	NEGRO TOTAL
513,855	130,345

DISTRICT I

COUNTY	WHITE REGISTRATION	NEGRO REGISTRATION
1. Attala	573	866
2. Bolivar	5,648	4,049
3. Calhoun	196	60
4. Carroll	3,037	1,036
5. Chicksaw	6,586	507
6. Choctaw	187	159
7. Clay	3,535	1.624
8. Leflore	7,698	6,868
9. Lowndes	9,713	1,260
10. Monroe	594	546
11. Montgomery	4,071	67
12. Oktibbeha	8,393	776
13. Sunflower	8,237	2,059
14. Washington	12,591	4,811
15. Webster	169	90
Totals	71,228	24,778

DISTRICT II

COUNTY	WHITE REGISTRATION	NEGRO REGISTRATION
1. Alcorn	8,469	139
2. Benton	2,371	942
3. Coahoma	7,157	7,553
4. Desota	5,489	1,825
5. Grenada	5,923	715
6. Itawamba	6,229	72
7. Lafayette	4,789	775
8. Lee	10,680	709
9. Marshall	4,706	2,469
10. Panola	6,459	2,186
11. Pontotoc	6,373	243
12. Prentiss	6,751	104
13. Quitman	3,440	1,238
14. Tallahatchie	4,881	917
15. Tate	3,829	900
16. Tippah	5,636	359
17. Tishomingo	5,201	43
18. Tunica	1,433	468
19. Union	6,965	274
20. Yalobusha	3,776	807
Total	110,557	22,738

DISTRICT III

COUNTY	WHITE REGISTRATION	NEGRO REGISTRATION
1. Adams	6,389	5,829
2. Amite	3,793	847
3. Claiborne	1,652	1,937
4. Copiah	8,369	1,407
5. Franklin	3,858	338
6. Hinds	63,848	14,160
7. Jefferson	1,193	3,038
8. Lincoln	367	392
9. Pike	8,668	2,090
10. Walthall	4,250	1,328
11. Warren	12,121	5,116
12. Wilkinson	2,601	597
Totals	117,109	37,079

DISTRICT IV

COUNTY	WHITE REGISTRATION	NEGRO REGISTRATION
1. Clarke	5,283	995
2. Holmes	5,103	4,891
3. Humphreys	2,839	787
4. Issaquena	764	377
5. Jasper	4,609	721
6. Kemper	3,323	352
7. Lauderdale	19,789	5,306
8. Leake	6,349	925
9. Madison	6,322	5,871
10. Neshoba	6,802	904
11. Newton	6,168	1,075
12. Noxubee	7,068	1,461
13. Rankin	12,348	1,503
14. Scott	5,635	664
15. Sharkey	1,746	398
16. Simpson	329	882
17. Smith	232	55
18. Winston	321	1,003
19. Yazoo	7,460	1,051
Totals	102,490	29,221

DISTRICT V

	COUNTY	WHITE REGISTRATION	NEGRO REGISTRATION
1.	Covington	4,269	850
2.	Forrest	14,579	1,459
3.	George	4,584	115
4.	Greene	3,125	225
5.	Hancock	5,519	509
6.	Harrison	17,332	3,482
7.	Jackson	8,917	2,018
8.	Jeff Davis	3,418	1,843
9.	Jones	25,833	2,568
10.	Lamar	6,013	149
11.	Lawrence	64	1,060
12.	Marion	10,772	1,197
13.	Pearl River	599	393
14.	Perry	187	212
15.	Stone	2,459	101
16.	Wayne	4,801	318
	Totals	112,471	16,529

PAUL — FOR YOUR FILES
L. POP

, SUNDAY, MAY 1, 1966.

NEGROES BOAST VOTE STRENGTH

Have Big Percentage in Alabama Areas Where They Seek Office

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA — Negro voting strength is estimated at more than 40 per cent — and in some instances more than 50 per cent — in nine of 15 Alabama counties where Negroes are seeking office in Wednesday's Democratic primary election.

These estimates are based on a running total of Negro registration in Southern states kept by the voter education project of the Southern Regional Council Inc. of Atlanta.

Figures and percentages on the seven districts and 20 counties, nearly all in the Alabama Black Belt, were released Saturday, by the VEP. There are 67 counties in Alabama.

These figures underscore the dramatic change in politics in that state since the 1965 passage of the Voting Rights Act.

Registration Up

Statewide, Negro registration has increased from approximately 226,000 (about 16.5 per cent of total registration) since the act went into effect last Aukust.

The VEP estimates of the Negro percentage of the voter totals are conservative because many of the counties involved show a white registration higher than the 1960 census figure on the number of whites eligible to vote. A closer comparison would probably be the Negro registration with the 1960 white voting-age population.

In counties where Negroes are offering for offices ranging from sheriff, tax assessor, coroner, county commissioner, board of education member, to Democratic executive committeeman and beat captain, the estimate show Wilcox County with 52.4 per cent Negro voters; Hale, 47.6; Macon, 50.6; Bulloch, 44.1; Sumter, 46.9; Marengo, 44.9; Perry, 41.9; Dallas, 46.3; and Greene, 66.5.

Many In Lowndes

Lowndes County, where Negroes plan to run independent Black Panther party candidates in the general election next fall, has a Negro registration of approximately 45.8 per cent of the total. Also it is among those with white registration figures apparently inflated.

Negro registration is estimated at 44.5 per cent in House District 27; at 46.3 per cent in House District 28, and at 38.1 per cent in House District 31.

The voter education project figures are based on field reports and other sources of information.

The project supports projects in voter regulation, citizenship education and leadership training in the 11 Southern states.

File VEP - News Releases, 1966

PRESS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS

The Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
JAckson 2-8764

Sunday, May 1, 1966

Negro voting strength is estimated at more than 40 per cent and in some instances at more than 50 per cent in nine of 15 Alabama counties where Negroes are seeking office in the May 3 Democratic primary. Similarly, it is estimated at near a majority in three of seven legislative districts where Negroes are candidates.

These estimates are based on a running total of Negro registration in southern states kept by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. Figures and percentages on the seven districts and 20 counties, nearly all in the Alabama Black Belt, were released by the VEP today (tables attached). There are 67 counties in Alabama.

These Alabama figures underscore the dramatic change in politics in that state since the 1965 passage of the Voting Rights Act. Statewide, Negro registration has increased from approximately 112,000 to approximately 226,000 (about 16.5 per cent of total registration) since the act went into effect last August.

The VEP estimates of the Negro percentage of the voter totals are conservative because many of the counties involved show a white registration higher than the 1960 Census figure on the number of whites eligible to vote. A closer comparison would probably be the Negro registration with the 1960 white voting-age population on the attached tables.

In counties where Negroes are offering for offices ranging from sheriff, tax assessor, coroner, county commissioner, board of education member, to Democratic executive committeeman and beat captain, the estimates show Wilcox County with 52.4 per cent Negro voters; Hale, 47.6; Macon, 50.6; Bulloch, 44.1;

PRESS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS

Sunday, May 1, 1966

(cont'd)

Sumter, 46.9; Marengo, 44.9; Perry, 41.9; Dallas, 46.3; Greene, 66.5. Lowndes County, where Negroes plan to run independent Black Panther party candidates in the general election next fall, has a Negro registration of approximately 45.8 per cent of the total; it is among those with white registration figures apparently inflated.

Negro registration is estimated at 44.5 per cent in House District 27; at 46.3 per cent in House District 28, and at 38.1 per cent in House District 31.

The Voter Education Project figures are based on field reports and other sources of information.

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., of Atlanta, supports projects in voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training in the eleven southern states.

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VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
April 30, 1966

VOTER REGISTRATION IN SELECTED ALABAMA COUNTIES

ALABAMA LEGISLATURE	COUNTY	NEGRO VOTING-AGE POPULATION (1960 CENSUS)	NEGROES REGISTERED	% NEGRO VOTING-AGE POP. REGIS.	% NEGRO OF TOTAL REGISTERED		WHITE VOTING-AGE POPULATION (1960 CENSUS)	WHITES REGISTERED	% WHITE VOTING-AGE POPULATION REGISTERED	% WHITE OF TOTAL REGISTERED
SENATE DISTRICT 19	WILCOX	6,085	3,691	60.7	52.4		2,624	3,349	127.6	47.6
	CLARKE	5,833	2,280	39.1	18.3		7,899	10,178	128.9	81.7
	MONROE	4,894	2,142	43.8	22.7		6,631	7,308	110.2	77.3
	CONECUH	3,635	1,985	54.6	26.8		5,907	5,421	91.8	73.2
DISTRICT TOTAL		20,447	9,926	48.5	27.4		23,061	26,256	113.9	72.6
HOUSE DISTRICT 23	HALE	5,999	4,093	68.2	47.6		3,594	4,503	125.3	52.3
	BIBB	1,190	830	69.7	9.6		5,807	7,802	134.4	90.3
DISTRICT TOTAL		7,189	4,923	68.5	28.6		9,401	12,305	130.9	71.4
HOUSE DISTRICT 31	MACON	11,886	4,991	42.0	50.6		2,818	4,878	173.1	49.4
	BARBOUR	5,787	3,322	57.4	25.9		7,338	9,489	129.3	74.1

VOTER REGISTRATION IN SELECTED ALABAMA COUNTIES - 2

ALABAMA LEGISLATURE	COUNTY	NEGRO VOTING-AGE POPULATION (1960 CENSUS)	NEGROES REGISTERED	% NEGRO VOTING-AGE POP. REG.	% NEGRO OF TOTAL REGISTERED		WHITE VOTING-AGE POPULATION (1960 CENSUS)	WHITES REGISTERED	% WHITE VOTING-AGE POPULATION REGISTERED	% WHITE OF TOTAL REGISTERED
HOUSE DISTRICT 31	BULLOCH	4,450	2,419	54.4	44.1		2,387	3,064	128.4	55.9
DISTRICT	TOTAL	22,123	10,732	48.5	38.1		12,543	17,431	139.0	61.9
HOUSE DISTRICT 27	SUMTER	6,814	3,282	48.2	46.9		3,061	3,715	121.4	53.1
	MARENGO	7,791	5,690	73.0	44.9		6,104	6,975	114.3	55.1
	PERRY	5,237	3,715	70.9	41.9		3,441	5,146	149.5	58.1
DISTRICT	TOTAL	19,807	12,687	64.1	44.5		12,606	15,836	125.6	55.5
HOUSE DISTRICT 28	DALLAS	15,115	10,467	69.2	46.3		14,400	12,128	84.2	53.7
HOUSE DISTRICT 14	JEFFERSON	116,160	61,637	53.1	26.7		256,319	169,052	65.9	73.3
HOUSE DISTRICT 37	MOBILE	50,793	24,794	48.8	18.7		121,589	107,455	88.4	81.3
	MONTGOMERY	33,056	19,055	57.6	31.5		62,911	41,417	65.8	68.5
	GREENE	5,001	3,781	75.6	66.5		1,648	1,901	115.4	33.5
	AUTAUGA	3,651	2,263	62.0	25.9		6,353	6,483	102.0	74.1
	CHOCTAW	3,982	3,037	76.3	36.3		5,192	5,327	102.6	63.7
	LOWNDES	5,122	2,372	46.3	45.8		1,900	2,812	148.0	54.2

PRESS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

TO ALL PAPERS

The Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
JAckson 2-8764
May 20, 1966

It would have been necessary for Mrs. George C. Wallace's nine male opponents to receive 72,845 more votes in order to force her into a runoff, tabulations of final Alabama primary figures show.

Large as this figure is, however, it may not be entirely out of reach in future Alabama elections. Negro registration has more than doubled in Alabama since passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and it continues to rise.

Negro registration in Alabama now is more than 235,000. Before the Voting Rights Act went into effect, it was 113,000.

Present Negro registration is about 49 per cent of the voting age population, against a white registration of 87 per cent. The latter figure is, however, somewhat inflated. Many counties report white registration exceeding the white voting age population.

Based on returns from selected precincts, the Negro vote can be calculated at, or just above, the total vote received by Attorney General Richmond Flowers, who finished second in the governor's race with 172,386 votes.

While a scattering of Negro votes statewide went to Carl Elliott, a few white votes went to Flowers. If each of these small figures offsets the other, the total Negro vote can be reckoned at about 173,000.

Of the Negro registration of 235,000, then, nearly 74 per cent voted. This is a remarkable showing in light of the fact that more than half the Negro registration had been added in the last year and that many thus were voting for the first time.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The overall turnout was a record-breaking 888,838. This was approximately 64 per cent of the total state registration of 1,410,700.

If the white vote is calculated at 715,800, this would be 61 per cent of the white registration total of 1,175,122.

Of the votes cast, Mrs. Wallace received 54.1 per cent.

While the much-condemned "bloc vote" went heavily for Flowers, it was split in many local races. In several counties, white candidates claimed receiving a large share of the Negro vote. If they had not, they would not have survived the election.

Several reasons have been advanced to explain the split in Negro votes at the local level:

1. Old interracial friendships and loyalties;
2. Reservations about the qualifications of some of the Negro candidates;
3. Fear of offending white poll officials and the white power structure by voting for Negro candidates.

In addition, Negro and civil rights leaders have raised questions about the conduct of the election in several counties. In three counties, federal observers were not allowed to watch ballots being marked for illiterates.

But while some white candidates received Negro votes in local races, some Negro candidates likewise received white votes. In Jefferson County (Birmingham), for example, several Negro candidates got newspaper endorsements and polled a sizeable vote in white precincts.

The determination of the new Negro voter could be seen at, for instance, the Washington school in Birmingham. At about 10 a. m., an ambulance arrived at the polls carrying four or five patients from a nursing home. One, who said he was voting for the first time,

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

gave his age as 116. As the voting went on into the night, mothers left their children with poll officials while they stood in the block-long lines.

At Washington school, the total vote in the governor's race was 4,185. Flowers got 3,951, or 94.4 per cent, and Elliott got 163, or 3.9 per cent. The rest of the votes were thinly scattered, Mrs. Wallace getting three.

Of 51 Negro candidates running for county and legislative positions in the May 3 primary, 23 are in the May 31 runoffs.

According to the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, most recent county-by-county registration figures are as listed below. The Southern Regional Council is an organization of Negro and white Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

###

COUNTY		VOTING AGE POPULATION 1960	PRE-VOTING ACT REGISTRATION	PER CENT	MOST RECENT TOTAL	PER CENT
AUTAUGA COUNTY	W	6353	5412	85.1	6772	100+
	N	3651	300	8.2	2275	62.3
BALDWIN COUNTY	W	22236	17469	78.6	19587	88.1
	N	4527	688	15.2	1156	25.5
BARBOUR COUNTY	W	7338	7609	100+	9602	100+
	N	5787	723	12.5	3487	60.3
BIBB COUNTY	W	5807	7057	100+	8063	100+
	N	1190	356	29.9	893	75.0
BLOUNT COUNTY	W	14368	12426	86.5	13625	94.8
	N	378	57	23.0	140	37.0
BULLOCK COUNTY	W	2387	2847	100+	3074	100+
	N	4450	2020	45.4	2980	67.0
BUTLER COUNTY	W	8363	6922	82.8	7813	93.4
	N	4820	575	11.9	1731	35.9
CALHOUN COUNTY	W	44739	28613	64.0	32801	73.3
	N	9036	2837	31.4	4318	47.8
CHAMBERS COUNTY	W	15369	10647	69.3	11742	76.4
	N	6497	957	14.7	1362	21.0

COUNTY		VOTING AGE POPULATION 1960	PRE-VOTING ACT REGISTRATION	PER CENT	MOST RECENT TOTAL	PER CENT
CHEROKEE COUNTY	W	8537	8637	100+	9619	100+
	N	752	363	47.5	480	61.4
CHILTON COUNTY	W	12561	14714	100+	15934	100+
	N	1947	578	29.6	726	37.3
CHOCTAW COUNTY	W	5192	4908	94.5	5616	100+
	N	3982	864	21.7	2971	74.6
CLARKE COUNTY	W	7899	9537	100+	10316	100+
	N	5833	913	15.7	2495	42.8
CLAY COUNTY	W	6470	7923	100+	8495	100+
	N	926	225	24.3	394	42.5
CLEBURNE COUNTY	W	5870	6933	100+	7486	100+
	N	385	108	28.1	134	34.8
COFFEE COUNTY	W	14221	9893	69.6	11282	79.3
	N	2985	583	19.5	994	33.3
COLBERT COUNTY	W	21680	18590	85.8	20330	93.8
	N	4575	2246	49.1	2714	59.3
CONECUH COUNTY	W	5707	4976	84.2	5524	93.5
	N	3635	695	19.1	1822	32.0
COOSA COUNTY	W	4201	5124	100+	5670	100+
	N	1794	644	35.9	946	52.7
COVINGTON COUNTY	W	18446	13817	74.9	16290	88.3
	N	2876	554	19.3	992	34.5
CRENSHAW COUNTY	W	6310	5629	89.2	6449	100+
	N	2207	622	28.2	1210	54.8

COUNTY		VOTING AGE POPULATION 1960	PRE-VOTING ACT REGISTRATION	PER CENT	MOST RECENT TOTAL	PER CENT
CULLMAN COUNTY	W	25848	22159	85.7	24431	94.5
	N	285	118	41.4	122	42.8
DALE COUNTY	W	14861	10203	68.7	11592	78.0
	N	2743	616	22.5	1411	51.4
DALLAS COUNTY	W	14400	10265	71.2	12515	86.9
	N	15115	1516	10.1	10260	67.9
DEKALB COUNTY	W	23878	24566	100+	26441	100+
	N	441	90	20.4	216	49.0
ELMORE COUNTY	W	12510	13857	100+	15339	100+
	N	4808	858	17.8	2717	56.5
ESCAMBIA COUNTY	W	12779	13940	100+	15598	100+
	N	5685	1101	19.4	1755	30.9
ETOWAH COUNTY	W	48565	38770	63.4	41644	85.7
	N	7661	2980	38.9	4102	53.5
FAYETTE COUNTY	W	8277	8535	100+	9119	100+
	N	1291	551	42.7	664	51.4
FRANKLIN COUNTY	W	12412	12725	100+	13561	100+
	N	645	617	95.7	714	100+
GENEVA COUNTY	W	11357	8566	75.4	10267	90.4
	N	1606	374	23.3	584	36.4
GREENE COUNTY	W	1649	1736	100+	1984	100+
	N	5001	542	10.8	3801	76.0
HALE COUNTY	W	3594	4011	100+	4503	100+
	N	5999	520	8.6	3940	65.7

COUNTY		VOTING AGE POPULATION 1960	PRE-VOTING ACT REGISTRATION	PER CENT	MOST RECENT TOTAL	PER CENT
HENRY COUNTY	W	5165	5848	100+	6608	100+
	N	3168	726	22.9	1443	45.5
HOUSTON COUNTY	W	22095	12406	56.1	15322	69.3
	N	6899	1011	14.7	1730	25.1
JACKSON COUNTY	W	19298	17033	88.3	18472	95.7
	N	1175	433	36.9	623	53.0
JEFFERSON COUNTY	W	256319	153518	59.9	172997	67.5
	N	116160	25944	22.3	61460	52.9
LAMAR COUNTY	W	7503	9192	100+	9914	100+
	N	1027	188	18.3	364	35.4
LAUDERDALE COUNTY	W	31089	15571	50.0	18273	58.8
	N	3726	937	25.1	1312	35.2
LAWRENCE COUNTY	W	10509	12977	100+	14669	100+
	N	2471	839	34.0	1309	53.0
LEE COUNTY	W	17547	11354	64.7	13307	75.8
	N	8913	730	8.2	2642	29.6

COUNTY		VOTING AGE POPULATION 1960	PRE-VOTING ACT REGISTRATION	PER CENT	MOST RECENT TOTAL	PER CENT
LIMESTONE COUNTY	W	16173	12222	75.6	14115	87.3
	N	3579	390	10.9	1265	35.3
LOWNDES COUNTY	W	1900	2653	100+	2820	100+
	N	5122	179	3.5	2353	45.9
MACON COUNTY	W	2818	4829	100+	4909	100+
	N	11886	4582	38.5	5126	43.1
MADISON COUNTY	W	54616	40004	73.4	41333	75.8
	N	10666	2847	26.7	3183	29.8
MARENGO COUNTY	W	6104	6166	100+	7132	100+
	N	7091	712	9.1	5535	71.0
MARION COUNTY	W	12656	14800	100+	16346	100+
	N	403	236	58.6	267	66.3
MARSHALL COUNTY	W	26997	14649	54.3	16948	62.8
	N	637	52	8.2	150	23.5

COUNTY		VOTING AGE POPULATION 1960	PRE-VOTING ACT REGISTRATION	PER CENT	MOST RECENT TOTAL	PER CENT
MOBILE COUNTY	W	121589	103622	85.2	107455	88.4
	N	50793	19417	38.2	24794	48.8
MONROE COUNTY	W	6631	6620	99.8	7464	100+
	N	4894	940	19.2	2380	48.6
MONTGOMERY COUNTY	W	62911	39700	63.1	41791	66.4
	N	33056	8930	27.0	19052	57.5
MORGAN COUNTY	W	30955	22601	73.0	25541	82.5
	N	4159	948	22.8	1177	28.3
PERRY COUNTY	W	3441	4602	100+	5192	100+
	N	5202	1041	20.0	3719	71.5
PICKENS COUNTY	W	7336	6873	93.7	7379	100+
	N	4373	650	14.9	1682	38.5

COUNTY		VOTING AGE POPULATION 1960	PRE-VOTING ACT REGISTRATION	PER CENT	MOST RECENT TOTAL	PERCENT
PIKE COUNTY	W	9126	10379	100+	11604	100+
	N	5259	921	17.5	3015	57.3
RANDOLPH COUNTY	W	9196	9444	100+	10197	100+
	N	2366	832	35.1	1163	49.2
RUSSELL COUNTY	W	13761	10630	77.2	12588	91.5
	N	10531	1214	11.5	3901	37.0
ST. CLAIR COUNTY	W	12244	9560	78.1	10951	89.4
	N	2035	718	35.3	904	44.4
SHELBY COUNTY	W	14771	13200	89.4	13208	89.4
	N	2889	427	14.8	985	34.1
SUMTER COUNTY	W	3061	3312	100+	3755	100+
	N	6814	585	8.9	3369	49.5
TALLADEGA COUNTY	W	25635	19031	74.2	20872	81.4
	N	9333	2168	23.2	3201	34.3
TALLAPOOSA COUNTY	W	15310	15589	100+	17682	100+
	N	4999	978	19.6	1784	35.7

COUNTY		VOTING AGE POPULATION	PRE-VOTING ACT REGISTRATION	PER CENT	MOST RECENT TOTAL	PER CENT
TUSCALOOSA COUNTY	W	47076	26751	56.8	28543	60.6
	N	15332	4353	28.4	5460	35.6
WALKER COUNTY	W	28148	24559	87.2	26752	95.0
	N	2890	1109	38.4	1270	43.9
WASHINGTON COUNTY	W	5293	6956	100+	7564	100+
	N	2297	953	41.5	1403	61.1
WILCOX COUNTY	W	2624	3007	100+	3618	100+
	N	6085	280	4.6	3932	64.6
WINSTON COUNTY	W	8559	10321	100+	11143	100+
	N	47	24	51.1	40	85.1
TOTALS	W	1353038	1064645	78.7	1175122	86.9
	N	481320	113493	23.6	235572	48.9

May 20, 1966

File
V.E.P. Finances

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Rockefeller Brothers Fund

REGARDING

$100,000 grant to the Voter Education Project to be payable over a two-year period, beginning in 1966. (Note: first instalment received June 13, 1966 - $50,000)

DATE

June ~~&&~~ 9, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Rockefeller Brothers Fund - 1966
(ltr. from David Freeman of above date)

PRESS RELEASE

The Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
JAckson 2-8764

FOR RELEASE TO
ALL PAPERS

MONDAY, JUNE 13, 1966

When James Meredith was ambushed and wounded June 6 in his home state of Mississippi, it was at least the 17th incident in connection with registration and voting in the South since the Voting Rights Act went into effect last August.

The Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council today listed the 17 incidents and acts of violence. The Meredith incident, said the VEP, demonstrates the fact that while the Voting Rights Act guaranteed rights of registration and voting, it did not guarantee the safety of those who are trying to see that these rights are exercised.

The shooting of James Meredith took place on the eve of the Mississippi primary in which thousands of Negroes were voting for the first time. Largely because of threats, reprisals, intimidation and fear, Mississippi's Negro registration remains the lowest in the South. The figure now stands at approximately 125,000, which is 29.6 per cent or less than one-third of the Negro voting age population.

Illustrating widespread fear is a report received at the end of May from Mississippi county in which is located one of 62 programs the VEP is assisting in various Southern communities. Twenty-five persons had refused to register, the report said, "because they are afraid of being kicked out of their homes." The report added that "some say they will go to register if everyone on the plantation goes." The report explained that "the boss's" wife watched out the window in order to report to her husband any laborers seen talking to registration workers.

Meredith had been quoted as saying a major purpose of his march was to "get rid of" this and similar fears on the part of Mississippi Negroes. The VEP has received other reports of registration and voting fears on the part of Negroes as far north and east as Virginia.

The list below was prepared from newspaper clippings and and other sources. It includes those incidents related, seemingly related or possibly related to voting, elections or registration since August of 1965.

"No doubt," said VEP Director Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., "the list is not complete. Many incidents, particularly in rural areas, never get reported, investigated or publicized. Yet, the list provides an idea of why many Negroes in the South are afraid to register and vote."

August, 1965---Freddie Lee Thomas, 16, was found dead on a highway near Greenwood, Miss. The death was ruled a hit-and-run accident, but half brother said young Thomas was killed to discourage Negro voter registration efforts.

September, 1965---A local union official, active in the Northampton County voters movement at Conway, N. C. and speaker at a three-county voters rally was the target of a cross-burning and a beating by whites.

September, 1965---Shotgun blasts were fired into the home of the state vice president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at Laurel, Miss. He had helped gather complaints which had resulted in federal voter examiners being sent into Jones County.

October, 1965---In Washington, Ga., 13 civil rights workers swore out peace warrants against the white driver of a pickup truck, charging that he tried to run them down. The Negroes were among 110 who marched on the Wilkes County courthouse. Their complaints included alleged voter-registration discrimination.

October, 1965---Fights broke out between whites and Negroes at Blackville, S. C., during a municipal election in which Negroes were waging write-in campaigns.

October, 1965---Two Negroes were wounded by a shotgun blast fired from a passing car just after they had left a Negro voter rally at Suffolk, Va.

October, 1965---A fire in Lowndes County, Ala., it was reported, destroyed a house that a Negro candidate for an Agricultural Stabilization and Conversation Service post had intended to occupy.

October, 1965---Four Negro workers in a voter registration drive were reported severely beaten and one stabbed by a crowd of 15 to 20 white youths at Barnwell, S. C.

November, 1965---Shots from a passing car scattered a group of civil rights workers at Victoria, Va. One received a scalp wound. They were standing in front of the headquarters building of the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee, an organization pushing voter registration.

January, 1966---Vernon Dahmer, 58-year-old Negro civil rights leader, died of burns suffered when night riders threw firebombs into his house and store at Hattiesburg, Miss. His wife and daughter were hospitalized. Dahmer had spearheaded voter registration efforts and had announced that he would collect poll taxes and pay them for Negro voters.

January, 1966---A group of Lowndes County, Ala., Negroes asked a federal court to enjoin white landowners against evicting Negro sharecroppers for registering to vote. Negroes charged that shots had been fired at the tent city in which several were living.

February, 1966---Shotgun blasts fired from two cars ripped into a Freedom House in Kosciusko, Miss. Two white youths from Oberlin College in Ohio, engaged in a voter registration campaign, were slightly injured.

April, 1966---A five-foot high cross was burned four miles south of Colerain, N. C., in a field beside the home of a Negro woman who had been active in a Bertie County voter registration drive.

April, 1966---A Negro cafe operator in Winona, Miss., filed a damage suit charging that she had been harassed because of her civil rights activities. She said she had urged Negroes to "secure their civil rights."

Press Release - 4.
June 13, 1966

May, 1966---An explosion wrecked one side of the home of Odell Sanders, a member of the Haywood County Voters League, at Brownsville, Tenn. Two hours earlier, a cross had been burned on a county road a short distance beyond the city limits.

June, 1966---James Meredith, making a 16-day, 220-mile walk from Memphis to Jackson to encourage registration and voting, was shot and wounded near Hernando, Miss., on the second day of his march.

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., of Atlanta, supports projects in voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training in the 11 southern states.

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Voter Education Project

WHITE REGISTRATION BY STATE, SPRING 1966

State	Voting Age Population	Number Registered
Alabama	1,353,038	1,175,122
Arkansas	850,643	555,900
Florida	2,617,438	2,091,305
Georgia	1,797,062	1,326,014
Louisiana	1,289,216	1,021,547
Mississippi	748,266	526,413
North Carolina	2,005,955	1,646,060
South Carolina	895,147	714,071
Tennessee	1,779,018	1,297,000
Texas	4,884,769	2,596,967
Virginia	1,812,154	1,100,700
Total	20,032,706	14,051,099

NUMBER REGISTERED BY
PROGRAMS ASSISTED BY

THE

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

BY COUNTY AND BY STATE

AS OF JULY 15, 1966

ALABAMA REGISTRATION FIGURES

County	No. of Negroes Registered
Barbour	146
Conecuh	298
Hale	134
Jefferson	298
Marengo	243
Tuscaloosa	700
Total	1,819

* * * * *

ARKANSAS REGISTRATION FIGURES

County	No. of Negroes Registered
East Arkansas	502
Phillips	145
Pulaski	2,665
Total	3,312

* * * * *

FLORIDA REGISTRATION FIGURES

County	No. of Negroes Registered
Dade	200
Total	200

GEORGIA REGISTRATION FIGURES

County	No. of Negroes Registered
Bibb	1,010
Chatham	2,087
Dougherty	271
Fulton	7,682
Glynn	1,120
Hancock	1,789
Houston	498
Laurens	419
Muscogee	191
Peach	130
Richmond	4,367
Spalding	342
Thomas	185
Ware	30
DeKalb	448
Total	20,569

LOUISIANA REGISTRATION FIGURES

County	No. of Negroes Registered
Claiborne	152
East Baton Rouge	1,528
Madison	111
Ouachita	18
Shreveport	192
Total	2,001

* * * * * * *

MISSISSIPPI REGISTRATION FIGURES

County	No. of Negroes Registered
Coahoma	856
Issaquena	85
Total	941

* * * * * * *

NORTH CAROLINA REGISTRATION FIGURES

County	No. of Negroes Registered
Greensboro	264
Total	264

SOUTH CAROLINA REGISTRATION FIGURES

County	No. of Negroes Registered
Aiken	183
Calhoun	68
Charleston	783
Clarendon	281
Florence	376
Sumter	978
Williamsburg	863
Total	3,532

* * * * * *

TENNESSEE REGISTRATION FIGURES

County	No. of Negroes Registered
Dyer	41
Gibson	250
Hardeman	60
Haywood	33
Knox	1,009
Lauderdale	17
Madison	435
Obion	1
Shelby	4,302
Tipton	38
Weakley	3
Total	6,189

VIRGINIA REGISTRATION FIGURES

County	No. of Negroes Registered
Alexandria	350
Amelia	3
Charles City	120
Dinwiddie	40
Fairfax	50
Hampton	181
Lunenburg	84
Lunchburg	302
Mechlenburg	57
Norfolk	392
Nottoway	75
Richmond	1,253
Southampton	15
Total	2,922

TOTAL REGISTRATION FIGURES

State	Total No. of Negroes Registered
ALABAMA	1,819
ARKANSAS	3,312
FLORIDA	200
GEORGIA	20,569
LOUISIANA	1,809
MISSISSIPPI	941
NORTH CAROLINA	264
SOUTH CAROLINA	3,532
TENNESSEE	6,189
VIRGINIA	2,922
Total	41,557

THE EFFECTS OF FEDERAL EXAMINERS AND ORGANIZED REGISTRATION CAMPAIGNS ON NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION

- - -

A SPECIAL REPORT

OF

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

JULY, 1966

To what extent do federal examiners influence the level of Negro voter registration in the Southern counties to which they are assigned? What is the effect of organized registration campaigns, particularly those assisted by the Voter Education Project?

A study by the Voter Education Project seeks to answer these questions. Registration figures were compared for counties with federal examiners, with VEP programs, with both and with neither.

The results follow a predictable pattern. Highest Negro registration figures are found in those counties with both federal examiners and VEP-assisted programs. Next comes counties with federal examiners, followed by counties with VEP programs. Lowest registration levels are found in those counties with neither.

As of late June, federal examiners had been assigned in 41 counties in four states. They had registered a total of 122,905 persons. No federal examiners have been assigned in Georgia or Virginia or in 26 North Carolina counties which come under provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

At the time of the comparisons, there were only two counties in South Carolina with federal examiners and only two in Mississippi with VEP-affiliated programs. Mississippi counties with neither were selected at random from various sections of the state. Alabama and South Carolina counties were chosen from the area immediately surrounding counties with federal examiners and VEP programs.

Urban counties were excluded because these counties generally have long-standing registration programs and other special histories which set them apart from rural counties. Louisiana was not included for lack of recent and adequate parish-by-parish registration figures. Federal examiners have been assigned to five Louisiana parishes.

Georgia furnishes a state example of low Negro registration where no federal examiners are present. Georgia's Negro registration is second lowest at 43.1 per cent of the Negro voting age population. In the adjoining states of Alabama and South Carolina, the figures are 48.9 per cent and 50.3 per cent respectively. Mississippi has the lowest Negro registration: 30.9 per cent of the voting age population.

The Voter Education Project assists, through small grants, programs of registration, citizenship education and leadership training in 11 Southern states. For further information about the attached tables, contact Marvin Wall, research director, Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303,

(Area Code 404, 577-2986).

ALABAMA

BOTH	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
Hale	3,940	5,999	
Perry	3,719	5,202	
Marengo	5,535	7,791	
	13,194	18,992	69.5
FEDERAL EXAMINERS			
Greene	3,801	5,001	
Wilcox	3,932	6,085	
Lowndes	2,353	5,122	
Dallas	10,260	15,115	
Elmore	2,717	4,808	
Autauga	2,275	3,651	
	25,338	39,782	63.7
VEP			
Sumter	3,369	6,814	
Choctaw	2,971	3,982	
Conecuh	1,822	3,635	
Barbour	3,487	5,787	
	11,649	20,218	57.6

NEITHER

Clarke	2,495	5,833	
Monroe	2,380	4,894	
Butler	1,731	4,820	
Pike	3,015	5,259	
Bullock	2,980	4,450	
Russell	3,901	10,531	
Washington	1,403	2,297	
Crenshaw	1,210	2,207	
Escambia	1,755	5,685	
	20,870	45,976	45.4

MISSISSIPPI

	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
BOTH			
Coahoma	7,553	14,604	51.7
FEDERAL EXAMINERS			
Leflore	6,868	13,567	
Neshoba	904	2,565	
Jones	2,568	7,427	
Jefferson	3,038	3,540	
Claiborne	1,937	3,969	
Holmes	4,891	8,757	
Carroll	1,036	2,704	
DeSoto	1,825	6,246	
Madison	5,871	10,366	
Jeff Davis	1,843	3,222	
Benton	942	1,419	
Clay	1,624	4,444	
Humphreys	787	5,561	
Walthall	1,328	4,540	
Newton	1,075	3,018	
Simpson	882	3,186	
Warren	5.116	10,726	

	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
Jasper	721	3,675	
Noxubee	1,461	5,172	
Rankin	1,503	6,944	
Winston	1,003	3,611	
	47,223	114,659	41.2
VEP PROGRAM			
Issaquena	377	1,081	34.9
NEITHER			
Lincoln	392	3,913	
Panola	2,186	7,250	
Sunflower	2,059	13,524	
Attala	866	4,262	
Amite	847	3,560	
Alcorn	139	1,756	
Franklin	338	1,842	
Sharkey	398	3,152	
Washington	4,811	20,619	
Pontotoc	243	1,519	
Choctaw	159	1,105	
Harrison	3,482	9,670	
Lauderdale	5,306	11,924	

VEP PROGRAM

Lowndes	1,260	8,362	
Pike	2,090	6,936	
Tunica	468	5,822	
Wilkinson	597	4,120	
Adams	5,829	9,340	
Montgomery	67	2,627	
George	115	580	
Yazoo	1,051	8,719	
Lee	709	5,130	
Stone	101	868	
Scott	664	3,752	
Lafayette	775	3,239	
Quitman	1,238	5,673	
	36,190	149,264	24.2

SOUTH CAROLINA

	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
BOTH			
Clarendon	5,182	7,735	67.0
FEDERAL EXAMINER			
Dorchester	3,836	5,370	71.4
VEP			
Williamsburg	5,356	10,535	
Sumter	7,791	15,380	
Beaufort	3,963	7,247	
	17,110	33,162	51.6
NEITHER			
Georgetown	4,119	7,173	
Orangeburg	8,289	17,355	
Bamberg	1,332	3,807	
Barnwell	1,759	3,242	
Lee	2,554	5,446	
	18,053	37,023	48.8

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

GUIDELINES FOR VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT GRANTS

Grants from the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council are made to other groups desiring to operate in three program areas: voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training. These guidelines have been developed to help groups clarify what area, or in some cases, what several areas, of programming they will work in and to provide candid expression of the responsibilities the other groups have in their association with the Voter Education Project.

Programs are approved only when they provide that the group and its agents will refrain from using funds granted by the Voter Education Project for partisan political activity or propaganda aimed at influencing legislation, or supporting any candidate or political party.

Grant Proposal

Specifically, the first responsibility of a group applying for Project grant is to prepare a grant proposal. The proposal should clearly cover the following points.

Guidelines for VEP Grants - 2.

Kind of Program -- In what area or areas is the program proposed? What justifies the need for the program? What are its goals? What methods will be used?

Where -- What are the political and geographical boundaries of the place to be served by the program? (State, county, precinct, etc.) Include a map if feasible.

Who -- Who are the program personnel and what are their duties?

Cost -- What is the expected cost of the program? Include a detailed budget.

Time -- What is the anticipated duration of the program?

Background -- What is the present political picture of the place where the program will operate. How many Negroes voted in last elections? Have Negroes run for office? Do Negroes hold appointive jobs? Are there active organizations? What are the dates and hours of registration? Give current registration figures. Describe the feeling of the community toward fuller citizen participation, if feasible.

Operation Under Grant

To fulfill its role as an adjunct of a research and information agency the Project will, from time to time, and on request, make available to other private groups, the press, governmental agencies and interested individuals, details of registration figures and of programs sponsored through the Project. As part of its educational function, the Project will share program techniques and strategies with the region. Consequently, in their association with the Project cooperating agencies have a responsibility to submit narrative reporting.

Disbursements made to the Project for support of programs in these areas call for utmost financial integrity at every level of operation. Grants made by the Project are, therefore, subject to financial conditions which if not met will result in termination of grants.

Research Reporting -- There are specific conditions governing grant reporting which follow. In general,

all cooperating agencies shall be required to make periodic reports to the Project on the progress of their programs. It is important that these reports reflect an honest evaluation of the agency's efforts -- good, bad, or indifferent. To insure the reporting best suited to particular programs the Project is flexible enough to accept reasonable variations in the form and manner of reports. Indeed, it encourages original material in fulfillment of the narrative requirements.

Organizations conducting voter registration campaigns are required to submit semi-monthly reports setting forth the following: (a) number of persons registered, (b) methods used in getting persons to the registration office, (c) increase of the number of new voters in the two week period, (d) problems, if any, encountered with local registrars, police, or private citizens, (e) threats of intimidation or economic reprisals, if any, (f) samples of materials, leaflets, programs. Suggested forms for this reporting are provided.

Organizations conducting citizenship education or leadership training programs are required to submit monthly reports, setting forth the following: (a) kinds of programs and method of operation, (b) samples of all materials used, (c) names and background of instructors, (d) cooperation, if any, with local

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Organizations conducting citizenship education or leadership training programs are required to submit monthly reports, setting forth the following: (a) kinds of programs and method of operation, (b) samples of all materials used, (c) names and background of instructors, (d) cooperation, if any, with local

governmental agencies, schools, and colleges, (e) a measurement of community participation, including the number of people directly involved in citizenship education classes or leadership training seminars. Groups should be cooperative with the Project in the gathering of other statistical data as may be required for the purpose of research.

Financial Reporting -- After approval of a grant by the Project, the cooperating agency is required to establish a separate bank account. The Project will mail a deposit directly to the bank for an amount approximately two weeks cash supply for the program. This amount will be maintained on a draw basis.

Each week the agency will submit to the Project a report itemizing all disbursements from this account and enclosing appropriate vouchers for each disbursement. No special check form is contemplated at the present time. The Project will audit this report and reimburse the bank account for the amount spent. In this way the balance in the bank should be constant until the local program approaches termination. Then the funds would either be refunded or used up (with appropriate reporting).

Guidelines for VEP Grants - 5.

The bank should be instructed to mail all bank statements directly to SRC. The Project will reconcile these bank accounts and perform certain auditing procedures each month.

For further information, write:

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

FINANCIAL REPORT

ON PROGRAMS ASSISTED BY

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

BY

ORGANIZATION & STATE

AS OF JULY 15, 1966

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOURCE OF FUNDS

Field Foundation	$100,000.00
Rockefellow Brothers	50,000.00
Taconic Foundation	150,000.00
Marion Ascoli Fund	1,000.00
Ford Foundation	24,000.00
	$325,000.00

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
STATE-BY-STATE DISTRIBUTION

STATE	NUMBER	AMOUNT
Alabama	13	$ 14,097.50
Arkansas	3	8,000.00
Florida	2	2,175.00
Georgia	16	27,146.80
Louisiana	6	10,575.00
Mississippi	8	14,920.00
North Carolina	5	6,260.00
South Carolina	10	10,143.00
Tennessee	4	11,765.00
Virginia	6	19,255.00
Others	3	1,625.00
	TOTAL	$125,962.30

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Alabama

GRANT NO.	AGENCY	GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
66-2	NAACP (W.C. Patton)	$ 4,000.00	Program Development
66-9	Auburn League of Women Voters	975.00	Citizenship Education
66-10	Hale County Improvement & Progressive Assoc.	715.00	Voter Registration
66-15	Tuscaloosa Citizens For Action Comm.	710.00	" "
66-17	Tuskegee Civic Assoc.	2,675.00	Citizenship Education
66-18	Conecuh County Improvement Assoc.	652.50	Voter Registration & Citizenship Education
66-24	Marengo County VEP	490.00	Voter Registration & Citizenship Education
66-25	Perry County VEP	490.00	" "
66-26	Barbour County VEP	490.00	" "
66-27	Sumter County VEP	490.00	" "
66-28	Jefferson County VEP	720.00	" "
66-29	Choctau County VEP	490.00	" "
66-60	Lee County Voters League	1,200.00	Voter Registration
	TOTAL	$14,097.50	

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Arkansas

GRANT NO.	AGENCY	GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
66-33	Operation Registration Clean Up Drive	$ 1,500.00	Voter Registration
66-52	Phillip County Branch	1,000.00	" "
66-65	Arkansas Council on Human Relations (16 Counties)	5,500.00	" "
	TOTAL	$ 8,000.00	

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Florida

GRANT NO.	AGENCY	GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
66-11	OPA-LOCKA Branch NAACP	$ 250.00	Voter Registration
66-74	Pensacola Imp. Assoc.	1,925.00	" "
	TOTAL	$2,175.00	

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Georgia

GRANT NO.	AGENCY	GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
66-3	Bibb County Co- ordinating Committee	$ 1,975.00	Voter Registration
66-13	Griffin Branch, NAACP	1,047.50	" "
66-6	Augusta-Richmond County Voter Education Project	2,195.00	" "
66-14	All Citizens Registra- tion Committee	4,775.00	" "
66-31	Savannah Branch, NAACP	2,500.00	" "
66-38	Brunswick Branch, "	1,420.00	" "
66-56	Houston County Voters Comm.	1,000.00	" "
66-57	Non-Partisan Voters	1,524.00	" "
66-58	Thomasville Branch, NAACP	1,000.00	" "
66-59	Hancock County Demo- cratic Club	905.00	" "
66-61	Fort Valley Citizens Education Committee	1,000.00	" "
66-62	Keystone Voters League	1,000.000	" "
66-63	Dougherty County Resources Development	3,700.00	" "
66-66	Dublin Branch, NAACP	1,205.00	" "
66-8	Valdosta & Laurens County Voters League	500.00	" "
66-75	Bullock County Branch, NAACP	1,400.00	" "

TOTAL $27,146.80

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Louisiana

GRANT NO.	AGENCY	GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
66-34	CORE Madison Parish	$ 1,670.00	Voter Registration
66-35	CORE Claiborne Parish	1,670.00	" "
66-36	CORE Quachita Parish	1,730.00	" "
66-53	Operation Registration	2,940.00	" "
66-67	Shreveport Branch, NAACP	1,500.00	" "
66-64	FOCUS, Baton Rouge	1,065.00	" "
	TOTAL	$10.575.00	

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Mississippi

GRANT NO.	AGENCY	GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
66-4	Cohoma County Branch, NAACP	$ 3,745.00	Voter Registration
66-16	Forrest County Branch, NAACP	900.00	" "
66-47	Issaquena County Improvement League	2,770.00	" "
66-68	Washington County Voters League	1,320.00	" "
66-69	Warren County Improvement League	1,280.00	" "
66-70	Laurel Cooperative Voter Reg. Comm.	1,530.00	" "
66-71	Madison County Movement	2,000.00	" "
66-72	Sharkey County Improvement Assoc.	1,375.00	" "

TOTAL $14,920.00

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: North Carolina

GRANT NO.	AGENCY	GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
66-7	Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Tieger	$ 600.00	Voter Registration
66-19	Longhill Linden Branch, NAACP	795.00	" "
66-21	Durham Council on Negro Affairs	2,765.00	" "
66-37	Greensboro Branch, NAACP	1,350.00	" "
66-73	American Friends Ser. Comm.	750.00	Citizenship Education

TOTAL $ 6,260.00

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: South Carolina

GRANT NO.	AGENCY	GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
66-1	South Carolina VEP	$ 4,525.00	Program Development Citizenship Education & Voter Registration
66-12	Aiken County Registration Committee	1,375.00	Citizenship Education & Voter Registration
66-39	Beaufort County Voters League	400.00	" "
66-41	Sumter County Civic League	250.00	" "
66-42	Richland County Voters' League	600.00	" "
66-43	Charleston Citizens Committee of Charleston County	720.00	" "
66-44	Williamburg County Voters' League	400.00	" "
66-48	Clarendon County Voters' League	500.00	" "
66-40	Calhoun County Voters' League	250.00	" "
66-20	Florence County VEP	1,120.00	" "
	TOTAL	$10,143.00	

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Tennessee

GRANT NO.	AGENCY	GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
66-5	Memphis Branch, NAACP	$ 2,930.00	Voter Registration
66-51	Jackson Branch, NAACP	1,200.00	" "
66-54	West Tennessee VEP (19 Counties)	5,000.00	" "
66-55	Knoxville Council on Human Relations	2,635.00	" "

TOTAL $11,765.00

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Virginia

GRANT NO.	AGENCY	GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
66-22	Richmond Branch, NAACP	2,495.00	Voter Registration
66-23	Northern Virginia VEP	8,420.00	Citizenship Education
66-32	Lynchburg Voters' League	1,365.00	Voter Registration
66-45	Norfolk Branch, NAACP	2,275.00	" "
66-46	Hampton Branch, "	1,700.00	" "
66-50	Virginia Students Civil Rights Comm.	3,000.00	Voter Registration & Citizenship Education

TOTAL $19,255.00

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Special

GRANT NO.	AGENCY	GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
66-30	National YWCA	$ 500.00	Voter Registration & Citizenship Education
66-49	Student Interns, Atlanta, Georgia	375.00	
66-76	Scholarship & Education Fund for Racial Equality	750.00	Leadership Training
	TOTAL	$ 1,615.00	

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
ORGANIZATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

	NO.	AMOUNT
CORE	3	$ 5,070.00
SCLC	6	3,170.00
SCVEP	8	8,123.00
NAACP	20	33,212.50
Other Agencies	39	76,386.80
	76	$125,962.30

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Voter Education Project
Reporting Requirements of Recipient Organizations.

1. A separate bank account will be opened and used solely for deposit and disbursement of funds under this grant.

2. Deposit slips and a copy of the signature card on this bank account are furnished to VEP.

3. The bank is instructed to mail all bank statements and cancelled checks to VEP. If this instruction is violated by the bank these documents must be forwarded UNOPENED to VEP.

4. Payments for such purchases or services relevant to the grant are to be made from the above-mentioned bank account and should be made by check whenever possible.

5. Cash expenditures should be kept to a minimum and when they are made are to be supported by vouchers to which receipts and/or invoices (or copies thereof) are attached.

6. Items on vouchers supporting cash expenditures must be broken down to show amount spent for each item; viz,

Right		Wrong	
Office supplies	$5.00	Office supplies and Postage	$5.60
Postage	.60		
Total	$5.60		

7. Vouchers supporting the purchase of advertising or printing should have attached to them samples of such materials when feasible (placards, newspaper ads, bumper stickers, etc.) or exact texts when samples are not possible (as in radio ads and billboards). This is also a research requirement.

8. Personal loans are not to be made from VEP funds nor should payments for activities on non-grant projects be made even when a re-deposit of like amount is intended later.

9. VEP funds are not to be used for the payment of poll tax, under any circumstances, not even in the form of loans.

10. All voided checks, cash vouchers, and supporting receipts, invoices, media samples, and travel expense forms must be attached to a properly filled out weekly report and mailed to VEP each_____. These reports are to be certified by the individual responsible for the project by placing his signature in the appropriate space on the bottom of weekly report.

11. When you make a direct grant to a regional affiliate, detailed expenditures of this direct grant must be supported by this same method of reporting either directly to VEP or through you to VEP.

12. When your regional affiliates make direct grants to local groups detailed expenditures of these direct grants must be supported by this same method of reporting either directly to VEP or through the regional affiliate or through you to VEP.

IN OTHER WORDS (RE 11 and 12) DIRECT GRANTS CANNOT BE MADE TO REGIONAL OR LOCAL GROUPS WITHOUT FULL ACCOUNTING TO VEP FOR THE EXPENDITURES OF THESE DIRECT GRANTS.

13. All reports, vouchers, bank statements, and cancelled checks will be retained by VEP. Should the grantee need access to these records they will be available.

Submit all financial reports to Thaddeus Olive, Jr., Administrative Aide, Voter Project.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: The Voter Education Project Advisory Committee

In the first six months of its existence, the current Voter Education Project has assisted a total of 76 different programs. The emphasis thus far has been on voter registration. However, a few programs of citizenship education and leadership training have been funded.

As the state-by-state tables show, there is much to be done in the field of voter registration in the South, despite the striking advances made in recent years. At present, barely half the Negroes of voting age in the South are registered. The white registration is nearly three-fourths.

Sizable increases still will have to be made in Negro registration if the level of democratic participation in the South is to be raised. So it is natural that local committees and citizenship organizations presently are stressing registration. But it is to be expected that emphasis will shift to citizenship education and leadership training as the registration totals move upward. The Voter Education Project will continue to take the initiative in stimulating programs of education and training.

Thus far, programs associated with the Voter Education Project have registered nearly 50,000 persons. The attached

tables account for 41,557 of these. However, there are a few projects which have not yet submitted final reports. And there are a number of projects, particularly in Georgia and Mississippi, which have not yet had time to submit reports.

Moreover, it should be noted that registration drives tend to have a snowballing effect. When one person who has never registered goes to the courthouse and does so, he tells his relatives and neighbors. A few days later, the relatives and neighbors may go register. So 20 or more persons eventually may register because one person was reached in a registration drive.

We know this occurs. Our reports from rural counties tell us that some plantation workers will not go register until others do. So a breakthrough produces ever-widening circles of new voters.

A study we have just completed shows the impact of organized registration drives and federal examiners on Negro registration. The figures follow a predictable pattern, but we feel that they are nevertheless interesting. Registration figures are significantly lower in counties with neither examiners nor organized drives.

Where heavy new registration occurs, the question naturally arises: Will these newly registered citizens vote?

Our study of the Alabama primary indicates that they will. We estimated that nearly three-fourths of Negro registration voted in the May 3 primary.

Much depends, of course, on circumstances and issues, and the issues in the Alabama primary were sharply drawn. All the same, we felt that the Alabama turnout was remarkably high.

It is here that citizenship education and leadership training come into the picture. Before the Alabama primary, the Lee County League of Women Voters received from us a grant of $200. With this modest sum, the League transported voting machines throughout the county so that 2,500 new voters, of whom 1,300 were illiterate, could become accustomed to using this rather imposing device before the election.

Now we are granting another small amount -- $775 -- to the same organization for the purpose of producing three television programs on citizenship education for showing in Alabama and, we hope, ~~elsewhere.~~ The programs will be produced in cooperation with the drama departments of Tuskegee Institute and Auburn University

Another pre-primary program of voter education was

conducted in Macon County. We hope this program will be the forerunner of similar programs in other rural areas.

In the field of leadership training, a one-day institute was held in Alabama in cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. A similar institute was held later in South Carolina.

These institutes schooled candidates and poll watchers in election laws and election procedures. After the Alabama primaries, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund filed suits regarding Greene County and a legislative district in East Alabama growing out of instructions provided at the pre-election institute.

Also, we have allocated a small grant for a six-day leadership training workshop to be held later this month at Frogmore, S. C., for Negro candidates and their campaign workers.

Another forthcoming project will be supported through the Southern regional office of the Urban League. It will seek to train community leaders in both urban and rural settings -- Jacksonville, Fla., and Hobson City, Ala.

We are also working to increase student participation in programs sponsored through the Voter Education Project. VEP has been fortunate during the summer in having the services of

William R. Beardslee, a Haverford College student who is directing our efforts in this area.

Many of our registration programs report that young people are the mainstays of such activities as door-to-door canvassing. As an example of our efforts to encourage the use of students in VEP-assisted programs, we recently made a grant to the Lynchburg, Va., Voters League for five students and a coordinator.

We also assisted the National YWCA in a spring registration campaign conducted by 247 college students in six localities. These students registered 3,022 persons -- a figure not included in our state-by-state VEP total.

One of the better programs with which we are associated is being operated in Southside Virginia by the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee.

Mr. Beardslee recommends that we expand the use of students in VEP. He proposes recruitment through deans of Negro colleges and through human-relations organizations.

It should be noted that not all of our programs are limited to a single county. The Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee works in nine counties. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations operates a program in 16 counties. Another program covers 19 counties in West Tennessee.

Thus far, for all programs, we have committed a total of $125,962.30. Grants to VEP total $325,000.

Our research department answers requests for information on registration and voting from sources ranging from The New York Times and television networks to local news media and candidates.

The research reports sent to us from VEP-assisted programs regularly provide some of the most interesting reading material available concerning the South and Southern problems. Through these reports we watch directors of these programs -- for the most part, local people -- meet and conquer such oft-mentioned problems as fear, intimidation, suspicion, apathy, resignation, dissension and the hostility of white officials.

Is it worthwhile? For that answer we turn to the director of the registration program in Charleston, S. C. In pen-and-ink at the bottom of his final statistical report, he writes:

"We tried as hard as we could to get as many to register as possible. We are not too happy. But 783 new registered voters would never have been if it were not for the Southern Regional Council, Inc."

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THE EFFECTS OF FEDERAL EXAMINERS AND ORGANIZED REGISTRATION CAMPAIGNS ON NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION

- - -

A SPECIAL REPORT

OF

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

JULY, 1966

To what extent do federal examiners influence the level of Negro voter registration in the Southern counties to which they are assigned? What is the effect of organized registration campaigns, particularly those assisted by the Voter Education Project?

A study by the Voter Education Project seeks to answer these questions. Registration figures were compared for counties with federal examiners, with VEP programs, with both and with neither.

The results follow a predictable pattern. Highest Negro registration figures are found in those counties with both federal examiners and VEP-assisted programs. Next comes counties with federal examiners, followed by counties with VEP programs. Lowest registration levels are found in those counties with neither.

As of late June, federal examiners had been assigned in 41 counties in four states. They had registered a total of 122,905 persons. No federal examiners have been assigned in Georgia or Virginia or in 26 North Carolina counties which come under provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

At the time of the comparisons, there were only two counties in South Carolina with federal examiners and only two in Mississippi with VEP-affiliated programs. Mississippi counties with neither were selected at random from various sections of the state. Alabama and South Carolina counties were chosen from the area immediately surrounding counties with federal examiners and VEP programs.

Urban counties were excluded because these counties generally have long-standing registration programs and other special histories which set them apart from rural counties. Louisiana was not included for lack of recent and adequate parish-by-parish registration figures. Federal examiners have been assigned to five Louisiana parishes.

Georgia furnishes a state example of low Negro registration where no federal examiners are present. Georgia's Negro registration is second lowest at 43.1 per cent of the Negro voting age population. In the adjoining states of Alabama and South Carolina, the figures are 48.9 per cent and 50.3 per cent respectively. Mississippi has the lowest Negro registration: 30.9 per cent of the voting age population.

The Voter Education Project assists, through small grants, programs of registration, citizenship education and leadership training in 11 Southern states. For further information about the attached tables, contact Marvin Wall, research director, Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303,

(Area Code 404, 577-2986).

ALABAMA

BOTH	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
Hale	3,940	5,999	
Perry	3,719	5,202	
Marengo	5,535	7,791	
	13,194	18,992	69.5
FEDERAL EXAMINERS			
Greene	3,801	5,001	
Wilcox	3,932	6,085	
Lowndes	2,353	5,122	
Dallas	10,260	15,115	
Elmore	2,717	4,808	
Autauga	2,275	3,651	
	25,338	39,782	63.7
VEP			
Sumter	3,369	6,814	
Choctaw	2,971	3,982	
Conecuh	1,822	3,635	
Barbour	3,487	5,787	
	11,649	20,218	57.6

NEITHER

Clarke	2,495	5,833	
Monroe	2,380	4,894	
Butler	1,731	4,820	
Pike	3,015	5,259	
Bullock	2,980	4,450	
Russell	3,901	10,531	
Washington	1,403	2,297	
Crenshaw	1,210	2,207	
Escambia	1,755	5,685	
	20,870	45,976	45.4

MISSISSIPPI

	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
BOTH			
Coahoma	7,553	14,604	51.7
FEDERAL EXAMINERS			
Leflore	6,868	13,567	
Neshoba	904	2,565	
Jones	2,568	7,427	
Jefferson	3,038	3,540	
Claiborne	1,937	3,969	
Holmes	4,891	8,757	
Carroll	1,036	2,704	
DeSoto	1,825	6,246	
Madison	5,871	10,366	
Jeff Davis	1,843	3,222	
Benton	942	1,419	
Clay	1,624	4,444	
Humphreys	787	5,561	
Walthall	1,328	4,540	
Newton	1,075	3,018	
Simpson	882	3,186	
Warren	5.116	10,726	

	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
Jasper	721	3,675	
Noxubee	1,461	5,172	
Rankin	1,503	6,944	
Winston	1,003	3,611	
	47,223	114,659	41.2
VEP PROGRAM			
Issaquena	377	1,081	34.9
NEITHER			
Lincoln	392	3,913	
Panola	2,186	7,250	
Sunflower	2,059	13,524	
Attala	866	4,262	
Amite	847	3,560	
Alcorn	139	1,756	
Franklin	338	1,842	
Sharkey	398	3,152	
Washington	4,811	20,619	
Pontotoc	243	1,519	
Choctaw	159	1,105	
Harrison	3,482	9,670	
Lauderdale	5,306	11,924	

[redacted]

Lowndes	1,260	8,362	
Pike	2,090	6,936	
Tunica	468	5,822	
Wilkinson	597	4,120	
Adams	5,829	9,340	
Montgomery	67	2,627	
George	115	580	
Yazoo	1,051	8,719	
Lee	709	5,130	
Stone	101	868	
Scott	664	3,752	
Lafayette	775	3,239	
Quitman	1,238	5,673	
	36,190	149,264	24.2

SOUTH CAROLINA

	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
BOTH			
Clarendon	5,182	7,735	67.0
FEDERAL EXAMINER			
Dorchester	3,836	5,370	71.4
VEP			
Williamsburg	5,356	10,535	
Sumter	7,791	15,380	
Beaufort	3,963	7,247	
	17,110	33,162	51.6
NEITHER			
Georgetown	4,119	7,173	
Orangeburg	8,289	17,355	
Bamberg	1,332	3,807	
Barnwell	1,759	3,242	
Lee	2,554	5,446	
	18,053	37,023	48.8

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

PA
MJ

August 2, 1966

Mr. James A. Dugan
President
Northern Virginia
Voter Education Project
423 Queen Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Dear Mr. Dugan:

This is to notify the Northern Virginia Voter Education Project of the decision of the Voter Education Project to terminate financial support of the NVVEP program on citizenship education, for the Alexandria and Fairfax communities. We regret that this action has been made necessary, but as I explained to you and Mr. Sheehan in Washington on Friday, We feel not only justified, but obligated to do so, under the present circumstances.

The primary reason for the termination is that, in our opinion, NVVEP has not conducted the proposed citizenship education program consistent with the proposal as outlined when submitted to the Voter Education Project for funding. Nor have we found, based on the narrative reports, any instructive material for the VEP to assist us in helping other communities. Of course we both agree that much of the problem stemmed from the fact that the drafters of the proposal differed with the administrators of the program as to how the program was to be administered, what the desired objectives were, and what methods best suited their implementation.

The VEP grant to NVVEP was $8,420.00. To date, you have spent $3,237.76. Your outstanding commitments to date total $1,231.74, as set forth by you in our meeting in Washington on Sunday, July 31. The Voter Education Project will not be responsible for any outstanding commitments beyond this amount. We have deposited to the NVVEP bank account the amount of $1,231.74, so that you can satisfy your indebtness.

As to the assets purchased with VEP funds, you are hereby authorized to sell them for value, and the proceeds are to be deposited to the NVVEP account and used to continue such programming to the extent that these funds are exhausted. We discussed the necessity for salvaging certain aspects of the program, and it seems to us that the money from the sale of your assets will assist you in so doing.

We are also requesting that at your earliest concenience, we have a full written report of the activities of the NVVEP as long as it operates with VEP funds. This report is an absolute necessity.

Finally, the fact that VEP has taken this course of action relative to your grant does not mean that the door is closed to future grants. It does mean, however, that we will examine carefully your proposal and try to avoid some of the problems that we encountered in the initial grant.

I am most appreciative for your splendid cooperation and good spirits of the entire situation.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

VEJ:nm

Its Effectiveness Questioned Wash. Post 8-4-66

Voter Project Loses Grant

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Promotion

By Maurine McLaughlin
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Southern Regional Council, a prominent biracial organization, yesterday withdrew its support from the controversial Northern Virginia Voter Education Project.

Paul Anthony, Council director, announced in Atlanta that the Council is "terminating" an $8100 grant to the Project, which seeks to encourage voting by Negroes.

"We felt the project wasn't accompilshing the results we had hoped for," Anthony said in a telephone interview. "We're extremely careful that none of our funds go for partisan political activities or for direct action," he continued.

The Northern Virginia Voter Education Project has circulat- unsigned flyers accusing the ed unsigned flyers accusing the Alexandria police of improperly unleashing police dogs and has picketed the Alexandria police station to protest against the use of dogs.

It also has organized registration rallies and demanded that the Department of Justice investigate voter registration practices in Alexandria.

Another spokesman for the Southern Regional Council, Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of voting projects in eleven states, said yesterday that thte Northern Vriginia group "had the largest grant that we have made, but we were getting hardly any return in terms of registering voters or citizenship education."

Reached by telephone in Memphis, Jordan said the project was designed to sponsor neighborhood seminars in citizenship training, but "it just didn't do it to our satisfaction."

He cited "disagreements" between the designers of the proposal and the staff administering it, and high turnover of Project workers as other reasons for the Council's withdrawal. He said circulation of the flyers had no bearing on the decision.

Originally the Southern Regional Council, one of the oldest interracial organizations in the South, had planned to fund the project, which began in April through the November election period.

But Jordan said that he met with Project representatives Sunday in Washington and told them that the Council was backing out.

The proposal for the Voter Education Project was drawn up by a group of Northern Virginians headed by James Dugan.

Project director has been Jane Fraser, a former UPO employe, but the project has no connection with UPO, Dugan stressed in a telephone interview.

Dugan said the project has registered about 200 Negroes in Alexandria and from 500 to 700 in Fairfax County and cooperated with an Arlington group that registered 120.

He said he expected the Project would be continued with donations solicited from private citizens.

PRESS RELEASE

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
JAckson 2-8764

ROR RELEASE

FRIDAY

AUGUST 5, 1966

The first full year of the Voting Rights Act has produced dramatic increases in Negro registration, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council said today.

Saturday marks the first anniversary of the Voting Rights Act. It was signed by President Johnson on August 6, 1965.

At this time a year ago, Negro registration in the six Southern states affected by the Act was just over 837,000, or less than 30 per cent of the Negro voting-age population.

At present, Negro registration in the same six states is estimated at 1,289,000, or nearly 46 per cent of the Negro voting-age population.

The increases have been most pronounced in the four states to which federal examiners have been assigned: Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. No examiners have been assigned in Georgia or Virginia, or in 26 North Carolina counties to which the Act applies.

Thus far examiners have registered voters in 24 counties in Mississippi, in 11 in Alabama, in two in South Carolina, and in five parishes in Louisiana. As of July 16, examiners had registered 64,155 persons in Alabama, 41,595 in Mississippi, 13,689 in Louisiana, and 4,542 in South Carolina.

Virtually all of these new registrants have been Negro. Only a few have been white.

The Voting Rights Act suspends literacy tests and has eliminated poll taxes and other devices which have discouraged voting in states with low registration.

"The figures clearly demonstrate the need for more federal examiners," said Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., director of the Voter Education Project. "This includes parts of the two states to which they have not been sent and many counties in the four states to which they have been sent.

"There also is a need," Jordan added, "for more concentrated private efforts to increase registration and voting in the South. The Voter Education Project is doing all it can to encourage such efforts."

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., of Atlanta, supports projects in voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training in the 11 southern states.

State-by-state figures on the first year of the Voting Rights Act are as follows:

STATE	Pre-Act Registration, Negro	Percentage of Negro Voting-Age Population	Current Registration (estimated), Negro	Percentage of Negro Voting-Age Population	Registered by Federal Examiners	Net Increase
ALABAMA	113,493	23.6	248,000	51.5	64,155	134,507
GEORGIA	233,051	38.0	267,000	43.6	---	33,949
LOUISIANA	153,781	29.9	243,000	47.2	13,689	89,219
MISSISSIPPI	25,265	6.0	139,000	32.9	41,595	113,735
SOUTH CAROLINA	142,802	38.5	187,000	50.4	4,542	44,198
VIRGINIA	169,000 (est.)	40.1	205,000	48.7	---	36,000
TOTALS	837,392	29.7	1,289,000	45.7	123,981	451,608

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NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, AUGUST 5, 1966.

NEW LAW SPURS NEGRO VOTE ROLLS

Registration Advances 16% in Six Southern States

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Aug. 4—Voter registration in six southern states has increased from 30 per cent of the eligible Negroes to 46 per cent in one year since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Southern Regional Council reported today.

The council, a nonprofit group seeking racial equality, said the results in the first year indicated a need for assignment of more Federal examiners to the South.

Negro registration in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia and Virginia was said to have increased from 837,000 to 1,289,000.

Under the act, Federal examiners may be sent under certain conditions into these states as well as into a part of North Carolina to supervise voter registration. The act suspends literacy tests in these areas.

Impact of Examiners

As yet no examiners have been sent to Georgia, Virginia, or to the 26 counties in North Carolina to which the act applied.

Examiners have been certifying voters in 24 counties in Mississippi, 11 in Alabama, two in South Carolina and five in Louisiana.

Through its Voter Education Project, the council reported that the examiners had certified 64,155 persons in Alabama, 41,595 in Mississippi, 13,689 in Louisiana and 4,542 in South Carolina. Almost all of these were Negroes.

There also were substantial increases in registration in these states through local registrars.

Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the Voter Education Project, noted a substantial difference between the increases in states with Federal examiners and those without them.

In Georgia, for instance, the increase was 33,949, all through local registrars. In Alabama, Federal examiners certified 64,155 persons and 70,352 more were added by local registrars, a total increase of 134,507.

Mr. Jordan gave the council's analysis of this development:

"The figures clearly demonstrate the need for more Federal examiners. This includes parts of the two states to which they have not been sent and many counties in the four states to which they have been sent. There also is a need for more concentrated private efforts to increase registration and voting in the South."

He noted that the foundation-financed Voter Education Project was backing such private efforts over a wide area of the South.

The project's figures for the six states are:

Alabama—248,000 Negroes registered, 51.5 per cent of eligible Negroes, up 134,507 in the past year, of which 64,155 was through Federal examiners.

Georgia—267,000 registered, 43.6 per cent, up 33,949.

Louisiana—243,000 registered, 47.2 per cent, up 89,219, of which 13,689 was through Federal examiners.

Mississippi—139,000 registered, 32.9 per cent, up 113,735, of which 41,595 was through Federal examiners.

South Carolina—187,000 registered, 50.4 per cent, up 44,198, of which 4,542 was through Federal examiners.

Virginia—205,000 registered, 48.7 per cent, up 36,000.

Wilkins Lauds Result

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said yesterday that the increases in registered voters reported by the Southern Regional Council were "a source of encouragement to those of us who believe that the ballot is an essential instrument for racial advancement."

"This important gain was achieved not by speech-making, sloganeering or demonstrations," he went on, "but by hard work at the precinct level. The unglamorous day-to-day task of getting Negroes to register made this increase possible."

Mr. Wilkins said the N.A.A.C.P. had "contributed mightily to this gain through consistent and persistent work at the grass roots level in all of these states and particularly in Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina."

"We are firmly convinced," the Negro leader said, "that the continuing increase in Negro registration will bring about a wholesome regeneration and liberalization of Southern politics."

MJ
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Comment to
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file V.E.P. general

M E M O R A N D U M

August 16, 1966

TO: Dr. Tilman C. Cothran

FROM: Vernon E. Jordan, Marvin Wall and Harry DeLong

RE: Legal Chronology of School Desegregation in Atlanta, Georgia

NOTE: This is the first draft outlining the legal events in desegregation of the Atlanta public schools. This document will be rewritten and edited, where need be, for the final study. It is our thinking that this background will be helpful to you and other members of the research team as they look into such things as space utilization, feeder patterns, school boundaries, and related matters.

LEGAL CHRONOLOGY OF ATLANTA SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

In 1956 the Georgia Legislature empowered the Governor to close public schools whenever he found that they could not be operated "in such manner as shall entitle such schools under the law of this state to state funds for their maintenance and operation...." Since other laws prohibited the expenditure of state or local funds for desegregated schools, an intention to authorize the closing of desegregated schools seemed clear.[1]

In 1959, the Georgia General Assembly enacted further laws designed to resist federal court orders desegregating public schools.

One authorized the Governor to close public schools to preserve order and made it unlawful for any official to participate in the operation of such a closed school, or expend funds therefor. This statute provided also for transfers from closed schools, and for educational grants to permit students to attend private schools.[2]

Local school systems within the state were also prohibited from expending funds in the operation of desegregated schools.[3]

It was against this background that a suit was filed in federal district court in Atlanta on January 11, 1958, to enjoin the operation of racially segregated public education in Atlanta.[4] The Georgia Legislature promptly responded on January 21, 1958, with a resolution urging the Mayor of Atlanta to advise the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to withdraw from participation in the suit, which the Legislature regarded as "but another outside interference in the now orderly, peaceable and mutually satisfactory association between the major minority of America, the southern white people, and the major minority of the South, the southern colored people."[5]

June 5, 1959

United States District Judge Frank A. Hooper took judicial notice of the fact that the City of Atlanta maintained separate schools for white and Negro children. This finding foreclosed plans by the defendant city Board of Education to offer witnesses to prove that the racial arrangement in the city school system was both voluntary and to the best interest of both races. After taking judicial notice of the fact that separate school systems were maintained, the court held that such operation was in violation of the 14th Amendment of the U. S. Constitution.[6]

June 16, 1959.

Judge Hooper further elaborated on the effect of his ruling, and two significant holdings were announced:

(1) To affect the court's injunction against further operation of racially segregated schools, the court assumed that the defendant school board would submit a gradual plan for desegregation, providing for careful screening of persons desiring to transfer from schools of one race into schools for another race.[7]

(2) The court took judicial cognizance of state laws which would cut off all funds to desegregate schools, and therefore allowed the defendants to submit their desegregation plans "subject to approval thereof by the Georgia Legislature, and the court would allow sufficient time for the Georgia Legislature to react upon the same."[8]

June 9, 1959.

On this date, Judge Hooper announced the court's order.[9] The City of Atlanta was enjoined from "engaging in any and all action which limits or effects admission to, attendance in, or

education of, infant plantiffs, or any other Negro children similarity situated in schools under the defendant's jurisdiction on the basis of race or color...."[10] However, the court allowed the plantiffs a "reasonable" period of time to achieve full compliance with the order, and such compliance was to be achieved by the terms of a plan the defendant school board was directed to submit to the court on or before December 1, 1959.[11]

December 1, 1959.

The defendant school board submitted a plan for approval to the court.[12] The principal features of the plan provided the following:

(1) Pupils seeking to transfer from one school to another must make application to the school board and the application will be considered on the basis of a number of factors including physical facilities, the pupil's psychological condition, academic background, and moral background, the possibility of civil disorder, and the affect on other students.[13]

(2) Racial factors will be abolished as a basis for considering student's application for transfer, proceeding on a grade a year approach, beginning the first year with the 12th grade, and going down one grade each year.[14]

(3) The enactment of this plan by the school board is contingent upon the enactment by the State General Assembly of Laws permitting the plan to operate.[15]

December 30, 1959.

On this date, the court rendered an opinion regarding the defendant school board's proposed plan.[16]

(1) The court rejected the plantiff's contention that the defendant school board was under a duty to integrate its school system. The court found the duty to be a negative one, that is, to cease operating a segregated school system.[17]

(2) The court found the submitted proposal acceptable regarding the plan for one grade a year desegregation.[18]

(3) The court held that the factor to be considered in accepting transfers of the possibility of disorder or violence is constitutionally irrelevant and not permissible except as such factors will relate to bases other than racial. Further, the court held that "economic retaliation" could not be a valid factor.[19]

(4) The court held that psychological and moral factors could be used in considering transfer applications because these factors are relevant.[20]

(5) The court held that any transfer application that is denied must have a prompt route for appeal.[21]

(6) Appropriate amendments to the plan were ordered to be submitted no later than January 6, 1960.[22]

January 19, 1960.

The defendant school board submitted an amended plan on January 4, 1960, and supplemented that plan with a further amended plan submitted on January 19, 1960. The latter plan contained basically the same provisions as the original plan, except that amendments were made to comply with the court's objections to the original plan.[23] The court approved this amended plan on January 20, 1960.[24]

February 26, 1960.

On this date, plantiffs moved that the court direct defendants to proceed with their plan, as approved, on May 1, 1960.[25] The plantiffs' motion was in reaction to the failure of the 1960 session of Georgia's General Assembly to enact legislation enabling the defendant school board to proceed with their

plan.[26] The major action of the 1960 session of the Legislature was to create a committee, subsequently known as the Sibley Commission, whose purpose was "to study and recommend possible revisions of Georgia Law," presumably for the purpose of enabling the Legislature to consider what changes might be desirable in light of the Court's order.[27] The Legislature had ordered the Commission to submit a report on May 1, 1960, and the court denied the plantiffs' motion, for the purpose of making a final ruling on the motion after the Commission Report.[28]

March 9, 1960.

The court further explained its reasoning in postponing a final ruling on plantiffs' motion. The court indicated that it was impressed with the beginning activities of the Sibley Commission, and made the following statement:

> This Court at the present time is not utterly without hope that the people of Georgia, when properly and adequately informed of the true issues of the matter, will adopt a course of action which will preserve the common schools of Georgia, and avoid a closing of the same....[29]

May 9, 1960.

The Court issued a final order denying plantiffs' motion that the defendant school board's plan be put into effect for the school term beginning September, 1960. Instead, the Court ordered that the defendant shall put into operation their approved plan on May 1, 1961, regardless of whether the Georgia General Assembly passed enabling legislation.[30]

September 13, 1960.

The Court issued an opinion further explaining its reasons for denying plantiffs' motion originally made on February 26, 1960.[31]

(1) Throughout this litigation the Court has held to the opinion that delay in ordering the entire elimination of segregation in the Atlanta public schools could be justified only in the event that bona fide efforts were being made to eliminate the same under a reasonable and gradual plan.[32]

(2) Because of the failure of the Georgia Legislature in its 1960 session to enact laws enabling the proposed plan of the defendant Board of Education to be enacted, the Court felt that an order to put the plan into effect that year would only have the effect of closing the Atlanta schools and risk the danger of closing all of Georgia's schools.[33]

(3) The Court made further observation that the "the Georgia Legislature in January, 1960, had for the most part been elected upon their promises to the people that they would not under any circumstances permit any intergration in any school in Georgia, and they felt bound by these promises."[34]

(4) "...the Court thinks the appointment of the /Sibley/ Commission was a wise step and that much progress has resulted therefrom." The Court further observed that three out of every five witnesses who testified before the Commission in its hearings throughout the state favored maintaining segregation even though it might result in abolishing the Georgia public school system. The Court felt that this was encouraging because it indicated that there was some change of feeling occurring in the state regarding compliance with the Court order, even though the new feeling still reflected a minority view.[35]

(5) The Court indicated approval of the Commission's recommendations. These recommendations would result in legislation which would preserve public education on a local option basis by which local communities could vote whether or not to accept the pupil assignment plan (also called the Virginia plan, in which selected Negroes are allowed to transfer and be assigned to public white schools), or to close the Georgia public schools.[36]

(6) Finally the Court stated that it "is making a sincere effort to enable the people of Georgia and its Legislature to make a decision in this matter, if they so desire, that will prevent the closing of the schools of Georgia."[37]

THE SIBLEY COMMISSION MAJORITY REPORT[38]

(1) "Although the Committee declared its firm opposition to the Supreme Court ruling in the School Segregation Cases, it recognized their binding force...."[39]

(2) The Commission apparently felt that any system of private schools would prove impractical, and instead recommended giving authority to local school boards "to assign students to particular schools in accordance with the best interest of all students... and the giving of assurance that no child would be required to go to school with a child of a different race except on a voluntary basis."[40]

(3) "The Committee also recommended enactment of legislation to provide tuition grants or scholarships for children withdrawing from desegregated or closed schools; to

make teachers' retirement benefits available to teachers in private schools; and ...to give the people of each community the right to vote on the closing of schools in the event of desegregation."[41]

THE 1961 GEORGIA LEGISLATURE

The recommendations of the Sibley Commission were incorporated into a package of new legislation which changed the state's position "from massive resistance to limited compliance."[42]

(1) The Legislature repealed the massive resistance laws it had enacted in 1952 and enacted in their place an open-school package which was introduced by Governor Vandiver and followed the Virginia "free choice" model.[43]

(2) The following provisions were included: (a) tuition grants were provided, (b) all school children were given "free choice" between private and public schools, (c) local communities were given the right to vote on the closing and reopening of the schools upon the majority vote of the Board of Education (d) compulsory school attendance laws would be suspended in districts where the public schools were closed.[44]

December 12, 1961.

Pursuant to the order of the district court of May 9, 1960, the Board of Education prepared to enact its court-approved desegregation plan for the school year beginning September, 1961. At that time three Negro students were accepted for transfer at Northside High School in Atlanta. One white student requested transfer out of Northside to a school that would remain all white. Her request for transfer was denied by the Atlanta Board of Education. The Atlanta Board was reversed by the State Board, which granted the transfer.

When the State Board reversed, the City Board applied to the Federal District Court for clarifications on previous orders. The Court declared the State Board's judgement void, and enjoined the State Board from enforcing it.[45]

(1) The Court held as invalid the grounds on which the white student desired to transfer from the high school which was to become desegregated (she claimed that "intolerable psychological damage to her person" would result).

(2) The principle and overriding reason for the Court's decision rests in the Court's observation that "the overruling Board was based upon a discriminatory basis, and...such ruling if allowed to stand would nullify the Pupil Placement Plan heretofore adopted by

the Atlanta School Board and approved by this Court. As above pointed out, it would also have the affect, whenever any Negro student transferred into an all white school, and causing that school to be abandoned by all who desired to do so...."[47]

June 17, 1963.

In April 1962, the plantiffs moved for further relief, seeking to amend the previous School Board plan and speed desegregation thereunder. The motion proposed to eliminate the use of academic tests as a prerequisite to transfer by Negroes. The District Court denied the motion. On appeal the denial was affirmed. Speaking for the majority of the Court of Appeals was Circuit Judge Bell.[48]

(1) The Court of Appeals found that there was undisputed testimony to the effect that the criteria used to determine if a Negro could transfer to a white school consisted of the following: (a) the reason given by the student for requesting transfer, (b) tests that were a part of his permanent record, (c) grades, (d) teacher opinion and educational judgment as to whether the request would be justified. The school to which student sought transfer could require an interview with the student seeking transfer.

It was also found that a dual system of schools, white and Negro, was no longer maintained, and that school-sponsored extra-curricular activities at integrated schools were also integrated.[49]

(2) After citing the Brown decision[50] and Cooper v. Aaron,[51] the Court stated, "gradualism in desegregation, if not the usual, is at least an accepted mode with the emphasis on getting the job of transition done."[52] On this basis the Court found that the School Board and the District Court had lived up to the duties imposed on them.

(3) The Court found the most significant question presented by the case to be plantiffs' motion that school zone lines be drawn for each school and all children living within the zone assigned to that school without regard to race.[53] This is an objection to a feature of the court-approved plan which permits the continued assignment "of those children already in school to the same schools with the right to transfer." The Court held that there was no evidence before the District Court to show the inadequacies of the present system in comparison with the proposed zone system and, therefore, the district was within its discretion to allow the defendants to continue with the present system.[54]

(4) The Court placed major emphasis on the "good faith" exhibited by Atlanta officials in an effort to abide by the court order.[55]

Circuit Judge Rivers dissented, basing his issent on a finding that "the schools of the City of Atlanta did not have a single grade, in either the grammar or high school, in which Negro children are permitted to become students on the same basis as our white children." His basis for this finding is the situation existing in which a Negro student, desiring to transfer to a white high school, is subjected to many tests and criteria, none of which apply to a white student progressing in the same grade in the white school as the result of the "feeder" system. The dissent stated further evidence of discrimination in the fact that a Negro student, desiring to transfer, must show that his results on certain tests are at least as high as the average for all of the white students in the school of which he desired to transfer. The dissent sees this as a special burden imposed on the Negro and not on the white student who is already in the school.[56]

August 16, 1966.

A month after the Court of Appeals denied plantiffs' motion, a rehearing was denied, but further orders were announced.[57]

(1) Personality interviews, to determine probable success or failure in the schools to which transfer is sought, may not be utilized where such practice relates to only Negro pupils.[58]

(2) No standard may be utilized in which the transferee is required to score a grade on scholastic ability and achievement tests equal to the average of the class of the school to which transfer is sought may be utilized.[59]

(3) No scholastic requirement whatever may be used where applied only to Negro students seeking transfer. All of these practices, as used by the Atlanta Board under the Court approved plan, must be discontinued.[60]

April 1, 9, 1965.

Following judgment of the Fifth Circuit on the denial of plantiffs' motion to speed up Atlanta's school integration, appeal was made to the U. S. Supreme Court. The Court vacated the judgment and remanded for further proceedings so that the District Court might appraise the contradictory claims of the parties concerning resolution on assignment and transfer policies adopted by the School Board since the entry of the decree from which the appeal was taken. The Supreme Court also directed the District Court to test the entire desegregation plan in light of recent declarations and Supreme Court decisions indicating that plans which had previously met the deliberate speed standards might not now be acceptable in view of passage of time since the original school segregation cases.[61]

Pursuant to this order, the District Court concluded that, after perusal of Supreme Court and Fifth Circuit opinions, "the time for mere deliberate speed has run out."[62] The District Court ordered the Atlanta School System to complete total desegregation in all grades no later than the school year beginning September, 1968.[63] This meant that the kindergarten and first grades were desegregated at the opening of school in September 1965, the second and third grade in 1966, the fourth and fifth grades in 1967, and then the sixth and seventh grades in 1968. Also relevant in the Court's decision was a resolution passed by the Atlanta Board of Education on April 8, 1964.[64] The Court examined the three criteria to be used in assigning students to high schools. All three criteria were considered to be reasonable, and capable of being administered without racial discrimination. In fact, the Court was anxious to point out that no complaint had ever been registered that any of the criteria had been carried out in a discriminatory manner. Therefore, the Court found no discrimination in the plan as operated by the defendant School Board.[65] Thus, the only order against the defendant School Board was that the rate of desegregation in terms of classes be expedited to be completed by the September 1968 school year.

FOOTNOTES

1. 2 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Report 83 (1961).
2. Id. at 69.
3. Ibid.
4. 3 Race Rel. L. Rep. 335 (1958).
5. Ibid.
6. Calhoun v. Board of Ed., 4 Race Rel. L. Rep. 576, 577 (1959).
7. Id. at 580.
8. Ibid.
9. Id. at 581.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Calhoun v. Board of Ed., 5 Race Rel. L. Rep. 57 (1960).
13. Ibid.
14. Id. at 59.
15. Id. at 59.
16. Id. at 59.
17. Id. at 60.
18. Id. at 61.
19. Id. at 62.
20. Id. at 62-63.
21. Id. at 63.
22. Id. at 65.
23. Id. at 65.
24. Id. at 70.
25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. 2 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Report 72 (1961).

28. 5 Race Rel. L. Rep. 70 (1960).

29. Id. at 71.

30. Id. at 374.

31. Calhoun v. Latimer, 5 Race Rel. L. Rep. 650 (1960).

32. Ibid.

33. Id. at 651.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Id. at 652.

38. Committee on Schools of the General Assembly of Georgia, report of majority, 5 Race Rel. L. Rep. 509 (1960).

39. 2 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Report 72 (1961).

40. Ibid. (Emphasis in the original).

41. Ibid.

42. Id. at 76.

43. Id. at 76-77.

44. Ibid.

45. Calhoun v. Latimer, 6 Race Rel. L. Rep. 976 (1961). It is interesting to note that this opinion is the first rendered in this protracted case in which the district judge makes regular use of a capital "N" in the word Negro.

46. Id. at 978.

47. Ibid.

48. Calhoun v. Latimer, 8 Race Rel. L. Rep. 502 (1963).

49. Id. at 504, 505.

50. Brown v. Board of Ed., 347 U. S. 483 (1954); Brown v. Board of Ed., 349 U. S. 294 (1955).

51. 358 U. S. 1 (1958).

52. Calhoun v. Latimer, 8 Race Rel. L. Rep. 502, 507 (1963).

53. Id. at 507, 508.

54. Id. at 508, 509.

55. Id. at 506, 509, 510.

56. Id. at 510, 511, 512.

57. Calhoun v. Latimer, 8 Race Rel. L. Rep. 935 (1963).

58. Id. at 936.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Calhoun v. Latimer, 10 Race Rel. L. Rep. 621, 22, 23 (1965).

62. Id. at 623, citing with approval Griffin v. County School Board, 377 U. S. 218.

63. Id. at 626.

64. Id. at 624. The Resolution is as follows:

"Be it resolved: That for the school year beginning August 24, 1964, all pupils entering the eighth grade from elementary schools be assigned among the various high schools without regard to race, after consideration of the following factors:

1. Choice of the pupil or his parents;

2. Availability of facilities; and

3. Proximity of the school to place of residence.

Be it further resolved: That among those seeking to attend a particular school, where facilities are not available for all, priority shall be based on proximity, except that for justifiable educational reasons and in hardship cases other factors not related to race may be applied. Administrative assignments or reassignments may be made in cases of overcrowding, in hardship cases, and for disciplinary reasons. When such administrative assignments are made they shall be based on relative proximity and available facilities, giving consideration to pupil choice where possible.

Be it further resolved: That in those grades already reached by the Atlanta plan of desegregation (ninth tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades), transfers be freely granted according to the criteria hereinbefore provided, without formal application, other than the usual pre-registration required of all students.

Be it further resolved: That a certified copy of this resolution be furnished to the attorneys for transmission to the Supreme Court of the United States in accordance with its direction.

65. Id. at 624, 25.

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SUMMER, 1966

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The figures presented herein were accumulated during the summer and late summer of 1966. While they do not represent the final registration figures for the November elections, the difference is not expected to be large. The figures were compiled from a variety of sources---public and private, official and unofficial.

For four states---Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia---complete or near-complete county-by-county figures showing white and Negro registration were not available. For these four states, statewide estimates have been made, based on the best information obtainable.

For two states---Florida and Mississippi---figures did not indicate the race of a sizeable number of registrants. These have been divided between the white and Negro columns on the basis of VEP estimates.

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director

Marvin Wall
Director of Research

NEGRO-WHITE VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SUMMER, 1966

STATE	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alabama*	1,353,058	481,320	1,192,075	246,396	88.1	51.2
Arkansas	850,643	192,626	598,000	115,000	70.3	59.7
Florida***	2,617,438	470,261	2,093,274	286,446	80.0	60.9
Georgia**	1,797,062	612,910	1,378,005	289,545	76.7	47.2
Louisiana	1,289,216	514,589	1,071,573	242,130	83.1	47.1
Mississippi***	748,266	422,256	470,920	139,099	62.9	32.9
North Carolina	2,005,955	550,929	1,653,796	281,134	82.4	51.0
South Carolina	895,147	371,104	718,061	190,609	80.2	51.4
Tennessee	1,779,018	313,873	1,375,000	225,000	77.3	71.7
Texas	4,884,765	649,512	2,600,000	400,000	53.3	61.6
Virginia	1,876,167	436,720	1,159,000	205,000	61.8	46.9
TOTALS	20,096,735	5,016,100	14,309,704	2,620,359	70.2	52.2

*Even division of 10,000 voters not registered by race.

**Two-thirds and one-third Negro-white division of 14,000 voters not registered by race.

***A later Mississippi figure put white registration at approximately 481,000 and Negro registration at 163,000. The October figure for Florida pushed white registration to 2,160,587 and Negro registration to 303,245.

A L A B A M A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Autauga	6,353	3,651	6,932	2,308	100+	63.2
Baldwin	22,236	4,527	19,692	1,242	88.6	27.4
Barbour	7,338	5,787	9,825	3,666	100+	63.3
Bibb	5,807	1,190	8,087	933	100+	78.4
Blount	14,368	378	13,709	140	95.4	37.0
Bullock	2,387	4,450	3,323	3,197	100+	71.8
Butler	8,363	4,820	7,850	1,803	93.9	37.4
Calhoun	44,739	9,036	33,472	4,404	74.8	48.7
Chambers	15,369	6,497	11,889	1,439	77.4	22.1
Cherokee	8,537	752	9,651	482	100+	61.6
Chilton	12,861	1,947	16,006	747	100+	38.4
Choctaw	5,192	3,982	5,833	3,024	100+	75.9
Clarke	7,899	5,833	10,336	2,564	100+	44.0
Clay	6,470	926	8,534	399	100+	43.1
Cleburne	5,870	385	7,493	139	100+	36.1
Coffee	14,221	2,985	11,334	1,002	79.7	33.6
Colbert	21,680	4,575	20,569	2,818	94.9	61.6
Conecuh	5,907	3,635	5,559	2,084	94.1	57.3
Coosa	4,201	1,794	5,678	956	100+	53.3
Covington	18,446	2,876	16,486	1,010	89.4	35.1

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Crenshaw	6,310	2,207	6,469	1,213	100+	55.0
Cullman	25,848	285	24,622	122	95.3	42.8
Dale	14,861	2,743	11,658	1,414	78.4	51.5
Dallas	14,400	15,115	12,787	10,513	88.8	69.6
DeKalb	23,878	441	26,680	217	100+	49.2
Elmore	12,510	4,808	15,710	2,813	100+	58.5
Escambia	12,779	5,685	15,631	1,825	100+	32.1
Etowah	48,565	7,661	41,820	4,120	86.1	53.8
Fayette	8,277	1,291	9,141	664	100+	51.4
Franklin	12,412	645	13,616	725	100+	100+
Geneva	11,357	1,606	10,321	585	90.9	36.4
Greene	1,649	5,001	2,001	3,927	100+	78.5
Hale	3,594	5,999	4,515	4,096	100+	68.3
Henry	5,165	3,168	6,629	1,459	100+	46.1
Houston	22,095	6,899	15,604	1,813	70.6	26.3
Jackson	19,298	1,175	18,526	629	96.0	53.5
Jefferson	256,319	116,160	175,087	62,992	68.3	54.2
Lamar	7,503	1,027	9,927	367	100+	35.7
Lauderdale	31,089	3,726	18,434	1,339	59.3	35.9
Lawrence	10,509	2,471	14,731	1,315	100+	53.2
Lee	17,547	8,913	13,470	2,818	76.8	31.6

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Limestone	16,173	3,579	14,272	1,278	88.2	35.7
Lowndes	1,900	5,122	2,823	2,758	100+	53.8
Macon	2,818	11,886	4,997	7,130	100+	60.0
Madison	54,516	10,666	41,333*	3,183*	75.8	29.8
Marengo	6,104	7,791	7,288	5,799	100+	74.4
Marion	12,656	403	16,418	267	100+	66.3
Marshall	26,997	637	17,174	152	63.6	23.9
Mobile	121,589	50,793	107,455*	24,794*	88.4	48.8
Monroe	6,631	4,894	7,542	2,497	100+	51.0
Montgomery	62,911	33,056	43,514	19,268	69.2	58.3
Morgan	30,955	4,159	25,741	1,194	83.2	28.7
Perry	3,441	5,202	5,495	3,847	100+	74.0
Pickens	7,336	4,373	7,407	1,717	100+	39.3
Pike	9,126	5,259	11,788	3,180	100+	60.5
Randolph	9,196	2,366	10,230	1,182	100+	50.0
Russell	13,761	10,531	12,682	3,932	92.2	37.3
St. Clair	12,244	2,035	11,044	906	90.2	44.5
Shelby	14,771	2,889	13,208*	985*	89.4	34.1
Sumter	3,061	6,814	3,775	3,392	100+	49.8
Talladega	25,635	9,333	21,389	3,406	83.4	36.5
Tallapoosa	15,310	4,999	17,807	1,818	100+	36.4
Tuscaloosa	47,076	15,332	29,049	5,707	61.7	37.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Walker	28,148	2,890	26,885	1,277	95.5	44.2
Washington	5,293	2,297	7,690	1,469	100+	64.0
Wilcox	2,624	6,085	3,639	3,765	100+	61.9
Winston	8,559	47	11,179	40	100+	85.1
TOTALS	1,353,058	481,320	1,187,075	241,396	87.7	50.2

*Figures do not include a total of more than 10,000 voters for whom race is not designated in Madison, Mobile, and Shelby counties.

F L O R I D A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alachua	30,555	9,898	24,767	6,214	81.1	62.8
Baker	3,203	807	3,445	554	100+	68.6
Bay	31,940	4,964	23,223	3,330	72.7	67.1
Bradford	5,580	1,345	4,900	893	87.8	66.4
Brevard	58,433	6,494	63,271	4,147	100+	63.9
Broward	189,517	27,009	179,977	19,713	95.0	73.0
Calhoun	3,434	582	4,091	379	100+	65.1
Charlotte	8,659	427	11,588	346	100+	81.0
Citrus	5,174	829	6,626	589	100+	71.0
Clay	9,508	1,276	9,443	1,013	99.3	79.4
Collier	8,163	1,364	8,173	623	100+	45.7
Columbia	8,092	3,122	8,676	2,517	100+	80.6
Dade	537,448	75,573	373,413	50,621	69.5	67.0
De Soto	6,339	1,343	4,564	1,010	72.0	75.2
Dixie	2,138	363	2,775	371	100+	100+
Duval	203,804	58,430	134,175	36,691	65.8	62.8
Escambia	76,688	18,041	58,651	13,058	76.5	72.4
Flagler	1,789	846	1,944	391	100+	46.2
Franklin	3,186	779	3,428	537	100+	68.9

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Gadsden	11,711	12,261	6,338	4,237	54.1	34.6
Gilchrist	1,513	154	1,737	110	100+	71.4
Glades	1,061	741	1,130	269	100+	36.3
Gulf	4,196	1,138	3,652	710	87.0	62.4
Hamilton	2,486	1,621	2,683	1,087	100+	67.0
Hardee	6,734	552	5,475	354	81.3	64.1
Hendry	3,430	1,180	3,322	756	96.8	64.1
Hernando	5,689	1,151	5,597	719	98.4	62.5
Highlands	10,997	2,251	10,587	1,547	96.3	68.7
Hillsborough	213,950	31,114	152,995	19,803	71.5	63.6
Holmes	6,131	249	6,472	199	100+	79.9
Indian River	13,182	2,637	11,713	1,376	88.9	52.2
Jackson	14,087	5,390	11,370	3,515	80.7	65.2
Jefferson	2,383	2,600	2,470	1,540	100+	59.2
Lafayette	1,536	152	1,767	102	100+	67.1
Lake	30,535	6,438	25,241	2,665	82.7	41.4
Lee	30,636	4,677	31,301	1,668	100+	35.7
Leon	28,241	12,322	25,360	7,240	89.8	58.8
Levy	4,483	1,568	3,730	536	83.2	34.2
Liberty	1,525	240	2,073	155	100+	64.6

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Madison	4,380	3,067	4,250	2,023	97.0	66.0
Manatee	42,291	5,278	35,354	3,493	83.6	66.2
Marion	21,001	9,283	22,129	6,006	100+	64.7
Martin	9,291	1,753	9,106	1,225	98.0	69.9
Monroe	25,512	2,919	16,781	2,077	65.8	71.1
Nassau	7,054	2,076	5,680	1,476	80.5	71.1
Okaloosa	30,816	2,097	23,818	1,289	77.3	61.5
Okeechobee	2,870	533	3,140	419	100+	78.6
Orange	137,780	21,771	98,598	10,344	71.6	47.5
Osceola	11,697	1,122	10,049	609	85.9	54.3
Palm Beach	119,342	29,541	104,229	17,204	87.3	58.2
Pasco	22,329	2,391	23,461	1,160	100+	48.5
Pinellas	255,369	18,121	216,174	11,155	84.6	61.6
Polk	97,314	19,224	73,713	10,045	75.7	52.2
Putnam	13,095	5,089	9,056	2,049	69.2	40.3
St. Johns	13,771	4,331	10,225	2,241	74.2	51.7
St. Lucie	17,238	6,527	14,837	3,933	86.1	60.3
Santa Rosa	14,710	1,082	13,043	740	88.7	68.4
Sarasota	49,533	4,125	42,833	2,100	86.5	50.9
Seminole	24,372	7,050	17,125	2,989	70.3	42.4

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Sumter	5,396	1,523	5,308	911	98.4	59.8
Suwannee	6,409	2,149	5,388	1,083	84.1	50.4
Taylor	5,454	1,724	5,439	939	99.7	54.5
Union	2,880	1,082	2,049	171	71.1	15.8
Volusia	74,209	11,615	63,253	6,881	85.2	59.2
Wakulla	2,120	753	2,681	602	100+	79.9
Walton	7,958	1,086	7,816	857	98.2	78.9
Washington	5,364	1,021	5,596	840	100+	82.3
TOTALS	2,617,438	470,261	2,093,274	286,446	80.0	60.9

G E O R G I A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Appling	5,862	1,401	7,286	1,187	100+	84.7
Atkinson	2,486	812	3,202	800	100+	99.2
Bacon	4,203	536	4,535	264	100+	49.3
Baker	1,139	1,285	1,517	722	100+	56.2
Baldwin	16,109	9,235	6,555	1,871	40.7	20.3
Banks	3,850	213	3,405	63	88.4	29.6
Barrow	7,865	1,332	6,230	403	79.2	30.3
Bartow	14,942	2,373	15,594	1,417	100+	59.2
Ben Hill	5,931	2,436	3,607	977	60.8	40.1
Berrien	6,179	964	5,133	575	83.1	59.6
Bibb	60,429	26,812	27,084*	5,251*	44.8	19.6
Bleckley	4,508	1,350	3,613	172	79.8	12.5
Brantley	2,854	384	3,005	300	100+	78.1
Brooks	5,059	3,711	3,320	591	65.6	15.9
Bryan	2,289	1,111	2,335	1,165	100+	100+
Bulloch	10,101	4,337	8,528	2,196	84.4	50.6
Burke	4,358	6,600	3,835	1,595	88.0	24.2
Butts	3,195	2,099	4,101	936	100+	44.6
Calhoun	1,654	2,393	1,895	509	100+	21.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Camden	3,447	2,059	3,140	1,431	91.1	69.5
Candler	2,714	1,200	2,996	965	100+	86.4
Carroll	19,234	3,595	13,201	1,965	68.6	54.7
Catoosa	12,370	172	11,231	75	90.8	43.6
Charlton	2,077	810	2,539	444	100+	54.8
Chatham	78,118	37,563	54,676	21,174	70.0	56.4
Chattahoochee	8,061	1,830	462	119	5.7	6.5
Chattooga	11,460	1,025	8,983	927	78.4	90.4
Cherokee	13,964	617	13,749*	608*	98.5	100+
Clarke	23,895	6,740	13,897	4,723	58.2	70.1
Clay	1,130	1,441	968	256	85.7	17.8
Clayton	23,996	2,456	17,725	723	73.9	29.4
Clinch	2,373	1,256	2,350	371	99.0	29.5
Cobb	63,291	4,568	29,680*	1,800*	47.0	39.6
Coffee	9,682	2,977	11,224	1,304	100.+	43.8
Colquitt	13,982	4,081	12,778*	1,673*	80.0	41.0
Columbia	5,096	2,364	4,278	801	83.9	33.9
Cook	5,213	1,755	5,513	652	100+	37.2
Coweta	11,891	5,579	11,919	2,352	100+	42.2
Crawford	1,596	1,611	1,468	354	92.0	22.0
Crisp	6,451	3,858	6,301	1,805	97.7	46.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Dade	4,803	70	4,242	60	88.3	85.7
Dawson	2,148	1	2,373	0	100+	.0
Decatur	9,070	5,515	8,144	1,218	89.8	22.1
DeKalb	148,167	12,407	120,129	7,862	81.1	63.4
Dodge	7,392	2,328	7,013	1,871	94.9	80.4
Dooly	3,581	2,866	4,392	890	100+	31.1
Dougherty	29,897	14,163	13,715*	4,800*	45.9	33.9
Douglas	8,595	1,268	8,653	955	100+	75.3
Early	4,013	3,277	4,048	502	100+	15.3
Echols	832	246	838	19	100+	7.7
Effingham	4,008	1,756	3,974	569	99.2	32.4
Elbert	7,752	3,127	9,335	1,315	100+	42.1
Emanuel	7,627	3,005	6,318	2,098	82.8	69.8
Evans	2,738	1,308	2,355	547	86.0	41.8
Fannin	8,111	31	8,494	18	100+	58.1
Fayette	3,585	1,190	300	6	83.7	5.1
Floyd	38,230	5,949	24,932	2,600	65.2	43.7
Forsyth	7,328	4	6,539	0	89.2	.0
Franklin	7,611	776	7,599	112	99.8	14.4
Fulton	247,892	117,049	172,112	69,885	69.4	59.7
Gilmer	5,431	7	7,997	3	100+	42.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Glascock	1,281	351	1,487	22	100+	6.3
Glynn	18,750	6,762	8,628	2,715	46.0	40.0
Gordon	11,441	669	8,643	358	75.5	53.5
Grady	7,205	3,364	4,461	809	61.9	24.0
Greene	3,565	2,998	3,395	2,570	95.2	85.7
Gwinnett	24,299	1,841	22,633	1,515	93.1	82.3
Habersham	10,676	518	7,276	507	68.2	97.9
Hall	27,726	2,789	16,750	1,149	60.4	41.2
Hancock	1,727	3,576	1,661	1,706	96.2	47.7
Haralson	8,571	642	7,375	412	86.0	64.2
Harris	3,310	3,102	3,749	757	100+	24.4
Hart	7,382	1,832	6,481	425	87.8	23.2
Heard	2,661	590	3,067	365	100+	61.9
Henry	6,429	3,539	8,161	3,015	100+	85.2
Houston	17,742	4,228	13,390	1,976	75.5	46.7
Irwin	3,759	1,602	4,527	688	100+	42.9
Jackson	10,225	1,309	7,850	693	76.8	52.9
Jasper	1,926	1,705	2,152	735	100+	43.1
Jeff Davis	4,116	909	6,293	108	100+	11.9
Jefferson	4,937	4,780	4,524	4,306	91.6	90.1
Jenkins	2,985	2,210	2,764	652	92.6	29.5

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Johnson	3,455	1,261	3,329	555	96.4	44.0
Jones	2,655	2,185	2,695	956	100+	43.8
Lamar	4,078	2,118	3,758	1,030	92.2	48.6
Lanier	2,158	756	1,807	364	83.7	48.1
Laurens	13,176	6,248	13,490	4,195	100+	67.1
Lee	1,427	1,795	1,373	177	96.2	9.9
Liberty	5,310	3,176	2,950	2,594	55.6	81.7
Lincoln	1,974	1,336	2,500	519	100+	38.8
Long	1,527	635	2,255	1,081	100+	100+
Lowndes	20,746	8,459	13,093	2,680	63.1	31.7
Lumpkin	4,500	79	4,413	105	98.1	100+
McDuffie	4,625	2,740	8,030	931	100+	34.0
McIntosh	1,643	1,823	1,612	1,935	98.1	100+
Macon	3,171	4,077	3,514	1,644	100+	40.3
Madison	5,962	989	4,823	106	80.9	10.7
Marion	1,353	1,609	1,563	236	100+	14.7
Meriwether	6,547	4,990	5,402	1,871	82.5	37.5
Miller	3,095	946	1,594	153	51.5	16.2
Mitchell	6,055	4,971	5,592	1,242	92.4	25.0
Monroe	3,607	2,652	4,077	809	100+	30.5
Montgomery	2,520	1,288	2,449	745	97.2	57.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Morgan	3,415	2,469	1,667	993	48.8	40.2
Murray	6,209	51	6,210	25	100+	49.0
Muscogee	74,662	22,549	30,485	7,366	40.8	32.7
Newton	9,045	3,767	6,110	984	67.6	26.1
Oconee	3,228	681	2,554	120	79.1	17.6
Oglethorpe	2,964	1,709	2,873	328	96.9	19.2
Paulding	7,353	603	8,170	529	100+	87.7
Peach	3,650	4,562	2,930	1,011	80.3	22.2
Pickens	5,264	251	6,034	195	100+	77.7
Pierce	4,432	1,135	4,518	610	100+	53.7
Pike	2,584	1,643	2,601	669	100+	40.7
Polk	15,065	2,443	12,381	1,709	82.2	70.0
Pulaski	3,018	1,843	3,128	336	100+	18.2
Putnam	2,297	2,204	2,446	725	100+	32.9
Quitman	581	707	670	160	100+	22.6
Rabun	4,392	43	4,237	33	96.5	76.7
Randolph	2,878	3,663	2,598	867	90.3	23.7
Richmond	61,315	24,785	37,498	12,313	61.2	49.7
Rockdale	4,708	1,512	4,829	877	100+	58.0
Schley	961	903	1,142	210	100+	23.3
Screven	4,557	3,729	3,698	1,144	81.1	30.7

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Seminole	2,648	1,255	3,017	418	100+	33.3
Spalding	16,657	5,252	11,178	2,872	67.1	54.7
Stephens	9,975	1,355	9,518	743	95.4	54.8
Stewart	1,465	2,681	1,793	619	100+	23.1
Sumter	7,730	6,710	8,321	3,040	100+	45.3
Talbot	1,437	2,507	1,406	661	97.8	26.4
Taliaferro	917	1,073	1,052	1,165	100+	100+
Tattnall	7,377	3,135	6,515	2,995	88.3	95.5
Taylor	2,767	2,004	3,071	495	100+	24.7
Telfair	4,938	2,087	4,459	1,622	90.3	77.7
Terrell	3,038	4,057	3,305	449	100+	11.1
Thomas	13,179	7,644	8,697*	1,652*	66.0	21.6
Tift	10,211	3,513	7,828	1,637	76.7	46.6
Toombs	7,513	2,444	7,571	920	100+	37.6
Towns	2,942	1	2,600	0	88.3	.0
Treutlen	2,473	968	2,050	564	82.9	58.3
Troup	20,579	8,577	12,817	2,856	62.3	33.3
Turner	3,422	1,535	2,853	477	83.4	31.1
Twiggs	1,969	2,255	1,749	317	88.8	14.1
Union	3,457	1	3,500	0	88.4	.0
Upson	1,159	3,615	6,675	888	59.8	24.6
Walker	26,511	1,388	31,415	1,131	100+	81.5

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Walton	9,392	3,076	6,565	963	69.9	31.3
Ware	15,671	4,763	12,994	2,720	82.9	57.1
Warren	1,911	2,224	1,938	1,380	100+	62.1
Washington	5,373	5,451	5,367	1,672	99.9	30.7
Wayne	8,204	1,878	7,378	1,171	96.0	62.4
Webster	775	975	826	231	100+	23.7
Wheeler	2,236	824	2,172	682	97.1	82.8
White	4,047	169	4,631	230	100+	100+
Whitfield	24,437	1,085	19,767	991	80.9	91.3
Wilcox	3,309	1,282	3,840	541	100+	42.2
Wilkes	3,621	3,101	4,052	1,039	100+	33.5
Wilkinson	3,135	2,279	3,302	715	100+	31.4
Worth	6,324	3,776	6,246	823	100+	21.8
TOTALS	1,797,063	612,910	1,373,388	280,212	76.4	45.7

*Totals do not include more than 14,000 registered voters for whom race is not indicated. Most of these are in Bibb, Cobb, Dougherty and Thomas counties. A smaller number is found in Cherokee, Colquitt and several other counties.

L O U I S I A N A

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent white reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Acadia	22,399	4,557	21,651	4,118	97	90
Allen	8,357	2,310	8,303	1,981	99	86
Ascension	10,110	4,171	9,116	2,688	90	64
Assumption	5,877	3,237	5,356	1,997	91	62
Avoyelles	15,845	4,717	13,657	2,396	86	51
Beauregard	8,682	2,145	9,123	1,182	100+	55
Bienville	5,617	4,077	5,130	1,693	91	42
Bossier	23,696	6,847	15,460	1,117	65	16
Caddo	87,774	41,749	60,494	10,141	69	24
Calcasieu	62,987	14,924	49,151	9,396	78	63
Caldwell	3,843	1,161	3,944	377	100+	32
Cameron	3,642	239	3,485	195	96	82
Catahoula	4,110	1,919	4,287	798	100+	42
Claiborne	6,415	5,032	5,300	1,345	83	27
Concordia	5,963	4,582	5,928	1,350	99	30
DeSoto	6,543	6,753	5,866	2,317	90	34
E. Baton Rouge	87,985	36,908	78,497	15,715	89	43
E. Carroll	2,990	4,183	2,577	2,735	86	65
E. Feliciana	7,043	6,081	5,378	2,195	76	36
Evangeline	13,652	3,342	14,869	3,731	100+	100+
Franklin	8,954	4,433	4,584	409	51	9

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Grant	6,080	1,553	6,042	685	99	44
Iberia	20,200	7,165	18,143	4,854	90	68
Iberville	8,733	7,060	7,831	5,252	90	74
Jackson	6,607	2,535	6,274	1,486	95	59
Jefferson	98,103	14,970	92,549	9,404	94	63
Jefferson Davis	12,892	2,881	10,716	1,753	83	61
Lafayette	35,513	9,473	32,872	5,814	93	61
Lafourche	25,737	3,078	25,140	2,215	98	72
LaSalle	6,799	849	7,237	661	100+	78
Lincoln	9,611	5,723	7,480	1,835	78	32
Livingston	12,306	1,818	13,687	1,445	100+	80
Madison	3,334	5,181	2,971*	2,734*	89	53
Morehouse	10,311	7,208	8,154	1,158	79	16
Natchitoches	11,328	7,444	10,357	4,264	91	57
Orleans	257,495	125,752	162,452	52,336	63	42
Ouachita	40,185	16,377	31,044	7,596	77	46
Plaquemines	8,633	2,897	9,746	1,300	100+	45
Pointe Coupee	6,085	5,273	4,834	2,976	79	56
Rapides	44,823	18,141	33,982	6,870	76	38
Red River	3,294	2,181	3,627	969	100+	44

*Race is not indicated for 280 persons registered in Madison Parish.

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Richland	7,601	4,608	6,140	764	81	17
Sabine	8,251	2,143	9,047	1,445	100+	67
St. Bernard	15,836	1,105	18,843	705	100+	64
St. Charles	8,117	2,621	7,840	2,411	97	92
St. Helena	2,363	2,082	2,327	1,520	99	73
St. James	4,892	3,964	4,736	2,834	97	72
St. John	4,982	4,279	4,593	3,047	92	71
St. Landry	25,550	14,982	23,129	11,650	91	78
St. Martin	9,781	4,664	9,824	3,449	100+	74
St. Mary	17,991	7,176	15,986	5,179	89	72
St. Tammany	16,032	5,038	18,727	2,920	100+	58
Tangipahoa	22,311	9,401	20,654	4,323	93	46
Tensas	2,287	3,533	2,237	719	98	20
Terrebonne	24,393	5,464	19,646	1,711	81	31
Union	7,021	3,006	6,585	1,079	94	36
Vermilion	19,710	2,429	19,977	2,424	100+	100-
Vernon	9,279	1,268	10,311	751	100+	59
Washington	16,804	6,821	16,157	3,330	96	49
Webster	15,713	7,045	11,008	3,163	70	45
W. Baton Rouge	3,974	3,502	3,791	1,749	95	50

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
W. Carroll	6,171	1,389	4,516	186	73	13
W. Feliciana	2,814	4,553	1,113	1,817	39	40
Winn	6,790	2,590	7,092	1,362	100+	53
TOTALS	1,289,216	514,589	1,071,573	242,130	83.1	47.1

M I S S I S S I P P I

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Adams	10,888	9,340	6,306	6,005	57.9	64.3
Alcorn	13,347	1,756	8,603	398	64.4	22.7
Amite	4,449	3,560	3,831	949	86.1	26.7
Attala	7,522	4,262	NV	NV		
Benton	2,514	1,419	2,419	956	96.2	67.4
Bolivar	10,031	15,939	6,209	5,732	61.9	36.0
Calhoun	7,188	1,767	NV	NV		
Carroll	2,969	2,704	3,077	1,248	100+	46.1
Chickasaw	6,388	3,054	6,620	535	100+	17.5
Choctaw	3,728	1,105	NV	NV		
Claiborne	1,688	3,969	1,679	2,906	99.4	73.2
Clarke	6,072	2,988	5,211	1,026	85.8	34.3
Clay	5,547	4,444	3,535	1,695	63.7	38.1
Coahoma	8,708	14,604	7,215	7,761	82.8	53.1
Copiah	8,153	6,407	8,382	1,455	100+	22.7
Covington	5,329	2,032	4,339	937	81.4	46.1
De Soto	5,338	6,246	5,592	2,129	100+	34.1
Forrest	22,431	7,495	14,827	2,064	66.1	27.5
Franklin	3,403	1,842	3,919	358	100+	19.4

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
George	5,276	580	4,625	123	87.7	21.2
Greene	3,518	859	3,147	264	89.4	30.7
Grenada	5,792	4,323	5,962	1,752	100+	40.5
Hancock	6,813	1,129	5,574	510	81.8	45.2
Harrison	55,094	9,670	17,450	3,833	31.7	39.6
Hinds	67,836	36,138	63,952	15,663	94.3	43.3
Holmes	4,773	8,757	5,080	4,655	100+	53.1
Humphreys	3,344	5,561	2,861	1,283	85.5	23.1
Issaquena	640	1,081	768	446	100+	41.3
Itawamba	8,523	463	6,258	66	73.4	14.2
Jackson	24,447	5,113	NV	NV.		
Jasper	5,327	3,675	4,643	976	87.2	26.6
Jefferson	1,666	3,540	1,913	2,049	100+	57.8
Jefferson Davis	3,629	3,222	3,443	1,833	94.8	56.8
Jones	25,943	7,427	NV	2,077(est.)		28.0
Kemper	3,113	3,221	3,342	369	100+	11.4
Lafayette	8,074	3,239	4,784	778	59.2	24.0
Lamar	6,489	1,071	6,062	174	93.4	16.2
Lauderdale	27,806	11,924	19,895	5,343	71.5	44.8
Lawrence	3,878	1,720	NV	1,074(est.)		62.4
Leake	6,754	3,397	6,358	849	94.1	24.9

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Lee	18,709	5,130	11,403	736	60.9	14.3
Leflore	10,274	13,567	NV	7,161(est.)		52.8
Lincoln	11,072	3,913	NV	NV		
Lowndes	16,460	8,362	9,813	1,267	59.6	15.1
Madison	5,622	10,366	6,334	5,991	100+	57.8
Marion	8,997	3,630	10,810	1,227	100+	33.8
Marshall	4,342	7,168	4,741	2,562	100+	35.7
Monroe	13,426	5,610	NV	NV		
Montgomery	4,700	2,627	4,250	591	90.4	22.5
Neshoba	9,143	2,565	6,783	953	74.2	37.1
Newton	8,014	3,018	6,198	1,127	77.3	37.3
Noxubee	2,997	5,172	NV	NV		
Oktibbeha	8,423	4,952	8,443	889	100+	17.9
Panola	7,639	7,250	6,555	2,411	85.8	33.2
Pearl River	9,765	2,473	NV	NV		
Perry	3,515	1,140	NV	NV		
Pike	12,163	6,936	8,760	2,162	72.0	31.2
Pontotoc	8,772	1,519	6,398	261	72.9	17.2
Prentiss	9,535	1,070	6,810	112	71.4	10.5
Quitman	4,176	5,673	3,391	1,382	81.2	24.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Rankin	13,246	6,944	12,321	1,504	93.0	21.7
Scott	7,742	3,752	5,677	705	73.3	18.7
Sharkey	1,882	3,152	1,768	433	93.9	13.7
Simpson	8,055	3,186	NV	NV		
Smith	6,597	1,293	NV	NV		
Stone	2,965	868	2,473	114	83.4	13.1
Sunflower	8,785	13,524	8,287	2,325	94.3	17.1
Tallahatchie	5,099	6,483	4,913	1,174	96.3	18.1
Tate	4,506	4,326	3,980	1,429	88.3	33.0
Tippah	7,513	1,281	5,957	374	79.2	29.2
Tishomingo	8,068	359	5,248	54	65.0	15.0
Tunica	2,011	5,822	1,558	505	77.4	8.7
Union	9,512	1,626	7,033	298	73.9	18.3
Walthall	4,536	2,490	4,261	1,293	93.9	51.9
Warren	13,530	10,726	12,169	5,229	89.9	48.7
Washington	19,837	20,619	12,683	5,094	63.9	24.7
Wayne	5,881	2,556	4,838	370	82.2	14.4
Webster	4,993	1,174	NV	NV		
Wilkinson	2,340	4,120	2,777	1,127	100+	27.3
Winston	6,808	3,611	NV	NV		

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Yalobusha	4,572	2,441	3,511	235	76.8	9.6
Yazoo	7,598	8,719	7,580	1,050	99.7	11.9
TOTALS	748,266	422,256	470,920	139,099	62.9	32.9

Note: Race is not indicated for many recent registrants in a number of Mississippi counties. Where these figures occurred, they have been divided between the races in the totals above. Most are counted as Negro registration, since it is thought that most of these recent registrants are Negroes. NV indicates statistics not available when these figures were assembled.

NORTH CAROLINA

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alamance	42,755	7,429	47,604	4,801	100+	64.6
Alexander	8,370	506	10,478	460	100+	90.9
Alleghany	4,588	119	6,899	83	100+	69.7
Anson	7,847	5,218	6,800	1,700	86.7	32.6
Ashe	11,276	115	13,038	110	100+	95.6
Avery	6,507	124	6,081	41	93.4	33.1
Beaufort	13,737	6,196	10,144	1,114	73.8	18.0
Bertie	6,156	6,261	5,925	3,879	96.2	61.9
Bladen	9,173	5,147	10,109	2,721	100+	52.9
Brunswick	7,602	3,170	10,298	2,588	100+	81.6
Buncombe	72,249	8,510	67,653	6,565	93.6	77.1
Burke	29,506	1,921	34,657	2,247	100+	100+
Cabarrus	35,165	5,380	31,463	2,899	89.5	53.9
Caldwell	25,520	1,723	22,486	1,938	88.1	100+
Camden	1,988	1,054	1,923	417	96.7	39.6
Carteret	16,030	1,932	12,087	1,065	75.4	55.1
Caswell	6,026	4,129	5,200	1,600	86.3	38.7
Catawba	38,542	3,296	22,068	1,557	57.3	47.2
Chatham	11,227	4,026	13,722	900	100+	22.3
Cherokee	9,102	226	9,055	152	99.5	67.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Chowan	3,825	2,507	3,424	822	89.5	32.8
Clay	3,112	37	2,454	25	78.9	67.6
Cleveland	30,356	6,474	19,883	2,490	65.5	38.5
Columbus	17,830	7,382	16,458	5,459	92.3	73.9
Craven	22,994	8,242	12,001	3,473	52.2	42.1
Cumberland	58,279	18,789	25,794	7,461	44.3	39.7
Currituck	2,845	1,076	2,574	378	90.5	35.1
Dare	3,467	237	NV	NV		
Davidson	41,462	4,491	31,839	2,404	76.8	53.5
Davie	8,898	1,080	9,967	966	100+	89.4
Duplin	14,477	6,955	15,812	3,185	100+	45.8
Durham	47,098	19,475	37,022	16,389	78.6	84.1
Edgecombe	15,515	12,330	12,247	3,624	78.9	29.4
Forsyth	87,219	24,952	68,221	17,028	78.2	68.2
Franklin	9,842	5,554	10,642	1,853	100+	33.4
Gaston	64,154	8,365	43,288	4,185	67.5	50.0
Gates	2,714	2,344	3,061	1,289	100+	55.0
Graham	3,324	125	NV	NV		
Granville	11,584	6,996	10,022	2,475	86.5	35.4
Greene	4,793	3,268	4,257	777	88.8	23.8
Guilford	116,748	27,292	84,838	16,711	72.7	61.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Halifax	16,496	13,766	17,529	4,821	100+	35.0
Harnett	20,061	6,150	15,326	3,799	76.4	61.8
Haywood	23,055	500	22,182	393	96.2	78.6
Henderson	21,062	1,170	17,419	651	82.7	55.6
Hertford	5,606	6,102	4,605	3,025	82.1	49.6
Hoke	3,998	3,747	2,984	1,375	74.6	36.7
Hyde	2,201	1,100	1,970	399	89.5	36.3
Iredell	31,094	5,517	23,338	2,958	75.1	53.6
Jackson	9,227	841	7,234	148	78.4	17.6
Johnston	28,259	6,395	22,188	2,550	78.5	39.9
Jones	3,248	2,251	4,508	1,571	100+	69.8
Lee	12,041	2,803	11,537	1,882	95.8	67.1
Lenoir	19,260	10,293	15,448	3,670	80.2	35.6
Lincoln	14,893	1,546	16,591	1,491	100+	96.4
McDowell	14,693	755	14,232	626	96.9	82.9
Macon	8,573	180	8,168	67	95.3	37.2
Madison	9,574	75	8,098	42	84.6	56.0
Martin	8,052	5,683	7,706	2,027	95.7	35.7
Mecklenburg	123,787	34,150	98,779	18,087	79.8	53.0
Mitchell	7,977	29	7,083	8	88.8	27.6
Montgomery	8,119	2,075	7,855	1,387	96.7	66.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Moore	15,733	4,803	12,821	2,136	81.5	44.5
Nash	21,761	10,573	14,837	2,655	68.2	25.1
New Hanover	31,641	10,569	22,241	6,788	70.3	64.2
Northampton	6,178	7,304	6,062	4,016	98.1	55.0
Onslow	33,988	5,015	14,995	2,694	44.1	53.7
Orange	19,385	4,978	16,619	3,265	85.8	65.6
Pamlico	3,708	1,593	3,207	807	86.5	50.7
Pasquotank	9,409	4,936	6,079	2,127	64.6	43.1
Pender	5,631	4,085	5,486	1,672	97.4	40.9
Perquimans	3,083	2,027	2,291	985	74.3	48.6
Person	9,994	4,227	9,664	2,070	96.7	49.0
Pitt	22,621	13,575	27,039	4,449	100+	32.8
Polk	6,104	766	8,408	683	100+	89.2
Randolph	33,477	2,591	23,421	1,245	70.0	48.0
Richmond	16,019	5,514	13,985	3,515	87.3	63.7
Robeson	20,851	21,424	12,904	9,401	61.9	43.9
Rockingham	33,438	7,398	26,419	4,289	79.0	58.0
Rowan	42,866	7,209	32,219	4,332	75.2	60.0
Rutherford	24,020	2,572	23,986	1,515	99.9	58.9
Sampson	17,378	8,203	22,491	7,510	100+	91.5
Scotland	7,812	4,686	4,913	1,644	62.9	35.1

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Stanly	22,056	2,164	19,136	1,322	86.8	61.1
Stokes	11,786	1,025	7,500	1,500	63.6	100+
Surry	26,796	1,423	37,075	955	100+	67.1
Swain	3,878	756	6,547	81	100+	10.7
Transylvania	8,687	405	8,509	398	97.9	98.3
Tyrrell	1,597	849	1,089	422	68.2	49.7
Union	20,044	4,423	13,209	1,428	65.9	32.3
Vance	11,005	6,520	8,145	2,507	74.0	38.4
Wake	76,799	22,856	62,912	12,022	81.9	52.6
Warren	4,439	5,490	5,207	2,562	100+	46.7
Washington	4,365	2,643	3,855	1,308	88.3	49.5
Watauga	9,639	126	10,927	94	100+	74.6
Wayne	29,349	15,754	17,527	4,939	59.7	31.3
Wilkes	23,779	1,444	24,440	1,826	100+	100+
Wilson	20,566	10,770	12,503	3,096	60.8	28.7
Yadkin	13,039	576	NV	NV		
Yancey	7,856	76	8,917	68	100+	89.5
TOTALS	2,005,955	550,929	1,653,796	281,134	82.4	51.0

NOTE: Non-white figures include Indians, but these are not a major portion of the statewide total. NV indicates statistics not available at the time the figures were assembled.

S O U T H C A R O L I N A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Abbeville	8,733	3,215	7,113	1,099	81.4	34.2
Aiken	33,646	10,040	32,958	8,585	97.9	85.5
Allendale	2,531	3,205	3,018	1,626	100+	50.8
Anderson	47,542	9,598	31,718	2,924	66.7	30.5
Bamberg	4,371	3,807	4,485	1,407	100+	37.0
Barnwell	5,652	3,242	7,029	1,759	100+	54.3
Beaufort	12,098	7,247	6,378	3,999	52.7	55.2
Berkeley	10,122	7,619	10,649	4,717	100+	61.9
Calhoun	2,623	3,318	2,663	1,621	100+	48.9
Charleston	77,909	35,499	52,815	17,422	67.7	49.1
Cherokee	16,037	3,360	14,824	1,757	92.4	52.3
Chester	11,172	5,664	11,123	2,558	99.6	45.2
Chesterfield	12,099	5,219	10,597	3,965	87.6	76.0
Clarendon	5,223	7,735	5,436	5,339	100+	69.0
Colleton	8,203	6,180	8,527	2,705	100+	43.8
Darlington	16,706	9,900	14,940	4,364	89.4	44.1
Dillon	8,725	5,529	7,593	2,840	87.0	51.4
Dorchester	7,121	5,370	8,624	3,941	100+	73.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Edgefield	4,103	3,764	4,128	1,022	100+	27.2
Fairfield	4,975	5,536	4,894	2,227	98.4	40.2
Florence	27,047	15,951	24,770	7,759	91.6	48.6
Georgetown	8,855	7,173	8,418	4,189	95.1	58.4
Greenville	102,365	18,605	67,538	8,700	66.0	46.8
Greenwood	19,218	6,764	15,977	2,914	83.1	43.1
Hampton	4,711	4,052	4,889	2,355	100+	58.1
Horry	27,518	7,429	20,132	2,889	73.2	38.9
Jasper	2,689	3,333	2,879	2,079	100+	62.4
Kershaw	11,258	5,903	11,434	3,034	100+	51.4
Lancaster	16,213	4,762	17,465	1,944	100+	40.8
Laurens	19,775	6,818	11,149	6,222	56.4	91.3
Lee	4,394	5,446	4,616	2,564	100+	47.1
Lexington	28,774	4,782	25,002	2,519	86.9	52.7
McCormick	1,915	2,248	2,153	972	100+	43.2
Marion	8,103	7,684	7,204	3,047	88.9	39.7
Marlboro	8,230	5,932	8,462	1,514	100+	25.5
Newberry	12,204	4,954	10,833	1,884	88.8	38.0
Oconee	19,762	2,230	13,761	1,226	69.6	54.9
Orangeburg	16,381	17,355	16,039	8,397	97.9	48.4

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Pickens	24,015	2,356	17,339	1,077	72.2	46.1
Richland	79,050	32,670	55,509	19,265	70.2	59.0
Saluda	5,573	2,327	5,583	1,104	100+	47.4
Spartanburg	73,317	17,047	58,200	7,782	79.4	45.7
Sumter	22,004	15,380	13,849	9,238	63.0	60.1
Union	12,826	4,125	12,969	1,715	100+	41.6
Williamsburg	7,560	10,535	9,285	5,810	100+	55.1
York	31,799	10,196	23,094	4,516	72.6	44.3
TOTALS	895,147	371,104	718,061	190,609	80.2	51.4

file
V.E.P.
Statistics

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
Negro-White Voter Registration in Louisiana

Summer, 1966

	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per-cent White reg.	Per-cent Negro reg.
Acadia Parish	22,399	4,557	21,651	4,118	97	90
Allen Parish	8,357	2,310	8,303	1,981	99	86
Ascension Parish	10,110	4,171	9,116	2,688	90	64
Assumption Parish	5,319	3,327	5,356	1,997	100+	60
Avoyelles Parish	15,845	4,717	13,657	2,396	86	51
Beauregard Parish	8,682	2,145	9,123	1,182	100+	55
Bienville Parish	5,617	4,077	5,130	1,693	91	42
Bossier Parish	23,696	6,847	15,460	1,117	65	16
Caddo Parish	87,774	41,749	60,494	10,141	69	24
Calcasieu Parish	62,987	14,924	49,151	9,396	78	63
Caldwell Parish	3,843	1,161	3,944	377	100+	32
Cameron Parish	3,643	239	3,485	195	96	82
Catahoula Parish	4,110	1,919	4,287	798	100+	42
Claiborne Parish	6,415	5,032	5,300	1,345	83	27
Concordia Parish	5,963	4,582	5,928	1,350	99	30

	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	white reg.	Negro reg.	Per-cent white reg.	Per-cent Negro reg.
DeSoto Parish	6,543	6,753	5,866	2,317	90	34
E. Baton Rouge Parish	87,985	36,908	78,497	15,715	89	43
E. Carroll Parish	2,990	4,183	2,577	2,735	86	65
E. Feliciana Parish	4,200	4,102	5,378	2,195	100+	54
Evangeline Parish	13,652	3,342	14,869	3,731	100+	100+
Franklin Parish	8,954	4,433	4,584	409	51	9
Grant Parish	6,080	1,553	6,042	685	99	44
Iberia Parish	20,200	7,165	18,143	4,854	90	68
Iberville Parish	8,733	7,060	7,831	5,252	90	74
Jackson Parish	6,607	2,253	6,274	1,486	95	66
Jefferson Parish	98,103	14,970	92,549	9,404	94	63
Jefferson Davis Parish	12,892	2,881	10,716	1,753	83	61
Lafayette Parish	35,513	9,473	32,872	5,814	93	61
Lafourche Parish	25,737	3,078	25,140	2,215	98	72
Lasalle Parish	6,799	849	7,237	661	100+	78
Lincoln Parish	9,611	5,723	7,480	1,835	78	32
Livingston Parish	12,306	1,818	13,687	1,445	100+	80

	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	white reg.	Negro reg.	Per-cent white reg.	Per-cent Negro reg.
Madison Parish	3,334	5,181	2,971*	2,734*	89	53
Morehouse Parish	10,311	7,208	8,154	1,158	79	16
Natchitoches Parish	11,328	7,444	10,357	4,264	91	57
Orleans Parish	257,495	125,752	162,452	52,336	63	42
Ouachita Parish	40,185	16,377	31,044	7,596	77	46
Plaquemines Parish	8,633	2,897	9,746	1,300	100+	45
Pointe Coupee Parish	6,085	5,273	4,834	2,976	79	56
Rapides Parish	44,823	18,141	33,982	6,870	76	38
Red River Parish	3,294	2,181	3,627	969	100+	44
Richland Parish	7,601	4,608	6,140	764	81	17
Sabine Parish	8,251	2,143	9,047	1,445	100+	67
St. Bernard Parish	15,836	1,105	18,843	705	100+	64
St. Charles Parish	8,117	2,621	7,840	2,411	97	92
St. Helena Parish	2,363	2,082	2,327	1,520	99	73
St. James Parish	4,892	3,964	4,736	2,834	97	72
St. John Parish	4,982	4,279	4,593	3,047	92	71

	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	white reg.	Negro reg.	Per-cent white reg.	Per-cent Negro reg.
St. Landry Parish	25,550	14,982	23,129	11,650	91	78
St. Martin Parish	9,781	4,664	9,824	3,449	100+	74
St. Mary Parish	17,991	7.176	15,986	5,179	89	72
St. Tammany Parish	16,032	5,038	18,727	2,920	100+	58
Tangipahoa Parish	22,311	9,401	20,654	4,323	93	46
Tensas Parish	2,287	3,533	2,237	719	98	20
Terrebonne Parish	24,393	5,464	19,646	1,711	81	31
Union Parish	7,021	3,006	6,585	1,079	94	36
Vermillion Parish	19,710	2,429	19,977	2,424	100+	100-
Vernon Parish	9,279	1,268	10,311	751	100+	59
Washington Parish	16,804	6,821	16,157	3,330	96	49
Webster Parish	15,713	7,045	11,008	3,163	70	45
W. Baton Rouge Parish	3,974	3,502	3,791	1,749	95	50
W. Carroll Parish	6,171	1,339	4,516	186	73	13
W. Feliciana Parish	1,632	2,235	1,113	1,817	68	81

	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting age pop.	white reg.	Negro reg.	Per-cent white reg.	Per-cent Negro reg.
Winn Parish	6,790	2,590	7,092	1,362	100+	53
TOTALS	1,284,634	510,100	1,071,573	242,130	83.4	47.5

*Race is not indicated for 280 persons registered in Madison Parish.

Voter Education Project
Estimate of
Negro-White Voter Registration in Georgia

Summer, 1966

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per-cent white reg.	Per-cent Negro reg.
Appling	5,862	1,401	7,265	1,186	100+	84.7
Atkinson	2,486	812	3,202	806	100+	99.2
Bacon	4,203	536	4,533	263	100+	49.1
Baker	1,139	1,285	1,516	713	100+	55.5
Baldwin	16,109	9,235	6,555	1,871	46.7	20.3
Banks	3,850	213	3,400	63	88.3	29.6
Barrow	7,865	1,332	6,219	385	79.1	25.9
Bartow	14,942	2,393	15,566	1,469	100+	58.9
Ben Hill	5,931	2,436	3,600	975	60.7	40.0
Berrien	6,179	964	5,133	575	83.1	59.6
Bibb	60,429	26,812	27,084	5,251	44.8	19.6
Bleckley	4,528	1,350	3,604	168	79.6	12.2
Brantley	2,854	384	3,005	300	100+	78.1
Brooks	5,059	3,711	3,309	585	65.4	15.8
Bryan	2,289	1,111	2,335	1,165	100+	100+
Bullock	10,101	4,337	8,518	2,159	84.3	49.8
Burke	4,358	6,600	3,791	1,584	87.0	24.0
Butts	3,195	2,099	4,093	933	100+	48.4
Calhoun	1,654	2,393	1,895	481	100+	20.1
Camden	3,447	2,059	3,139	1,430	91.1	69.5
Candler	2,714	1,200	2,993	961	100+	80.1

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per-cent white reg.	Per-cent Negro reg.
Carroll	19,234	3,595	13,160	1,934	68.4	53.8
Catoosa	12,370	172	2,534	442	100+	54.6
Charlton	2,077	810	2,534	442	100+	54.6
Chatham	78,118	37,563	54,441	21,121	69.7	56.2
Chattanoochee	8,061	1,830	462	119	5.7	6.5
Chattooga	11,460	1,025	8,976	925	78.3	90.2
Cherokee	13,964	517	13,721	606	100+	100+
Clarke	23,895	6,740	13,797	4,709	57.7	69.9
Clay	1,130	1,441	961	239	85.0	16.6
Clayton	23,996	2,456	17,626	720	73.5	29.3
Clinch	2,373	1,256	2,347	369	98.9	29.4
Cobb	63,291	4,568	29,680	1,808	47.0	39.6
Coffee	9,682	2,977	11,212	1,297	100+	43.6
Colquitt	13,982	4,081	12,778	1,673	80.0	41.0
Columbia	5,096	2,364	4,237	784	83.1	33.2
Cook	5,213	1,755	5,492	649	100+	37.0
Coweta	11,871	5,579	11,882	2,348	99.9	42.1
Crawford	1,596	1,611	1,466	352	91.9	21.8
Crisp	6,451	3,858	6,270	1,795	97.2	46.5
Dade	4,803	70	4,242	60	88.3	85.7
Dawson	2,148	1	2,373	0	100+	0
Decatur	9,070	5,515	8,120	1,208	89.5	21.9

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per-cent White reg.	Per-cent Negro reg.
Dekalb	148,167	12,407	119,247	7,641	80.5	61.6
Dodge	7,392	2,328	7,013	1,871	94.9	80.4
Dooly	3,581	2,866	4,386	880	100+	30.7
Dougherty	29,897	14,163	13,715	4,800	45.9	33.9
Douglas	8,595	1,268	8,627	952	100+	75.1
Early	4,013	3,277	4,046	498	100+	15.2
Echols	832	246	838	19	100+	7.7
Effingham	4,008	1,756	3,948	561	98.5	31.9
Elbert	7,752	3,127	9,328	1,314	100+	42.0
Emanuel	7,627	3,005	6,302	2,086	82.6	69.4
Evans	2,138	1,308	2,355	541	86.0	41.4
Fannin	8,111	31	8,494	18	100+	58.0
Fayette	3,585	1,190	2,988	48	83.3	4.0
Floyd	38,230	5,949	24,815	2,592	64.9	43.6
Forsyth	7,328	4	6,539	0	89.2	0
Franklin	7,611	776	7,593	110	99.8	14.2
Fulton	247,892	117,049	166,037	67,895	67.0	58.0
Gilmer	5,431	7	7,997	3	100+	42.8
Glascock	1,281	351	1,479	22	100+	6.3
Glynn	18,750	6,762	8,616	2,705	46.0	40.0
Gordon	11,441	669	8,620	354	75.3	52.9

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent white reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Grady	7,205	3,364	4,400	766	61.1	22.8
Green	3,565	2,998	3,391	2,565	95.1	85.6
Gwinnett	24,299	1,841	22,598	1,515	93.0	82.3
Habersham	10,676	518	7,265	507	68.0	97.9
Hall	27,726	2,789	16,722	1,144	60.3	41.0
Hancock	1,727	3,576	1,661	1,706	96.2	47.7
Haralson	8,571	642	7,361	412	85.9	64.2
Harris	3,310	3,102	3,715	742	100+	23.7
Hart	7,382	1,832	6,458	425	87.5	23.2
Heard	2,661	590	3,060	362	100+	61.4
Henry	6,429	3,539	8,139	3,008	100+	85.0
Houston	17,742	4,228	13,267	1,963	74.8	46.4
Irwin	3,759	1,602	4,517	686	100+	42.8
Jackson	10,228	1,309	7,841	693	76.7	52.9
Jasper	1,925	1,705	2,133	731	100+	42.9
Jeff Davis	4,116	909	6,286	106	100+	11.7
Jefferson	4,937	4,780	4,524	4,306	91.6	90.1
Jenkins	2,985	2,210	2,750	644	92.1	29.1
Johnson	3,455	1,261	3,321	541	96.1	42.9
Jones	2,655	2,185	2,695	956	100+	43.8
Lamar	4,078	2,118	3,750	1,029	92.0	48.6
Lanier	2,158	756	1,807	364	83.7	48.1

Registration in Georgia 5

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	white reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent white reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Laurens	13,178	6,248	13,457	4,182	100+	66.9
Lee	1,427	1,795	1,358	161	95.2	9.0
Liberty	5,310	3,176	2,950	2,594	55.6	81.7
Lincoln	1,974	1,336	2,497	508	100+	38.0
Long	1,527	635	2,245	1,078	100+	100+
Lowndes	20,746	8,459	13,030	2,667	62.8	31.5
Lumpkin	4,500	8,459	4,410	105	98.0	100+
McDuffie	4,625	2,740	7,993	927	100+	33.8
McIntosh	1,643	1,823	1,604	1,928	97.6	100+
Macon	3,171	4,077	3,510	1,643	100+	40.3
Madison	5,962	989	4,816	106	80.8	10.7
Marion	1,353	1,609	1,559	230	100+	14.3
Meriweather	547	4,990	5,378	1,856	82.1	37.2
Miller	3,095	946	1,586	149	51.2	15.8
Mitchell	6,055	4,971	5,567	1,224	91.9	24.7
Monroe	3,607	2,652	4,067	796	100+	30.0
Montgomery	2,520	1,288	2,444	743	97.0	57.7
Morgan	3,415	2,469	1,667	993	48.8	40.2
Murry	6,209	51	6,210	25	100+	49.0
Muscogee	74,662	22,549	30,323	7,349	40.6	32.6
Newton	9,045	3,767	6,069	974	67.1	25.9
Oconee	3,228	681	2,554	120	79.1	17.6

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	white reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent white reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Oglethorpe	2,964	1,709	2,867	312	96.7	18.3
Paulding	7,353	603	8,147	528	100+	87.6
Peach	3,650	4,562	2,913	1,006	79.8	22.1
Pickens	5,264	251	6,028	195	100+	77.7
Pierce	4,432	1,135	4,516	608	100+	40.3
Pike	2,584	1,643	2,595	662	100+	40.3
Polk	15,065	2,443	12,375	1,708	82.1	69.9
Pulaski	3,018	1,843	3,123	336	100+	18.2
Putnam	2,293	2,204	2,446	725	100+	32.9
Quitman	581	707	670	160	100+	22.6
Rabun	4,392	43	4,226	33	96.2	76.7
Randolph	2,878	3,663	2,598	867	90.3	23.7
Richmond	61,315	24,785	37,324	12,286	60.9	49.6
Rockdale	4,708	1,512	4,803	874	100+	57.8
Schley	961	903	1,141	200	100+	30.1
Screven	4,557	3,729	3,679	1,124	80.7	30.1
Seminole	2,648	1,255	3,013	417	100+	33.2
Spalding	16,657	5,252	11,157	2,870	67.6	54.6
Stephens	9,975	1,355	9,511	741	95.3	64.7
Stewart	1,465	2,681	1,789	596	100+	22.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	white reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent white reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Sumter	7,730	6,710	8,697	1,652	100+	45.0
Talbot	1,437	2,507	1,401	657	97.5	26.2
Taliaferro	917	1,573	1,051	1,154	100+	100+
Tattnall	7,377	3,135	6,509	2,992	88.2	95.4
Taylor	2,767	2,004	3,057	492	100+	24.6
Telfair	4,938	2,087	4,447	1,613	90.1	77.3
Terrell	3,038	4,057	3,294	429	100+	10.6
Thomas	13,179	7,644	7,805	1,632	76.4	46.5
Tift	10,211	3,513	7,805	1,632	76.4	46.5
Toombs	7,513	2,444	7,555	919	100+	37.6
Towns	2,942	1	2,600	0	88.3	0
Treutlen	2,473	968	2,044	563	82.7	58.2
Troup	20,579	8,577	12,701	2,853	61.7	33.3
Turner	3,422	1,535	2,842	473	83.1	30.8
Twiggs	1,969	2,255	1,749	317	88.8	14.1
Union	3,957	1	3,500	0	88.4	0
Upson	11,159	3,615	6,662	883	59.7	24.4
Walker	26,511	1,388	31,352	1,128	100+	81.3
Walton	9,392	3,076	6,530	957	69.5	31.1
Ware	15,671	4,763	12,973	2,714	82.8	57.0
Warren	1,911	2,224	1,935	1,360	100+	61.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	white reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent white reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Washington	5,373	5,451	5,367	1,672	99.9	30.7
Wayne	8,204	1,878	7,855	1,166	95.7	62.1
Webster	775	975	821	230	100+	23.6
Wheeler	2,236	824	2,169	682	97.0	82.8
White	4,007	159	4,622	229	100+	100+
Whitfield	24,437	1,085	19,742	988	80.8	91.1
Wilcox	3,309	1,282	3,840	540	100+	42.1
Wilkes	3,621	3,101	4,042	1,037	100+	33.4
Wilkinson	3,135	2,279	3,302	715	100+	31.4
Worth	5,324	3,776	6,227	807	100+	21.4
TOTAL	1,797,063	612,910	1,363,568	277,064	75.9	45.2

NOTE: Totals do not include 13,284 voters not classified by race. Many of these new voters -- perhaps most -- are Negro. Counties with sizeable numbers of these voters are not classified by race include Bibb, Cherokee, Cobb, Colquitt, Dougherty, and Thomas. The figures were assembled in July, prior to the July 25 registration deadline.

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council

File V.E.P. Statistics

E R R A T A

Figures for these counties should read as follows:

Catoosa	12,370	172	11,204	75	90.6	43.6
Lumpkin	4,500	79	4,410	105	98.0	100+
Thomas	13,179	7,644	8,697	1,652	66.0	21.6

File
V.E.P.
Financial Matters

MEMORANDUM September 1, 1966

TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Paul Anthony

There is to be an overhead tap from the Voter Education Project of 4% of the $300,000 or a total of $12,000 overhead. Please transfer this to General Operations as soon as it is feasible to do so.

- : -

free NEP as of 4/30/66

MISSISSIPPI VOTER REGISTRATION STATISTICS

District I (Population - 449,361)

*	White	Negro	Unk.	Total
**Attala	573	866		1439
Bolivar	4809	1531	3357	9697
*Calhoun	196	60		256
Carroll	2905	640	528	4073
Chickasaw	6578	483	32	7093
*Choctaw	187	159		346
Clay	3535	1624	-	5159
?— Leflore	7364	5866	1336	14566
Lowndes	9708	1242	23	10973
*Monroe	579	501	60	1140
Montgomery	4069	59	10	4138
Oktibbeha	8385	752	32	9169
Sunflower	8237	2059		10296
Washington	11842	2568	2991	17401
*Webster	163	75	21	259
	67,130	18,485	8390	96005

MISSISSIPPI VOTER REGISTRATION STATISTICS

District 2 (Population 427,468)

	White	Negro	Unk.	Total
Alcorn	8469	139	7	8608
Benton	2355	891	67	3313
Coahoma	6975	7008	727	14710
DeSoto	5336	1365	613	7314
Grenada	5918	697	23	6638
Itawamba	6227	67	7	6301
Lafayette	4722	572	270	5564
Lee	10673	685	31	11389
Marshall	4664	2342	169	7175
Panola	6419	2060	166	8645
Pontotoc	6358	198	60	6616
Prentiss	6759	99	6	6855
Quitman	3440	1238		4678
Tallahatchie	4881	917		5798
Tate	3829	900		4729
Tippah	5623	320	52	5995
*Tishomingo	5200	41	3	5244
Tunica	1433	468		1901
Union	6965	274		7239
Yalobusha	3771	7[illegible]5	17	4583
	110,[illegible]	21,075	2211	133,2[illegible]5

MISSISSIPPI VOTER REGISTRATION STATISTICS

District 3 (population - 433,663)

	White	Negro	Unk.	Total
Adams	6,389	5,829	-	12,218
Amite	3,760	746	134	4,640
Claiborne	1,651	1,933	5	3,589
Copiah	8,357	1,369	50	9,776
Franklin	3,858	338		4,196
Hinds	62,719	10,771	4,518	78,008
***Jefferson	1,193	3,038		4,231
*Lincoln	354	356	49	739
Pike	8,414	1,326	1,018	10,758
Walthall	4,234	1,278	66	5,578
Warren	12,121	5,116		17,237
Wilkinson	2,442	121	635	3,198
	115,492	32,201	6,475	154,168

MISSISSIPPI VOTER REGISTRATION STATISTICS

District 4 (population 427,401)

	White	Negro	Unk.	Total
Clarke	5,283	995		6,278
Holmes	5,051	4,740	203	9,994
Humphreys	2,839	787		3,626
Issaquena	719	242	180	1,141
Jasper	4,574	615	141	5,330
Kemper	3,323	352		3,675
Lauderdale	19,556	4,608	931	25,095
Leake	6,318	833	123	7,274
***Madison	6,259	5,682	252	12,193
Neshoba	6,769	805	132	7,706
Newton	6,163	1,075		7,243
Noxubee	7,068	1,461		8,529
Rankin	12,169	966	716	13,851
Scott	5,635	664		6,299
Sharkey	1,722	323	99	2,144
*Simpson	329	882		1,211
*Smith	229	46	12	287
*Winston	259	814	251	1,324
Yazoo	7,458	1,042	11	8,511
	101,728	26,932	3,051	131,711

MISSISSIPPI VOTER REGISTRATION STATISTICS

District 5 (population 439,350)

	White	Negro	Unk.	Total
Covington	4,269	850		5,119
Forrest	14,579	1,459		16,538
George	4,584	115		4,699
Greene	3,125	255		3,380
Hancock	5,516	498	14	6,028
*Harrison	16,695	1,569	2,550	20,814
Jackson	8,698	1,360	877	10,935
Jeff Davis	3,418	1,843		5,261
Jones	25,833	2,568		28,401
Lamar	6,008	137	17	6,162
*Lawrence	58	1,040	26	1,124
Marion	10,772	1,197		11,969
*Pearl River	588	358	46	992
*Perry	187	212		399
*Stone	2,454	83	23	2,560
Wayne	4,801	318		5,119
	111,585	20,662	3,553	135,800

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

V. E. P.

REGARDING

Proposal to Field Foundation in support of V.E.P. in the amount of $150,000 during 1967

DATE

10-26-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION 1966

file
V.E.P.
Reports
(Report to 1966 Annual Mtg)

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
JANUARY - OCTOBER, 1966

The current Voter Education Project, now in its ~~eighth~~ ninth month, has made a total of 100 grants to local communities in all of the eleven Southern states except Texas. A breakdown of these programs is as follows:

Citizenship Education	5
Citizenship Education and Voter Registration	20
Leadership Training	3
Program Development and Technical Assistance	1
Program Development T/A and Statewide Program Coordination	1
Voter Registration	70
Total	100

While initially the Project planned major emphasis on programs of citizenship education and leadership training, funded programs, to date, have been 70 per cent voter registration. This ~~did not~~ is not a result ~~from~~ of the Project's failure to stress citizenship education and leadership training projects; rather it evidences a response to a tremendous volume of requests from local communities for funds to conduct registration programs. Some 400 requests for funds were submitted.

With few exceptions, the requests were for voter registration programs.

Two factors were primarily responsible for the intense interest during 1966 in registration projects: (1) the presence of federal examiners in the South for the first time to assist Negro registration; (2) statewide primaries, hotly contested local races and the candidacy of Negroes, running in many communities for the first time, throughout the region. The seventy VEP-sponsored registration projects account for more than ~~90~~ 100,000 newly registered voters in ten states.

The programs of citizenship education and leadership training funded during the past ~~eight~~ nine months provide the Project with experience and "know-how" for increased funding of such programs in the coming year. Our most profound finding is not the need for these projects (we knew that) but the great interest and desire for them in local communities. In almost every funded project, there has been a subsequent request for funds for citizenship education. Our experience now better equips the Project to respond more widely to the citizenship education needs in the various communities that extend beyond registration.

Since the methods and approaches used in registration programs are fairly standard, ~~the remainder of this report will deal~~ our discussion centers primarily ~~with~~ on citizenship education and leadership training. (However, it is worth pointing out here that

each and every one of the VEP-sponsored registration programs has provided highly valuable leadership training. Our financial and statistical reports have sharpened the sort of skills needed for effective participation in governmental and community affairs. And the planning and managing of registration campaigns have sharpened skills in community organization. We find that many of the leaders of our registration campaigns also tend to take the leadership in community affairs generally.)

The most successful citizenship education programs have been the demonstrative types in which the newly registered persons were provided the opportunity to actually practice voting on the voting machine to be used in an upcoming election. Projects in Lee County, Alabama, under the Auburn League of Women Voters, and in Knoxville, Tennessee, sponsored by the local Council on Human Relations, provided VEP, through research reports and field trips, with proven techniques for this kind of project. Explain Lee County

In many communities, where the actual voting machine could not be used for demonstration, the Project distributed model voting machines which proved effective in instructing voters and minimizing their fear of operating the machine. Alabama and Georgia communities were the most frequent beneficiaries of this approach.

Projects conducted by the Tuskegee Civic Association in Alabama and the Southern Consumers Coop in Louisiana provide

good examples of classroom-type citizenship education programs. Community classes on the problems of citizenship responsibility and local governmental structure were welcomed by voters in those communities. The Voter Education Project has completed, in cooperation with the Georgia ACLU, its first in a series of pamphlets for use as teaching aids in citizenship education classes. The illustrated booklet is entitled "Know Your Rights." This booklet will be distributed throughout the region. to VEP cooperating agencies

Our second teaching aid, entitled "Know Your Local Government in Georgia," is nearing completion. A similar pamphlet is in the making ~~will be prepared~~ for each state of the region. These booklets will be made ready for distribution by early spring when interest in registration and voting begins anew.

In addition, the Project is preparing two other brochures on (a) "How to Conduct a Voter Registration Campaign" and (b) "Effective Methods for Getting Out the Vote." The materials also will be ready for southwide distribution by early spring.

In Alabama and Georgia, the Project is developing new techniques in citizenship education through use of the mass media. On October 29 the VEP, through the Auburn League of Women Voters, sponsored ~~is sponsoring~~ the first of three statewide television programs on citizenship education. With dramatic talent provided by students from Tuskegee Institute and Auburn University, the first program stresses the importance of registration and explains where, when and how to get it done. Films

from this TV series will be made available to local communities throughout Alabama.

Through the Georgia League of Women Voters a VEP grant ~~is~~ ~~making~~ made possible a statewide television spot on how to cast a ballot in the Georgia general election. The film ~~will~~ demonstrated how to vote for either of the major parties and how to write-in. In both the Georgia and Alabama projects, television stations have provided free public-service time and many individuals at the local level have volunteered talent and equipment to make the programs possible at minimal costs to the VEP.

Most notable among the leadership training programs of the Project have been the one-day institutes for Negro candidates and poll-watchers in Alabama and South Carolina. Held in cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the institutes dealt with election laws and procedures, and the duties and responsibilities of candidates and poll-watchers.

Our first venture with a statewide leadership training conference proved well worth the effort and money invested. Through the South Carolina Voter Education Project, we held a day-long leadership training conference at the Wade Hampton Hotel in Columbia, South Carolina. In attendance were some 400 people for sessions on getting-out-the vote, effective registration campaigns, state and federal election laws, and the politics of the poverty programs. The Project supported

a summer leadership training workshop sponsored by the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality in Frogmore, South Carolina. A recent grant to the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League will provide leadership training in the rural and urban South. The grant was for programs in Jacksonville, Florida, and Hobson City, Alabama. Through the Alabama Council ~~ASC~~ ASCS

Student involvement through stipends and part-time employment by local community organizations ~~was~~ is a major effort of the Project. Numerous local projects used students as task-force workers in their registration campaigns. The Project assisted such student groups as the National YWCA, the Virginia Student Civil Rights Committee and the American Friends Service Committee in their voter registration projects.

Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta has agreed to take the first VEP intern for part-time work in his office beginning with the second half of the current school year. Arrangements are in process with the National YWCA to use college students in registration campaigns during spring vacations in 1967. ~~Finally,~~ discussions are underway with certain Peace Corps officials regarding the possibility of using Peace Corps returnees to teach courses in citizenship education in various communities of the South next summer.

~~Finally~~, the Project has been the main source in sustaining the South Carolina Voter Education Project, the only statewide organization of its kind in the South. Now through the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, the foundation has been

1. Current VEP is to be distinguished from the first VEP in two respects, other than personnel.

a. three pronged emphasis - citizenship education, leadership training and voter registration - the first was V/R

b. the method of funding

1) cash draw basis

2) Advantages

ⓐ more direct relationship with the funded agency ~~cooperating~~

ⓑ semi weekly research reporting is facilitated - data continuing + current

ⓒ greater awareness by VEP of week to week activities

ⓓ No reportee - no money

ⓔ VEP ability to cut-off grants if need be is more direct.

~~ⓕ The process is a form of leadership training for the local people - a type of consumer education~~

prepared for an organization in Arkansas similar to the SCVEP. A full-time statewide director is being supported by the Project and it is expected that by early spring the statewide organization will be perfected and operating. Interest in a similar organization is being explored in Florida, where the Florida Council on Human Relations has agreed to coordinate the initial organizational work.

During the coming year, emphasis will move increasingly to citizenship education and leadership training. Nevertheless, it is our feeling that VEP cannot avoid the responsibility to conduct ~~some~~ registration programs. As long as many thousands of Southern Negroes remain unregistered, ~~some~~ registration programs will be necessary. ~~After all~~ Indeed, there can be no really meaningful citizenship education or leadership training for Negro citizens who are not even registered to vote. But as more and more Negroes register, the thrust will shift markedly to more programs of citizenship education and leadership training. We expect to see this shift considerably accelerated in the coming year.

Continues major research effort —
recent publication of state wide county by county figures
several short studies of the effect of the VR Act 1965

To be done
Study of Registration Laws in the South —

An analysis of the Nov. elections in the South. —

political process of ~~their~~ his community. But we can report here to you today the fears of yesterday are slowly but surely being overcome. There is ~~greater effort~~ a new vigor — determination.

Finally, we see the VEP as one of the most vital programs, in the South today. For to steal a phrase from Paul Anthony, the VEP services the doers, ~~in the South~~ the vineyard workers, the community people — the folk as they suffer through the arduous, hard, time-consuming, unpublicized and sometimes unappreciated work of citizenship education, leadership training, and voter registration. We service them in Richmond, Atlanta, Durham, Memphis and the other big cities. But not only there, VEP services are very present in Southwest Ga, Norther Florida, West Tenn. the Mississippi Delta

steal a phrase from Paul Anthony, the UEP services the doers, ~~in the South~~ the vineyard workers, the community people – the folk as they suffer through the arduous, hard, time-consuming, unpublicized and sometimes unappreciated work of citizenship education, leadership training, and voter registration. We service them in Richmond, Atlanta, Durham, Memphis and the other big cities. But not only there, UEP services are very present in Southwest Ga, Norther Florida, West Tenn. the Mississippi Delta and the blackbelts of La and Ala. where, according to our research reports and field trips – fear continues as a dominant factor in the negative response of the Negro Southerners to ~~their~~ participation in the

RECEIVED
NOV 14 1966

Nov 12, 1966
R3. Box 103.
Carthage, Miss.

Mr Vernon E. Jordan
Atlanta Ga.

Dear sir,
Enclose you will find Report for our last weeks work. ~~I sent you one as soon as we finished, I guess it got lost in the mail,~~ There was nothing easy working on the project, but my bunch seem to enjoy it. It was very disheartening when we would find a person that we could not get to register no way and it was quit a few that just would not go, It was kindly dangers for us at first the KKK would have us cards, saying the eyes of the KKK is are watching you, But we never stopped. The Shiref was very nice to us, Thank you for allowing us a chance to work with a little pay, we are still asking the people to continue registering and our voters went to the Poll better than they every have we had a sample Ballot and had a community meeting and decussed the Ballot.

Yours truly,
L.C. Hudson Chairman
Winson Hudson President
B.E. McDonald Sec
Leake County Branch of The NAACP.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

JANUARY - OCTOBER, 1966

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
STATE-BY-STATE DISTRIBUTION

STATE	RESULTS	AMOUNT
Alabama	2,864	$ 16.987.50
Arkansas	9,475	11,000.00
Florida	3,526	13,420.00
Georgia	25,428	32,756.80
Louisiana	7,997	15,775.00
Mississippi	11,038	25,695.00
North Carolina	3,144	6,360.00
South Carolina	6,399	11,793.00
Tennessee	9,847	11,765.00
Virginia	8,150	23,610.00
Others	3,287	1,625.00
TOTALS	91,155	$170.787.30

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Alabama

AGENCY	TYPE OF PROGRAM	GRANTED	RESULTS
Hale County Improvement	Voter Registration	$ 715.00	134
Tuscaloosa Citizens For Action Committee	Voter Registration	710.00	700
Lee County Voters League	Voter Registration	1,200.00	
	The funds are being withheld until local faction feuds can be settled.		
NAACP (W.C. PATTON)	Program Developer	5,240.00	
	Supervises and enlists voter registration programs for NAACP.		
Auburn League of Women Voters	Citizenship Education	975.00	
	Organized television program on citizenship education in co-operation with community groups and businesses.		
Tuskegee Civic Assoc.	Citizenship Education	2,675.00	
	With the Southern Consumers Coop conducted classroom citizen education programs.		
Conecuh County Improvement Association	Voter Registration & Citizenship Education	652.50	298
Marenge County VEP SCLC	Voter Registration & Citizenship Education	490.00	243

Alabama Breakdown -2-

AGENCY	TYPE OF PROGRAM	GRANTED	RESULTS
Perry County VEP SCLC	Voter Registration & Citizenship Education	$ 490.00	195
Barbour County VEP SCLC	Voter Registration & Citizenship Education	490.00	146
Sumter County VEP SCLC	Voter Registration & Citizenship Education	490.00	250
Jefferson County VEP SCLC	Voter Registration & Citizenship Education	720.00	298
Choctaw County VEP SCLC	Voter Registration & Citizenship Education	490.00	600
Rural Advancement Project	Citizenship Education	1,650.00	
TOTALS		$16,987.50	2,864

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Arkansas

AGENCY	TYPE OF PROGRAM	GRANTED	RESULTS
Operation Registration Clean Up Drive	Voter Registration	$1,500.00	2,940
Phillip County Branch, NAACP	Voter Registration	1,000.00	2,500
Arkansas Council on Human Relations (16 Counties)	Voter Registration	8,500.00	4,035
TOTALS		$11,000.00	9,475

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Florida

AGENCY	TYPE OF PROGRAM	GRANTED	RESULTS
OPA-LOCKA Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	$ 250.00	200
Pensacola Imp. Assoc.	Voter Registration	1,925.00	590
Big Bend (12 Counties)	Voter Registration & Leadership Education	6,000.00	521
	Program terminated by VEP 9-20-66		
Sarasota Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	1,200.00	183
Jacksonville Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	2,240.00	1,907
St. Petersburg Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	1,805.00	125
	This Project was funded for only one week. This Project will be continued in the Spring.		
TOTALS		$13,420.00	3,526

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Georgia

AGENCY	TYPE OF PROGRAM	GRANTED	RESULTS
Bibb County Co-ordinating Committee	Voter Registration	$1,975.00	1,010
Griffin Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	1,047.50	342
Augusta-Richmond County VEP	Voter Registration	2,195.00	4,367
All Citizens Registration Committee	Voter Registration	4,775.00	7,682
Savannah Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	2,500.00	3,704
Brunswick Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	1,420.00	1,120
Houston County Voters Committee	Voter Registration	1,350.00	1,892
Non-Partisan Voters League	Voter Registration	1,524.30	575
Thomasville Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	1,500.00	1,572
Hancock County Democratic Club	Voter Registration	905.00	406
Fort Valley Citizens Education Commission	Voter Registration	1,000.00	305
Keystone Voters League	Voter Registration	1,000.00	322
Dougherty County Resources Development	Voter Registration	3,700.00	479
Dublin Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	500.00	789

AGENCY	TYPE OF PROGRAM	GRANTED	RESULTS
Valdosta & Laurens County Voters League	Voter Registration	500.00	175
Bullock County Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	1,400.00	464
National Urban League	Citizenship Education & Leadership	5,000.00	
	Citizenship Education and Leadership Training will take the form of workshops in two communities -- one urban area, Jacksonville (Duval County, Florida, and another rural complex, Hobson City -- Oxford (Calhoun County), Alabama.		
Georgia Council on Human Relations	Voter Registration	465.00	224
TOTALS		$32,756.80	25,428

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Mississippi

AGENCY	TYPE OF PROGRAM	GRANTED	RESULTS
Coahoma County Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	$3,745.00	856
Forrest County Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	900.00	2,500
Issaquena County Improvement League	Voter Registration	2,770.00	128
Washington County Voters League	Voter Registration	1,320.00	299
Warren County Improvement League	Voter Registration	1,280.00	152
Laurel Cooperative Voter Reg. Comm.	Voter Registration	1,530.00	360
Madison County Movement	Voter Registration	2,000.00	936
Sharkey County Improvement Assoc.	Voter Registration	1,375.00	331
Brookhaven Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	950.00	381
Gulfport Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	1,275.00	194
Leake County Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	1,000.00	824
Marion County Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	1,000.00	656
Marshall-Benton County Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	1,300.00	538

Mississippi Breakdown -2-

AGENCY	TYPE OF PROGRAM	GRANTED	RESULTS
Lauderdale County Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	1,300.00	1,079
Jackson Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	3,000.00	1,698
Walthall Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	950.00	106
TOTALS		$25,695.00	11,038

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: North Carolina

AGENCY	TYPE OF PROGRAM	GRANTED	RESULTS
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Tieger	Voter Registration	$ 600.00	148
Longhill Linden Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	795.00	550
Durham Council on Negro Affairs	Voter Registration	2,765.00	350
Greensboro Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	1,350.00	395
Asheville Bumcumbe County	Voter Registration	850.00	1,701
	This is a Re-Registration Project. The books were lost in six precincts.		
TOTALS		$6,360.00	3,144

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: South Carolina

AGENCY	TYPE OF PROGRAM	GRANTED	RESULTS
South Carolina VEP	Program Development Citizenship Education & Voter Registration	$5,503.00	
	Supervises, enlists, and oversees all VEP Programs in South Carolina.		
Aiken County Registration Committee.	Citizenship Education & Voter Registration	900.00	183
Beaufort County Voters League	Citizenship Education & Voter Registration	400.00	251
Sumter County Voters' League	Citizenship Education & Voter Registration	250.00	985
Richland County Voters' League	Citizenship Education & Voter Registration	600.00	728
Charleston Citizens Committee of Charleston	Citizenship Education & Voter Registration	720.00	783

AGENCY	TYPE OF PROGRAM	GRANTED	RESULTS
Williamsburg County Voters' League	Citizenship Education & Voter Registration	400.00	863
Clarendon County Voters' League	Citizenship Education & Voter Registration	500.00	281
Calhoun County Voters' League	Citizenship Education & Voter Registration	250.00	268
Florence County VEP	Citizenship Education & Voter Registration	1,120.00	376
Laurens County VEP	Citizenship Education & Voter Registration	400.00	150
American Friends Ser. Committee	Citizenship Education	750.00	1,531
	In block meetings sixteen college students sponsored by AFSC discussed local problems and held elections of officers among the local people present. They helped build local leadership to continue reforms and education.		
TOTALS		$11,793.00	6,399

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Tennessee

AGENCY	TYPE OF PROGRAM	GRANTED	RESULTS
Memphis Branch, NAACP	Voter Registration	$2,930.00	4,037
Jackson Branch, NAACP	Voter Registration	1,200.00	1,798
West Tennessee VEP (19 Counties)	Voter Registration	5,000.00	2,818
Knoxville Council on Human Relations	Voter Registration & Citizenship Education	2,635.00	1,194
	Citizenship Education took the form of securing the registration books and absentee applications for disabled persons, and providing the services of a notary public for absentee voters.		
TOTALS		$11,765.00	9,847

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Virginia

AGENCY	TYPE OF PROGRAM	GRANTED	RESULTS
Richmond Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	$2,495.00	1,253
Northern Virginia VEP	Citizenship Education	8,420.00	400
	This program was terminated by the Project August 2, 1966		
Lynchburg Voter's League	Voter Registration	2,475.00	1,376
Norfolk Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	2,575.00	1,927
Hampton Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	1,700.00	1,165
Virginia Students Civil Rights Comm.	Voter Registration & Citizenship Education	3,000.00	1,189
	Citizenship Education took the form of political education classes. They also started a News letter, and worked with local community programs. A "cross" was burned in the yard of the Director.		
Lunenburg Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	800.00	205
Caroline County Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	800.00	195
Powhatan County Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	800.00	250
Fredericksburg Branch NAACP	Voter Registration	545.00	190
TOTALS		$23,610.00	8,150

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VOTER PROJECTS

NAME OF STATE: Special

AGENCY	TYPE OF PROGRAM	GRANTED	RESULTS
National YWCA	Voter Registration Citizenship Education	$ 500.00	1,490
Student Interns Atlanta, Georgia		375.00	
Scholarship & Education Fund for Racial Equality	Leadership Training	750.00	1,797
TOTALS		$1,625.00	3,287

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M E M O R A N D U M

23

TO: The Voter Education Project ~~Advisory~~ Committee

In the first six months of its existence, the current Voter Education Project has assisted a total of 76 different programs. The emphasis thus far has been on voter registration. However, ~~a few~~ several programs of citizenship education and leadership training have been funded.

As the state-by-state tables show, there is much to be done in the field of voter registration in the South, despite the striking advances made in recent years. At present, barely half the Negroes of voting age in the South are registered. The white registration is nearly three-fourths.

Sizable increases still will have to be made in Negro registration if the level of democratic participation in the South is to be raised. So it is natural that local committees and citizenship organizations presently are stressing registration. But it is to be expected that emphasis will shift to citizenship education and leadership training as the registration totals move upward. The Voter Education Project will continue to take the initiative in stimulating programs of education and training.

Thus far, programs associated with the Voter Education Project have registered nearly 50,000 persons. The attached

tables account for 41,557 of these. However, there are a few projects which have not yet submitted final reports. And there are a number of projects, particularly in Georgia and Mississippi, which have not yet had time to submit reports.

Moreover, it should be noted that registration drives tend to have a snowballing effect. When one person who has never registered goes to the courthouse and does so, he tells his relatives and neighbors. A few days later, the relatives and neighbors may go register. So 20 or more persons eventually may register because one person was reached in a registration drive.

We know this occurs. Our reports from rural counties tell us that some plantation workers will not go register until others do. So a breakthrough produces ever-widening circles of new voters.

A study we have just completed shows the impact of organized registration drives and federal examiners on Negro registration. The figures follow a predictable pattern, but we feel that they are nevertheless interesting. Registration figures are significantly lower in counties with neither examiners nor organized drives.

Where heavy new registration occurs, the question naturally arises: Will these newly registered citizens vote?

Our study of the Alabama primary indicates that they will. We estimated that nearly three-fourths of Negro registration voted in the May 3 primary.

Much depends, of course, on circumstances and issues, and the issues in the Alabama primary were sharply drawn. All the same, we felt that the Alabama turnout was remarkably high.

It is here that citizenship education and leadership training come into the picture. Before the Alabama primary, the Lee County League of Women Voters received from us a grant of $200. With this modest sum, the League transported voting machines throughout the county so that 2,500 new voters, of whom 1,300 were illiterate, could become accustomed to using this rather imposing device before the election.

Now we are granting another small amount -- $775 -- to the same organization for the purpose of producing three television programs on citizenship education for showing in Alabama and, we hope, elsewhere. The programs will be produced in cooperation with the drama departments of Tuskegee Institute and Auburn University

Another pre-primary program of voter education was

conducted in Macon County. We hope this program will be the forerunner of similar programs in other rural areas.

In the field of leadership training, a one-day institute was held in Alabama in cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. A similar institute was held later in South Carolina.

These institutes schooled candidates and poll watchers in election laws and election procedures. After the Alabama primaries, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund filed suits regarding Greene County and a legislative district in East Alabama growing out of instructions provided at the pre-election institute.

Also, we have allocated a small grant for a six-day leadership training workshop to be held later this month at Frogmore, S. C., for Negro candidates and their campaign workers.

Another forthcoming project will be supported through the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League. It will seek to train community leaders in both urban and rural settings -- Jacksonville, Fla., and Hobson City, Ala.

We are also working to increase student participation in programs sponsored through the Voter Education Project. VEP has been fortunate during the summer in having the services of

William R. Beardslee, a Haverford College student who is directing our efforts in this area.

Many of our registration programs report that young people are the mainstays of such activities as door-to-door canvassing. As an example of our efforts to encourage the use of students in VEP-assisted programs, we recently made a grant to the Lynchburg, Va., Voters League for five students and a coordinator.

We also assisted the National YWCA in a spring registration campaign conducted by 247 college students in six localities. These students registered 3,022 persons -- a figure not included in our state-by-state VEP total.

One of the better programs with which we are associated is being operated in Southside Virginia by the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee.

Mr. Beardslee recommends that we expand the use of students in VEP. He proposes recruitment through deans of Negro colleges and through human-relations organizations.

It should be noted that not all of our programs are limited to a single county. The Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee works in nine counties. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations operates a program in 16 counties. Another program covers 19 counties in West Tennessee.

Thus far, for all programs, we have committed a total of $125,962.30. Grants to VEP total $325,000.

Our research department answers requests for information on registration and voting from sources ranging from The New York Times and television networks to local news media and candidates.

The research reports sent to us from VEP-assisted programs regularly provide some of the most interesting reading material available concerning the South and Southern problems. Through these reports we watch directors of these programs -- for the most part, local people -- meet and conquer such oft-mentioned problems as fear, intimidation, suspicion, apathy, resignation, dissension and the hostility of white officials.

Is it worthwhile? For that answer we turn to the director of the registration program in Charleston, S. C. In pen-and-ink at the bottom of his final statistical report, he writes:

"We tried as hard as we could to get as many to register as possible. We are not too happy. But 783 new registered voters would never have been if it were not for the Southern Regional Council, Inc."

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.,
Dir. V-E-P.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

V.E.P.

REGARDING

Further financial support from Field for V.E.P.
See: Proposal of Oct. 26.

DATE

11-2-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION 1966

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

REGARDING

Project support in the amount of $100,000 for one year,

January 1, 1967

DATE

12-9-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION 1966

See - Vop. Rights

1966 ANNUAL REPORT

Voter Education Project

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Director

During 1966, the Voter Education Project made a total of 106 grants. Grants were made in all 11 states in which the Southern Regional Council operates, from Virginia to Texas.

About two-thirds of the programs funded during the year were voter registration programs. However, as will be set out in subsequent pages of this report, some of the more significant and energetic efforts of the Project went into citizenship education and leadership training. There was a heavy volume of requests for funds for registration programs. Of more than 400 requests submitted to the Project during 1966, all but a few were for programs aimed principally at voter registration.

Two factors were largely responsible for the intense interest during 1966 in registration projects: (1) the presence of federal examiners in some 40 southern counties to lend federal assistance for the first time to Negro registration; and (2) statewide primaries and elections, hotly contested local races, and a large field of Negro candidates, running in many communities for the first time, throughout the region. While there were many defeats for these candidates, there also were some successes, as reported in the VEP election analysis issued in December. And the registration programs accounted for more than 100,000 newly registered voters in 11 states. By category, the number of projects funded was as follows:

Citizenship Education	6
Citizenship Education and Voter Registration	21
Leadership Training	7
Program Development and Technical Assistance	1

Program Development T/A and Statewide Program Coordination	1
Voter Registration	70
Total	106

The programs of citizenship education and leadership training funded during the past year leave the Project with valuable experience and "know-how" which we expect to apply on a broader basis in 1967. Our most striking finding in 1966 was not the need for these programs (we knew that) but the great interest in them and desire for them. After virtually every registration project, there was a follow-up request for funds for citizenship education. Our experience now better equips the Project to respond more widely to citizenship education needs in the various communities that extend beyond registration.

Since the methods and approaches used in registration programs are fairly standard, the remainder of this report will deal principally with citizenship education and leadership training. (However, it is worth pointing out here that each and every one of the VEP-sponsored registration campaigns has furnished extremely valuable leadership training. The financial and statistical reports that we require have sharpened the sort of skills needed for effective participation in governmental and community affairs. And the planning and managing of registration drives have sharpened skills in community organization. We note that many of the leaders of our registration projects tend to take the leadership of other community endeavors.)

The most successful citizenship education programs have been the demonstrative type in which newly registered persons were given the opportunity to actually practice voting on a voting machine set up for use in a forthcoming election. Projects of this nature in Lee County, Alabama, sponsored by the

Auburn League of Women Voters, and in Knox County, Tennessee, conducted by the Greater Knoxville Council on Human Relations, provided VEP---through research reports and field trips---with proven techniques for this kind of project.

In many communities, the Project distributed voting machine models which proved effective in schooling voters and reducing apprehensions about operating the actual machines. Alabama and Georgia communities were the most frequent beneficiaries of this approach.

Projects conducted by the Tuskegee Civic Association in Alabama and by the Southern Consumers Cooperative in Louisiana provide good examples of classroom type citizenship education. Classes on citizenship responsibilities and governmental structure were welcomed by voters in those communities. The Voter Education Project, in cooperation with the Georgia chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, has completed the first in a series of pamphlets to be used as teaching aids in citizenship education classes. The illustrated booklet, entitled, "Know Your Rights," will be distributed throughout the region. Several leaders of VEP-affiliated projects in Georgia attended a presentation of the booklet at a community meeting in the Vine City area of Atlanta. They later carried supplies of the booklet back home to their rural communities.

Our second teaching aid, called "Know Your Local Government in Georgia," is nearing completion and soon will go to the printer. A similar booklet will be prepared for each state in the region. These booklets will be put into use in the spring and summer when registration and voting activities resume.

In addition, two other pamphlets are planned---one on how to conduct a registration campaign and another on methods of getting out the vote. These also are to be designed for South-wide distribution.

In Alabama and Georgia, VEP tested techniques of citizenship education through use of the mass media. The Auburn League

of Women Voters is writing, producing and distributing a series of three television programs on registration and voting in Alabama. The first show was carried October 29 by NBC stations in Montgomery and Decatur and was seen by an estimated 33,000 Alabama viewers. The second in the series soon will be ready for showing. Talent and advice from the Auburn-Tuskegee area are used to produce the shows. Production help and equipment are provided at extremely low costs by the educational television station at Auburn. The tapes will be converted to movie film for statewide use. These films also may serve in the months to come as models for similar productions in other states.

Another VEP grant made it possible for the Georgia League of Women Voters to produce and distribute a television spot on how to cast a ballot in the Georgia general election. The film demonstrated how to vote a straight ticket, how to vote a split ticket, and how to write-in. As in Alabama, stations provided free public-service time and talent was volunteered. Again, therefore, expenses were minimal. Seven stations with nearly a million viewers used the Georgia tape. The League also sent out radio spots which were used by several dozen stations with more than five million listeners.

The leadership training programs have been among our more useful and memorable efforts. Outstanding among these was a two-day seminar at the end of the year for Negro legislators from three states---Georgia, Tennessee, and Texas. Of 20 Negro legislators now serving in the South, 19 attended some portion of the seminar. Authorities in such fields as welfare, corrections, economics, unemployment and individual rights addressed the seminar, which was held in Atlanta. The occasion was historic; it was the first such meeting of southern Negro legislators (none previously had been elected during modern times in Texas, and only one had in Tennessee). At the conclusion of the seminar, the legislators voted unanimously to ask VEP to hold another such meeting prior to the next

legislative season. VEP chose not to publicize the seminar, so that all discussions could be off-the-record and frank.

Other notable leadership training programs were conducted during the spring in Alabama and South Carolina. These were one-day institutes for Negro candidates and poll-watchers. Held in cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, the institutes dealt with election laws and procedures and the duties and responsibilities of poll-watchers and candidates. Those who attended the institutes were in a position later to file several lawsuits charging election irregularities.

Our first venture with a statewide leadership conference proved well worth the time, effort and money invested. This was a day-long conference held in cooperation with the South Carolina Voter Education Project at the Wade Hampton Hotel in Columbia. More than 400 South Carolina Negro leaders and civil rights workers attended sessions on effective registration campaigns, state and federal election laws, the politics of poverty programs, and getting out the vote.

VEP supported a regional leadership training workshop which was sponsored by the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, Inc., and held July 20-24 at Frogmore, South Carolina. A recent grant to the regional office of the Urban League is providing leadership training in rural and urban settings. The grant was for pilot programs in Calhoun County, Alabama, and Jacksonville, Florida.

Student involvement through stipends and part-time employment in community organizations is a major effort of the Voter Education Project. Numerous projects used students as task force workers in registration campaigns. VEP supported student activities through such organizations as the Young Women's Christian Association, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee. The latter organization has been engaged in impressive citizenship

education work in Southside Virginia. The Friends Service Committee likewise engaged in some citizenship education in Sumter, South Carolina.

Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta has agreed to employ the first VEP intern for part-time work at city hall, beginning with the second semester of the current academic year. Arrangements are being made with the National YWCA for use of college students in registration campaigns during spring holidays in 1967. And discussions are underway with certain Peace Corps officials regarding the possible use of Peace Corps returnees as teachers for citizenship education classes in the South this summer.

Finally, the Project has been the main source of support for the South Carolina Voter Education Project, the only statewide organization of its kind in the South. Through the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, the ground has been prepared for formation of an organization in Arkansas patterned after SCVEP. A Little Rock office with a full-time director already is being financed by VEP. It is expected that the statewide organization will be in operation by early spring. There is interest in such statewide organizations in North Carolina and Florida. In the latter state, the Florida Council on Human Relations has agreed to coordinate the initial organizational work.

The VEP office in Atlanta supervised field activities, maintained financial records, and provided vital election-year data to the news media. Numerous requests for information were answered throughout the year for the major networks, the news magazines, and the nation's leading newspapers. In addition to the election analysis, a booklet of registration statistics was published and a study was made concerning the effects of federal registrars.

During the coming year, program emphasis will move increasingly to citizenship education and leadership training. At the same time, it is our feeling that VEP cannot overlook the

responsibility for funding registration campaigns where the need is particularly acute. So long as more than two million eligible Negroes remain unregistered in the South, registration programs will be necessary. There can be no really meaningful citizenship education or leadership training, after all, for Negro citizens who are not even registered to vote. But as more and more Negroes register, the thrust will continue to shift to programs of citizenship education and leadership training. We expect to see the shift accelerate considerably in 1967.

file
V. E. Project
1966

M.M.J.

DESEGREGATION OF ATLANTA SCHOOLS

-- 1942 TO PRESENT

BY

VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.

AND

MARVIN WALL

Desegregation of Atlanta Schools -- A Review of Legal and Community Action Events 1942 to Present

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DESEGREGATION OF ATLANTA SCHOOLS -- A REVIEW OF LEGAL AND COMMUNITY ACTION EVENTS 1942 TO PRESENT

Atlanta is a major trade and transportation center of the Southeast. It lies in north central Georgia, mainly in Fulton County but partly in DeKalb County. The official 1960 census population was 487,455, of which 38.3 per cent was listed as non-white.

The latter figure is higher than that for the state as a whole. For Georgia the figure is 28.6. However, Atlanta's under-18 population is slightly less, percentagewise, than that of the state as a whole. In Georgia, 38.9 per cent of the population is under 18 years old. In Atlanta, the figure is about one-third.

The population of the Atlanta metropolitan area is over one-million -- a quarter of the state's population. In Atlanta, the capital city, Negroes traditionally have played a more prominent role in the political life of the community than elsewhere in the state. For several generations Negroes have registered and voted freely. In certain other parts of Georgia, this cannot be said even today.

At the time of the Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation decisions, Atlanta was one of two Georgia cities which had a Negro serving as an elected member of the school board. Nevertheless, Atlanta schools -- like those of the entire state -- were completely segregated. Indeed, state law compelled complete segregation. If there had been substantial sentiment in Atlanta for desegregation -- and if there was such sentiment, it was rarely voiced publicly -- Atlanta could not have desegregated under Georgia laws then on the books.

The Constitution of Georgia of 1877 (Article VIII, Section I, Chapter 2-6601, Paragraph I) set out a constitutional requirement of segregated schools. It read:

> System of common schools; free tuition; separation of races. There shall be a thorough system of common schools for the education of children as nearly uniform as practical, the expenses of which shall be provided for by taxation, or otherwise. The schools shall be free to all children of the state, but separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races.

This same provision appeared in the 1954 Georgia Constitution:

> System of common schools; free tuition; separation of races. The provision of an adequate education for the citizens shall be a primary obligation of the State of Georgia, the expense of which shall be provided for by taxation. Separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races.

It was not until 1942 that Negroes acted positively, beyond public denouncement and provate indignation, to question

the validity of the constitutional provision for segregated education and to test the Plessy doctrine of separate-but-equal. Early that year, a class action was brought in federal district court on behalf of Negro school teachers and principals in Atlanta for injunctive relief against unequal payment of salaries on the basis of race by the Board of Education.[1] Plaintiffs in the case, by their own motion, dismissed the action, in July 1943.[2]

A year later, Samuel L. Davis reinstituted the action as a plaintiff individually and on behalf of other Negro teachers and principals in the Atlanta public schools.[3] He alleged that:

(a) The defendant school board's policy was to pay Negro teachers less than white teachers of comparable qualifications and experience.

(b) The discrimination was based solely on race and therefore in violation of the equal protection clause of the U. S. Constitution.

(c) The denial of funds was a denial of due process of law as guaranteed by the 14th Amendment of the U. S. Constitution.

The court acknowledged that the allegations presented a constitutional violation on which relief could be granted by a federal court.[4] Numerous authority was cited for this

finding, including a Court of Appeals decision dealing with the same situation in Virginia.[5]

Defendants urged dismissal on grounds that the action was, in effect, a suit against the state which had not been consented to, as required by the 11th Amendment. The court ruled that this was a suit against an administrative body of the state and thus required no consent. The court further held that the defendant school board was acting under color of state law so as to come within the guarantees of the 14th Amendment, and thereby denied all of the grounds on which the defendants sought to have the action dismissed.

Four years later in Davis v. Cook 80F. Supp. 443 (N. O. Ga., 1948), the court ruled that, as a matter of fact, discrimination existed. The judge wrote:

> The evidence shows a differential between the pay of white and Negro teachers in favor of the former and also placements on the schedules uniformly and decidely more favorable to the white teachers far beyond what objective qualifications would justify.

The defendant school board was enjoined from practically any form of racial discrimination in teacher's salaries, but was allowed a reasonable time for a readjustment of payments.

On appeal by the defendant school board, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Cook v. Davis, 178 F. 2d 595 (5th Cir. 1949) reversed the lower court on the ground the plaintiff failed to exhaust his administrative remedies.

Apparently, the court did not question the unconstitutionality of salary discrimination based on race, nor did

it probe into the merits of whether the complicated salary schedule was being administered in a discriminatory manner. Following the district court reversal, the plaintiff sought a rehearing which was denied and a review by the Supreme Court which was denied.[6]

The sad plight of Negro education in the public schools of Atlanta in the 1940s is set out in detail in a report prepared in 1945 by the Atlanta Urban League's Citizen's Committee on Public Education. Entitled "The Negro School Child in Atlanta," the study reveals a dismal educational picture for the Negro child in Atlanta within the framework of the then-accepted doctrine of separate-but-equal. It was published "in the hope that it will help secure for all Atlanta children the equal educational opportunity which is the true foundation of democracy."

Detailing the inconsistencies of the separate-but-equal concept, the report showed the following:

(1) In terms of investment in school, land and buildings, as of December, 1941, the Atlanta Board of Education invested one dollar per Negro child and six dollars per white child.

(2) The per-pupil expenditure for education in 1941-42 was $37.80 for Negro pupils and $108.70 for white pupils.

(3) Of 79,894 Atlanta children of school age 26,528 (37.4%) were Negroes and 44,456 (62.6%) were whites; yet of the 65 public

school buildings in Atlanta only 13 (20%) were for Negroes while 52 (80%) were for whites.

(4) Lack of classroom space for Negro students necessitated "double sessions." In 1941, 155 Negro teachers filled 275 teaching positions, and 120 of these teachers were employed for double sessions. (None of the 612 teachers in the white elementary schools had double sessions). Under the double session system, the Negro child received only 3½ hours of schooling daily instead of the 6 hours received by white students. The Negro pupil thus lost at least 2,700 class hours during the first six years of his elementary school education. In other words, he got about half of the class hours of instruction to which he was entitled.

The recommendations of the Atlanta Urban League to the Atlanta Board of Education were made within the context of the separate but equal doctrine of Plessy. There was no demand in the report for desegregation. The report's recommendations were:

(1) There should be available for Negro children the same types of educational opportunities afforded white children--kindergarten,

elementary, high school, vocational training.

(2) The number of Negro children taught per day by each teacher, and the number of Negro children in each class, should be as low as in white schools.

(3) The length of the school-day should be the same for the Negro child as for the white child.

(4) The same types of physical accommodations and facilities should be available for Negro children as for white children.

The findings of this Urban League report provided the ammunition for the attack on Atlanta's proposed postwar school building program. The proposed plan, according to a subsequent publication by the Citizens Committee on Public Education, "offers no new hope to the Negro school child in Atlanta."

Indeed, the postwar era found the Atlanta schools not only segregated, but wholly lacking -- even nominally -- in equal education for Negro children. Such essentials as libraries, assembly rooms, cafeterias, and gymnasiums were considered a luxury by Negro children and parents.

Thus, a 1945 pamphlet, "Is there a Ceiling," circulated by the Citizens Committee, answered the questions regarding the needs of the Negro school child in Atlanta:

> "The most serious defects of Atlanta's educational program will be remedied only

> when there is provided a full day's schooling for every child. . . . Specifically, it means two additional high schools (one vocational) for Negroes; four additional elementary schools for Negroes; eighty-six additional classrooms for existing schools for Negroes; auditoriums, gymnasiums, cafeterias, library rooms, and adequate sanitary facilities for all Negro schools. . . . It means that at least four times as much money as is now included in the proposals of the Board of Education for postwar building should be allocated for the improvement of Negro schools."

The recommendations of the Urban League were generally unheeded by the Board of Education, although some classroom construction and a general improvement of Negro educational facilities took place. In 1946 the passing of a metropolitan bond issue of $42,500,000, of which $9,000,000 was allocated to the Atlanta schools, made possible certain additions and improvements. However, the 1947-48 report of the superintendent of schools reveals that the board continued to spend a larger portion of the bond funds on the white schools than on the Negro schools, despite their separate-but-equal status. The report shows that bond funds had to be supplemented with capital outlay funds. The breakdown for whites and Negroes:

	White Schools	Negro Schools
Bond	$3,520,637	$1,545,787
Capital Outlay	$1,631,851	$1,151,689

By 1950 the community school concept of elementary schools with grades first through the seventh and high schools from the eighth to the twelfth was implemented on a segregated

basis. A Negro junior high school had been converted into a high school, and Negroes now had a vocational high school, making a total of three Negro high schools for the city.

At least one new elementary school for Negroes had been constructed and several of the older ones had undergone face-lifting with additional classrooms and a cafeteria or auditorium here and there. One of the Negro high schools got the first gymnasium for a Negro high school in the history of the city.

In 1953 the Negro voters of Atlanta, in alliance with the moderate white vote, elected Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, to the City Board of Education. Dr. Clement's election, however, had no effect on changing the segregated pattern of education in the Atlanta schools. At best, within the framework of the law, the Negro member of the board could only push for equalization rather than desegregation.

With the Brown case docketed in the Supreme Court in 1952 and argued in 1953, the Georgia Legislature took steps to prevent desegregation even should it be ordered by the Supreme Court. No preparation was made in Georgia to accept the court's decision. On the contrary, elaborate preparation had been made to resist the decision. The Georgia Legislature, in 1953, created a "Georgia Education Commission" whose aim would be to seek ways to maintain segregation. A "private school plan" in the form of a constitutional amendment was also proposed by the Legislature.

May 17, 1954 was decision day in the Supreme Court of the United States. It was also decision day in Georgia, and the

response of Georgia's political leadership made clear the direction Georgia would choose in light of the Court's ruling that public school segregation was unconstitutional.

U. S. Senator Richard Russell, contending that the question of segregation should be decided by the legislative rather than the judicial branch of the government, had his own label for the court's action: "A flagrant abuse of judicial power."[7] Governor Herman Talmadge said: "The United States Supreme Court . . . has blatantly ignored all law and precedent . . . and lowered itself to the level of common politics . . . The people of Georgia believe in, adhere to, and will fight for their right under the U. S. and Georgia constitutions to manage their own affairs. . . [We will] map a program to insure continued and permanent segregation of the races."[8] And Lt. Governor S. Marvin Griffin, a candidate for governor, proclaimed: "Come hell or high water, races will not be mixed in Georgia schools."[9] Georgia made its decision and set upon the course of massive resistance to the May 17 decision.

In November of 1954, with Governor Herman Talmadge's term coming to an end, Georgia voted 210,478 to 181,147 for the "private school" amendment. Fulton County (Atlanta) was one of the 30 counties that went against the amendment. In Fulton, the vote was 23,597 for and 32,883 against.[10]

Text of the amendment (Georgia Laws 1953, page 241) was as follows: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this Constitution, the General Assembly may by law provide for grants of state, county or municipal funds to citizens of the state for educational purposes, in discharge of all obligation of the state to provide

adequate education for its citizens." The grants were to be used to enable Georgia children to attend private schools in the event public schools were closed to avoid desegregation.

Talmadge, Griffin and Attorney General Eugene Cook led the campaign for the amendment. Principal opposition came from State School Supt. M. D. Collins, labor groups, the Georgia Education Association, and a citizens' "Save Our Schools" organization. The Legislature-created Georgia Education Commission, with Gov. Talmadge as chairman, had met in September and had voted 14 to 4 to urge ratification of the amendment.[11]

The Atlanta School Board set itself up as a committee of the whole in July, 1955 to study desegregation problems and appointed a professional research staff to bring in a report. It was estimated at that time that desegregation would cost the city $3,600,000 in state aid.[12]

In 1956 the Georgia Legislature empowered the governor to close public schools whenever he found that they could not be operated "in such manner as shall entitle such schools under the law of this state to state funds for their maintenance and operation. . ."[13]

Since other laws prohibited the expenditure of state or local funds for desegregated schools,[14] an intention to authorize the closing of desegregated schools seemed clear.

It was against this backdrop that the stage was set for legal action in Atlanta under the 1954 decision. Austin T. Walden, prominent Negro leader and state counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, already had filed

suit for about 100 Negro students seeking admission to "white" Atlanta schools. The suit's original approach was that the Negro schools, although quite separate, were unequal. The suit later was amended to attack segregation itself.[15] This action was dismissed by the plaintiffs.

The litigation that ultimately resulted in the desegregation of Atlanta schools, Calhoun v. Latimer, was filed in federal district court on January 11, 1958. A class action, the suit sought to enjoin the Atlanta Board of Education from the operation of racially segregated education in the public schools. On January 21, 1958 the Georgia Legislature responded with a resolution urging the mayor of Atlanta to advise the National Association for the advancement of Colored People to withdraw from participation in the suit, which the Legislature regarded as "but another outside interference in the now orderly, peaceable and mutually satisfactory association between the major minority of America, the Southern white people, and the major minority of the South, the Southern colored people."[16]

On June 15, 1959, U. S. District Judge Frank A. Hooper took judicial notice of the fact that the City of Atlanta maintained separate schools for white and Negro children. This finding foreclosed plans by the defendant City Board of Education to offer witnesses to prove that the racial arrangement in the city school system was both voluntary and to the best interest of both races. After taking judicial notice of the fact that separate school systems were maintained, the court held that such operation

was in violation of the 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution.[17]

On June 16, 1959, Judge Hooper elaborated on the effect of his ruling, and two significant holdings were announced:

(1) To affect the court's injunction against further operation of racially segregated schools, the court assumed that the defendant School Board would submit a gradual plan for desegregation, providing for careful screening of persons desiring to transfer from schools of one race into schools for another race.[18]

(2) The court took judicial cognizance of state laws which would cut off all funds to desegregated schools, and therefore allowed the defendants to submit their desegregation plans "subject to approval thereof by the Georgia Legislature, and the court would allow sufficient time for the Georgia Legislature to react upon the same."[19]

The School Board, on July 9, 1959, by order of Judge Hooper, was enjoined from "engaging in any and all action which limits or effects admission to, attendance in, or education of, infant plaintiffs, or any other Negro children similarily situated in schools under the defendant's jurisdiction on the basis of race or color. . ."[20] However, the court allowed the defendants a "reasonable" period of time to achieve full compliance with the order, and such compliance was to be achieved by the terms of a plan the defendant School Board was directed to submit to the court on or before December 1, 1959.[21]

On November 30, 1959, the Atlanta School Board submitted a plan for approval to the court.[22] The principal features

of the plan:

(1) Pupils seeking to transfer from one school to another would make application to the School Board and the application would be considered on the basis of a number of factors, including physical facilities, the pupil's psychological condition, academic background, moral background, the possibility of civil disorder, and the effect on other students.

(2) Racial factors would be abolished as a basis for considering student's application for transfer, proceeding on a grade-a-year approach, beginning the first year with the 12th grade, and going down one grade each year.

(3) The enactment of this plan by the School Board would be contingent upon the enactment by the state General Assembly of laws permitting the plan to operate.

An opinion regarding the School Board's plan was rendered by the district court on December 30, 1959.[23]

The court rejected the plaintiff's contention that the defendant School Board was under a duty to integrate its school system. It found the duty to be a negative one -- that is, to cease operating a segregated school system. Also, the court found grade-a-year desegregation acceptable. Further, the court held (a) that the factor regarding the possibility of disorder or violence was constitutionally irrelevant; (b) that "economic retaliation" could not be a valid factor; (c) that psychological and moral factors could be used in considering transfer applications because these factors were relevant; (d) that any transfer

application denied must have a prompt route for appeal; (e) that appropriate amendments to the plan were to be submitted no later than January 6, 1960.

The School Board submitted to the court in early January of 1960 an amended plan to comply with the court's objections to the original plan. The court approved the amended plan on January 20, 1960.[24] In addition, the district court took into account state laws which would cut off state money should schools be desegregated. It held that the Legislature should be given time to amend state laws so that desegregated schools could operate.

When the 1960 Legislature failed to act, the plaintiffs, on February 26, moved that the court direct the School Board to proceed with its plan as approved, beginning May 1, 1960. However, the Legislature in the 1960 session created a committee, subsequently known as the Sibley Commission, whose purpose was to study possible changes in Georgia laws in light of the court's order.[25] The Sibley Commission was to sound out opinion on whether Georgians wanted desegregated public schools or no public schools. A reporting deadline of May 1, 1960 was set for the Commission.

Judge Hooper denied plaintiffs' motion in order to wait and see what the Commission report would produce. The court indicated that it was impressed with the early activities of the Commission. Judge Hooper said:

> "This court at the present time is not utterly without hope that the people of Georgia, when properly and adequately informed of the true issues of the matter, will adopt a course of action which will preserve the common schools of Georgia, and avoid a closing of the same. . . ."

On May 9, 1960, the court issued a final order denying plaintiffs' motion that the School Board's plan be put into effect for the term beginning September, 1960. Instead, the court ordered that the board put into operation the approved plan on May 1, 1961, regardless of whether the Georgia General Assembly passed enabling legislation. And in light of the one-year delay, Judge Hooper held that desegregation would begin with two grades--the 11th and 12th--instead of one.

The Sibley Commission held hearings in each of Georgia's 10 congressional districts. The diehard opposition to desegregation voiced across the state was predictable. However, it turned out that there was more sentiment for keeping schools open than might have been expected. The Commission eventually recommended, by a vote of 11 to 8, a "freedom-of-choice" plan in which pupils would have the option of attending segregated or desegregated schools. The eight-member minority held out for segregation, even if it meant closing schools.[26]

The court issued, on September 13, 1960, an opinion further explaining its reasons for denying plaintiffs' motion of February 26, setting forth these points:

(a) Throughout the litigation the court held to the opinion that delay in ordering the complete elimination of segregation in the Atlanta public schools could be justified only if bona fide efforts were being made to eliminate segregation under a reasonable and gradual plan.

(b) Because of the failure of the Georgia Legislature in its 1960 session to enact laws enabling the proposed plan of

the defendant School Board to be implemented, the court felt that an order to put the plan into effect that year would only have the effect of closing the Atlanta schools and risking the closing all of Georgia's schools.

(c) "The Georgia Legislature in January, 1960, had for the most part been elected upon their promises to the people that they would not under any circumstances permit any integration in any school in Georgia, and they felt bound by these promises."

(d) ". . . The court thinks the appointment of the /Sibley/ Commission was a wise step and that much progress has resulted therefrom." The court observed that three out of every five witnesses who testified before the Commission in its hearings throughout the state favored maintaining segregation even though it might result in abolishing the Georgia public school system. The court felt that this was encouraging because it indicated that there was some shift of feeling toward compliance with the court order, even though the new feeling still reflected a minority view.

(e) The court indicated approval of the Commission's recommendations. A major recommendation called for legislation which would preserve pbulic education on a local-option basis. Local communities could vote on whether to accept the pupil assignment plan (also called the Virginia plan, in which selected Negroes were to be allowed to transfer and be assigned to "white" schools), or to close public schools. Finally the court stated that it "is making a sincere effort to enable the people of Georgia and its Legislature to make a decision in this matter, if they so

desire, that will prevent the closing of the schools of Georgia."[27]

Prior to and during the legal controversy, the Atlanta community was jogged by the whole school desegregation drama. By 1958, with the filing of the lawsuit, the issue was close at hand. Some stirring of action thus resulted.

It would be inacurate to imply that Atlanta was a city of "moderates" and white liberals anxious to press onward with desegregation. All the same, the atmosphere in Atlanta contrasted considerably with the hard-core resistance preached in the state. Cautious starts were made in Atlanta toward forming groups to preserve public education. The battle sounds from Little Rock and Norfolk did not go unheard. In December of 1958, 18 white parents chartered a group called HOPE, Inc. (Help Our Public Education).

HOPE chose to avoid the integration -vs.- segregation issue by taking an uncomplicated stand for open public schools. Conceived primarily as an educational organization designed to clear up the fog of confusion generaged by "massive resistance," "interposition" and other advertised "alternatives" to compliance, it rapidly became a rallying ground for moderates who previously had suffered to remain silent.[28]

Atlanta and Georgia open-school advocates led by HOPE stepped up their campaign to persuade the Legislature to relax the state's segregation laws. Atlanta Mayor William B. Hartsfield had earlier proclaimed a "Save Our Schools Week." Immediately

after Judge Hooper's final ruling, HOPE called a "Georgia Open Schools Conference." Elsewhere in the state, one powerful Georgia politician--State School Board Chairman James S. Peters of Manchester--wrote a reflective letter to another--ardent segregationist Roy Harris of Augusta. "Some form of integration is inevitable," said Peters.[29] And two of Governor Ernest Vandiver's legislative leaders -- State Senator Carl Sanders (now governor) and State Representative Frank Twitty--toured the state to address the Georgia Chamber of Commerce's Legislative Forums. They likewise acknowledged the probability of desegregation. "I don't favor any kind of integration," said Sanders, "but I favor public schools."[30]

Atlanta businessmen, previously coutious about coming to grips with controversy but shaken by Little Rock and New Orleans, gradually threw their weight behind the effort to peacefully desegregate. The Atlanta press -- particularly The Constitution's Ralph McGill -- came down influentially on the side of peaceful desegregation.

The doleful accompaniment for events of this period came from New Orleans. It cannot be stressed too often that the noise of conflict elsewhere in the South made a deep and crucial impression on Atlanta's powerful and generally conservative business leadership.

The surge for open schools in Georgia was not without well-organized and well-financed opposition. There were, of course, the States Rights Council led by arch-segregationist Roy Harris, the Klans and the White Citizens Councils. In addition, there

were Atlanta-based centers of resistance such as MASE (Metropolitan Association for Segregated Education) and later GUTS (Georgians Unwilling to Surrender) headed by Lester Maddox of Atlanta, which sprang up to harass open-school advocates.[31]

But suddenly it was in Athens rather than in Atlanta that Georgia's showdown was to take place. U. S. District Judge William A. Bootle in early 1961 ordered two Negroes, both from Atlanta, admitted to the University of Georgia.[32] Here was another turning point. Thousands of Georgians are graduates of the University. Every Georgia Legislature has scores of members who attended the University. The thought of closing the oldest state-chartered university in the nation to avoid segregation presented an agonizing dilemma indeed.

After the state had exhausted all the legal excape hatches, the two students arrived at the campus in Athens on January 9. On the evening of January 11, a fierce riot broke out on the campus and one of the students' dormitory was stoned. The two students were removed from the University for their "personal safety." But two days later, Judge Bootle ordered them readmitted.[33]

Under existing state law, Governor S. Ernest Vandiver was compelled to cut off state funds to the University. Vandiver had campaigned on a pledge that "no, not one" Negro would be allowed to desegregate Georgia schools. But on January 18, Vandiver appeared before the Legislature (and statewide television) in what amounted to a retreat from Georgia's position of massive resistance.

"Having seen what can happen in the University System," said Vandiver, "we must move to protect the public schools and Georgia school children within the legal framework left to us."[34]

The governor proposed four measures to keep the schools open and at the same time keep desegregation as limited as possible. The four measures called the "Child Protection Plan" included the following provisions:

(a) Tuition grants, (b) all children were to be given "free choice" between public and private schools, (c) local communities were to be given the right to vote on the closing and reopening of the schools, (d) compulsory school attendance laws would be suspended in districts where the public schools were closed.[35]

The 1961 Legislature repealed the massive resistance laws it had enacted in 1952 and adopted in their place the Child Protection Plan as introduced by the governor.[36] By the end of January, the legislation had been passed and signed. Governor Vandiver called them "The four most important measures signed this century."

"In changing from the outmoded course of massive resistance to local defense," said The Atlanta Journal of February 1, 1961, "the governor and the General Assembly have done the wise and realistic thing."

"I don't ever want to see Atlanta as a battleground like Little Rock or New Orleans," Mayor Hartsfield had told city aldermen in an annual address in January. "If leaders keep calm

and cool, the people will follow them. If we stay united for the best interests of the city and its reputation, we will have support."[37]

Of 318 letters and wires received by Twitty and Sanders early in January, only four favored closing schools to avoid desegregation. One of the four was from Atlanta restaurant man Lester Maddox, aforementioned head of Georgians Unwilling to Surrender.[38]

In February, a number of Atlanta and Georgia parents -- some of them wealthy -- began filing applications for tuition grants. Atlanta School Supt. John W. Letson warned that the grants could lead to a mass "raid on the public treasury."[39] However, House Speaker George L. Smith defended the grant law. "It was a good bill at the time it passed; it's a good bill now," he commented.[40]

As a result of the winter desegregation wars of 1961, the University at Athens was kept open. And Atlanta schools won legislative leeway, even if given under intense pressure, to proceed with desegregation. But from the beginning, it was clear that the Atlanta school system would not extend itself in implementing desegregation.

First off, the desegregation was to start with the upper grades of high school. Some Negro juniors were understandably reluctant to transfer to another high school for their senior year.

And in April the Atlanta board announced rules which Negro leaders felt would severely limit the number of transfers.

Applicants would be required to go to Supt. Letson's office at City Hall to pick up the necessary forms. Applications would be turned in to school principals, who then would pass the forms along to area supervisors. Area supervisors then would schedule interviews with the students and their parents and arrange tests. The supervisor also would prepare a summary of the "characteristics" of the school to which transfer was sought. The file next would be sent to Deputy Superintendent Rual Stephens, who was to call together a "student transfer reviewing committee."[41]

The Reverend Samuel Williams, president of the Atlanta branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, called the regulations "simply stumbling blocks." He complained particularly about a portion of the application form asking the place of employment of the applicant's parents.

"There is no need in the world for this except for possibility of using it for intimidation," Williams protested. Questions about the transfer procedure also were raised by a spokesman for the Atlanta Council on Human Relations.[42]

The NAACP held several meetings to explain the regulations to Negro families. A NAACP spokesman reported "a tremendous amount of interest." But he added:

"We've got a saying around here that it's easier to go to Yale than to transfer from one public school to another in Atlanta."[43]

Later in April it was stated that Negro applicants would get numbered forms at City Hall and would have to sign receipts

for them. Superintendent Letson said this procedure was purely a check on the number that might apply and was not intended in any way as a "deterrent" to applications.

And it was not advisable for students to pick up forms while classes were in session. "If any student shows up here during school hours, I'm going to ask him why he isn't in school," said Dr. Letson.[44]

On May 1, Negro students began picking up transfer applications at City Hall. Two, who said they wanted to attend all-white Murphy High School, were at the superintendent's office before opening time. Names of the first group of applicants were published in The Atlanta Journal on May 1.

The next day, the School Board decided to withhold the names of students receiving application forms at City Hall. The secrecy rule had been demanded by civil rights leaders and the Atlanta Human Relations Council. However, the board decided to make public names and addresses at the time applications were filed with school principals. An NAACP spokesman protested that releasing the names would result in harassment and intimidation of Negro families. By this time it already had been reported that the first two applicants -- both girls -- had received threatening and abusive telephone calls.[45]

One hundred and eleven forms were distributed the first day -- 106 after school had ended for the day. At the end of the first week, 265 applications had been picked up. By May 9, 22 applications had made their way back to the school administrators.

In keeping with the board's policy, the names were released.[46]

Meanwhile, a news article in The Journal pointed out that Negro students who transferred would be ineligible for interschool activities for a year. A "migratory student rule" had been adopted years previously to prevent high schools from "stealing" football players from each other.[47] And at Georgia Tech, during this May of 1961, three Negro students were accepted.[48]

There were about 3,300 Negro students in the two grades affected by the Atlanta desegregation plan. When the May 15 deadline came, 133 had gone through the process of filing applications.

But the process did not end there. A few days later 88 applicants were eliminated by achievement tests. Later came personality adjustment and aptitude tests for the remaining 45. On the basis of these tests and the residences of the applicants (whether near or far from Negro schools), all but 18 were screened out.[49]

Toward the end of May, the 18 remaining students were called in for personal interviews. In early June it was announced that 10 had been accepted for admittance to four previously all-white schools: Brown, Grady, Murphy and Northside. Some of the 10 lived near Negro schools. System officials explained that overriding factors, such as the availability or non-availability of ROTC courses, figured into these transfers.[50]

J. H. Calhoun, a former president of the Atlanta NAACP branch, charged that the approval of the 10 "doesn't scratch the surface of the problem of inequality of educational facilities and opportunities." Calhoun added:

"This may help the 10 who transfer, but what about the 4,000 other Negro boys and girls in the 11th and 12th grades who will still get an inferior education?"[51]

Meanwhile, Governor Vandiver joined Atlanta officials in declaring that disorders and mob action in connection with school desegregation would not be tolerated. "Atlanta is under a court order, and no matter how much I might disagree with it, that court order in fact exists," said the governor, described editorially by The Atlanta Journal as "a sincere segregationist" who had put "wisdom and the interest of the state before his personal feelings."[52]

In mid-June the Atlanta School Board received 38 appeals from Negroes whose transfer applications had been turned down. The board had until September 1 to rule on the appeals.

In addition to these 38 appeals, there was one appeal from a white student at Northside. She asked for transfer to another white school when it became evident that Northside would be desegregated. The Atlanta board denied her request, but the State School Board overrode the Atlanta board and granted it. However, the U. S. District Court stayed the State Board's ruling and later voided it. Said the court: "Such (state) ruling, if allowed to stand, would nullify the pupil placement plan heretofore adopted by the Atlanta School Board and approved by this court." The judge pointed out that it would have the effect of allowing all the students to abandon any schools ordered desegregated.[53]

A hearing on the 38 appeals in late June ended almost as soon as it started. The School Board chairman, L. J. (Jim) O'Callaghan, ruled that attorneys for the students could not question school personnel who administered the placement tests. The students' attorneys asked for a recess to allow time to carry the issue to federal court. However, O'Callaghan adjourned the meeting, asserted that the students had had their hearing, and promised a decision on the appeals within 10 days.[54]

On July 6, the School Board turned down the 38 appeals. Upon rehearing in early August, the board stood fast after a 90-minute closed meeting. Chairman O'Callaghan said the verdict was unanimous. An attorney for the students said there would be an immediate appeal to the State School Board. He explained that the appeal would be to the State Board rather than directly to federal court in order to "exhaust all administrative remedies." He added that the 38 would not push for action before the opening of school on August 30 because "the real issues in the controversy deal with the pupil placement plan itself."[55]

In an unprecedented almost-total community effort, Atlanta prepared for desegregation. Police announced firmly that demonstrations, gatherings and disorders would not be tolerated in the vicinity of the schools. Guards were placed on the four schools and on the homes of the Negro families. Known agitators were put under tight surveillance. School officials announced that all unauthorized persons would be barred from school properties and adjacent sidewalks.[56]

As school opening neared, the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce published full-page advertisements in the daily newspapers urging that Atlantans "meet this latest in a long series of challenges with order, dignity and pride in our city."

"Russia and her Communist allies hope for violence to feed their propaganda machines," said the ad. "Neutral countries will judge America in part by how Atlanta responds to this challenge."[57]

Ivan Allen Jr., who had resigned as president of the Chamber of Commerce to run for mayor to succeed the retiring Hartsfield, released statistical data on Little Rock, contending that Atlanta could lose a quarter million in population and a half billion dollars in personal income if violence occurred in connection with school desegregation.[58]

During the summer, the Society of Friends arranged a series of meetings at which the 10 selected Negro students were able to get acquainted with their future white classmates. In mid-August, nine of the 10 students (one was out of town), were given tours of the schools they would be attending. They met principals and other school officials and had the opportunity to ask questions and be questioned.[59]

Meanwhile, Mayor Hartsfield explained the selection of four widely separated schools for desegregation:

"We figured that by spreading out the integration to all four sections of Atlanta, that no one area could feel that it had been put upon. Also, by spreading out like this, we are keeping

those persons who might attempt to cause trouble from having a single target." The spread also brought desegregation to all income levels of the white population.[60]

Earlier in the year, a successor to HOPE had been formed under a new acronym: OASIS. The full name was Organizations Assisting Schools in September. With 53 affiliates, it set out on a "low-key but intensive" campaign to create a "climate of calm, dignified acceptance of desegregation in the fall." OASIS urged ministers to take their vacations before August 15 so that they would be on hand for "Law and Order Weekend."[61]

Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the biracial Southern Regional Council, praised the campaign in Atlanta for peaceful desegregation.

"More preparation has taken place in Atlanta prior to desegregation than in any other Southern city," he said. "There is every reason to believe that the results will show the value of advance planning."[62]

At the time of desegregation, Atlanta's school enrollment was 104,758 and average daily attendance was 88,202. Figures at the high school level were 29,456 and 24,640 respectively. At Brown, average daily attendance was 1,087; at Grady 1,356; at Northside, 981; and at Murphy, 1,030.

Finally, on August 30, the nine children walked into the four high schools. There were no disorders. Incidents were all minor. To the amusement of reporters at the press center at City Hall, one of the four principals declared that things were, if anything, "a bit more normal than usual."[63]

One minor incident is worthy of note. During the morning four youths and a man who identified himself as a "storm trooper sent here by Commander Lincoln Rockwell" were arrested, charged, tried, convicted and sentenced to from 30 to 60 days in the city stockade within three and half hours. Mayor Hartsfield ordered the four boys released, "In view of the fact that the whole situation is now very quiet."

Special police details remained on duty at the four schools during the second peaceful day of desegregation. This procedure was maintained until after Labor Day. Attendance at all four schools was higher than on the first day.

Later in the autumn, one of the three Negro students at Northside---a 16-year-old girl---decided to transfer back to all-Negro Turner High School. Earlier, on the eve of desegregation, one of the original 10 had decided instead to accept a full-tuition scholarship at Spelman.

The School Board, on November 16, agreed to grant a State School Board request that it give its reasons for denying some 38 Negro students transfers to white schools. Mr. O'Callaghan said the Atlanta board would relate to the students the reasons for their rejection, but he was opposed to having the board cross-examined about them. He therefore refused to allow representatives of the students to question administrative staff members on how they arrived at the reasons for denial.[64]

In the spring of 1962, Deputy Superintendent Stephens stated that transfer procedures for Negro students wishing to attend formerly white schools would be simplified. Transfer

applications would be made available at Negro schools and one of the special tests used in 1961 dropped. While massive transfers were to be avoided, Stephens explained, less stress would be placed on limiting the number of Negroes entering desegregated schools.[65]

When Research Director James Moss of the Southern Regional Council observed that Atlanta's Negro high schools were heavily overcrowded--enrolling 4,133 pupils above capacity--while white high schools had space for some 4,700 additional students, Stephens said that moves were being taken to remedy overcrowded conditions in Negro schools.[66] He also questioned Moss' figures but The Atlanta Journal reported that "certain school officials" substantially agreed that white classrooms could absorb excess enrollment at Negro schools.[67]

The Atlanta School Board and the city school administration undertook an involved series of moves designed to ease congestion at the Negro high schools without substantially changing the city's segregated educational pattern. The city proposed a multi-million dollar school bond issue with more than half the funds earmarked for Negro school construction.[68]

Negro leaders were critical of the bond issue. While agreeing that some of the projects provided for by the bond funds were valuable, the sentiment of Negro spokesmen was summed up by a member of the Atlanta Business and Professional Association. "We can't be in the position," he said, "of buying $20 million worth of segregated schools."[69]

To deal with immediate overcrowded conditions at Negro schools, particularly the swamped Howard High School, the Atlanta School Board tentatively approved the use of temporary mobile classrooms to be located four blocks from the school. The mobile units would provide some twenty-five classrooms plus additional administrative space. Superintendent Letson defended this plan, arguing that the mobile classrooms would give the city future flexibility in dealing with rapid shifts in school enrollment. Letson also recommended -- and the board approved -- a complex shifting of pupils from overcrowded to less-crowded schools, all within a segregated framework.[70]

Again, spokesmen for the Negro community protested both the overcrowded conditions in Negro schools and the use of mobile homes to relieve the situation without disturbing racial zoning. Members of the Atlanta NAACP education committee attacked the use of mobile classrooms as an expensive method to continue segregation.[71]

The School Board chose to deal with the problem by converting a formerly white school -- the James L. Key School -- to Negro use. Renamed the Capital Avenue School, the building provided class space for the city's most cramped students. Groups representing both spokesmen for Negro organizations and whites living in the old Key school area protested the move. Negro leaders argued that surplus class space in white schools could be available to Negro pupils, promoting both the cause of better education and desegregation. A representative of the Grant Park

Civic Association urged that white pupils from outside that area be transferred to Key School, thus boosting the enrollment sufficiently for the school to remain white. Letson answered that "we are trying to do the greatest good for the greatest number," and the board's decision stood.[72]

Three hundred and six Negro students picked up transfer applications in the spring of 1962, and 266 of these applied for transfer to "white" schools. In June, Superintendent Letson announced that 44 applications ahd been approved. The names of the 44 students who would be shifting from Negro to largely white schools were published in The Atlanta Constitution in mid-June, 1962. Letson said the enrollment changes represented a "liberalization" of desegregation standards.[73]

Near the end of August, 1962, 40 new Negro students entered nine predominantly white high schools. They joined four Negro students who had been enrolled in predominantly white high schools in 1961. In keeping with Atlanta's stairstep desegregation plan, biracial classes were extended to the 10th grade in addition to the 11th and 12th. Again, the city had planned thoroughly, and there were no significant incidents.[74]

On April 30, 1962, after the fact of desegregation by the nine Negro students was accomplished, the plaintiffs filed a motion for further relief in the district court. They asked for an order enjoining the School Board from continuing to maintain and operate a segregated biracial school system.

The motion specifically sought to enjoin the board from: (a) continuing to assign pupils to the public schools on the basis

of race and color; (b) continuing to assign teachers, principals and other professional school personnel on the basis of race and color; (c) continuing to designate schools as "Negro" or "white"; (d) from continuing to support, approve or sanction racially segregated extra-curricula school activities; (e) continuing to maintain a dual system of school attendance area lines based on race and color; (f) and from making any other distinctions based on race and color.

The court denied the motion /(Calhoun v. Latimer, 217 F. Supp. 614 (N. D. Ga., 1962)/. It found, inter alia, that no facts were shown requiring a speed up of desegregation, that teacher assignments problems should be deferred until further progress is made in desegregating students, and that a standard academic test was now given to all students. /7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 1054 (1962)/.

In denying the motion to accelerate desegregation, the court, sounding a bit irritated, said:

> "There is no disputing that discrimination had existed prior to the order of this court of January 20, 1960, and that the order of that date was designed to eliminate the discrimination over a period of years. Even plaintiffs' counsel upon the original trial disclaimed any purpose of seeking to have 'wholesale integration.' The only question then involved was the plan by which discrimination could be eliminated; a plan was carefully prepared and adopted and no appeal taken. The plan is eliminating segregation, but until it has completed its course there will of course still be areas (in the lower grades) where segregation exists. The court is therefore at a loss to see how anything could be accomplished at this time by an order enjoining defendants from continuing to maintain and operate a segregated,

> biracial school system, for the court has already taken care of that in its decree of January 20, 1960. There is no evidence that defendants are continuing to designate schools as Negro or white, nor that they are maintaining racially segregated extracurricular school activities."

On the question of the assignment of teachers and other personnel, the court said the time had not come for that. It ruled:

> "The assigning of teachers and other personnel on the basis of race and color is not now passed upon but is deferred (as other courts have done) awaiting further progress made in the desegregation of the students."

The whole attitude of the court regarding plaintiffs' contentions is best summarized in the following:

> "The United States Supreme Court has ordered that segregation be eliminated with deliberate speed; and has invested the trial judges in the first instance with some discretion, bearing in mind all local conditions, as to the timing of a plan of desegregation. The plan heretofore approved by this court, and now under attack, has been administered fairly and in good faith by defendant Atlanta Board of Education, the local authorities have given utmost cooperation in maintaining law and order, and the number of students being transferred each year from previously designated white schools is increasing at an accelerated rate each year as the lower grades are reached. This court feels that the public interests demand that the plan now in operation be continued according to its term and not be summarily displaced by the new plan of desegregation proposed by plaintiffs."

Plaintiffs appealed to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, where the court affirmed the district court denial of the motion for further relief /Calhoun v. Latimer, 321 F 2d 302 (5th Cir. 1963)/ on June 17, 1963.

The Circuit Court based its denial on Cooper v. Aaron 1958, 358 U. S. 1, 78 S. ET. 1401, 3 L. Ed. 2d5, in which the Supreme Court reiterated the assiging of supervisory powers to the district courts for the transition from segregated to desegregated schools, and added:

> "Under such circumstances, the district courts were directed to require 'a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance,' and to take such action as was necessary to bring about the end of racial segregation in the public schools 'with all deliberate speed.' . . . . Of course, in many locations, obedience to the duty of desegregation would require the immediate general admission of Negro children, otherwise qualified as students for their appropriate classes, at particular schools. On the other hand, a court, after analysis of the relevant factors (which, of course, excludes hostility to racial desegregation), might conclude that justification existed for not requiring the present nonsegregated admission of all qualified Negro children. In such circumstances, however, the courts should scrutinize the program of the school authorities to make sure that they had developed arrangements pointed toward the earliest practicable completion of desegregation, and had taken appropriate steps to put their program into effective operation. . ."

Thus, concluded the Circuit Court, "Gradualism in desegregation, if not the usual, is at least an accepted mode with the emphasis on getting the job of transition done."

The court referred to the plan offered by the plaintiffs in the district court which, of course, was rejected. The plaintiffs' proposed plan suggested a speed up of five years in the original twelve-year plan for transition. It suggested that grades eight and nine rather than nine be desegregated in September 1963. It would have desegregated grades four, five, six, and

seven in September of 1965. The plaintiffs' proposed plan would have reassigned all high school teachers, counselors, principals and supervisors prior to the opening of school in September 1963 on the basis of qualifications and need without regard to race. The same procedure would be followed in lower grades as those grades desegregated. All school-sponsored, school-related, school-supported, and school-sanctioned extra-curricular activities would be open to all qualified without regard to race as each grade desegregated. Desegregation would have been provided on the basis of drawing zone lines for each school and assigning all children living in the zone to the school withour regard to race.

The court found the most significant question presented by the case to be the plaintiffs' motion that school zone lines be drawn for each school and all children living within the zone be assigned to that school without regard to race. This was an objection to a feature of the court-approved plan which permitted the continued assignment "of those children already in school to the same schools, with the right to transfer." The court held that there was no evidence to show the existing system was any worse than the proposed zone system and, therefore, the district court was within its discretion in allowing the School Board to continue with the existing system.

In addition, the court concluded that "there was no evidence that the Atlanta School Board had acted other than in the utmost good faith throughout this litigation," and "that the district judge has proceeded except in the highest tradition of

the federal courts, and in a persistent and wise manner to accord appellants their constitutional rights while at the same time preserving the educational process in the transition period."

The court held then that there was insufficient evidence on which to base a determination that the start made in the Atlanta schools was not reasonable or that the plan was not proceeding at deliberate speed. As to other matters raised in the motion for further relief on appeal, the Circuit Court ruled:

> "Time will tell whether other questions regarding discrimination in the areas of extra-curricular activities, or leading from the assignment of teacher personnel are rendered moot. There is no evidence to support the charge of discrimination in extra-curricular activities in the grades that have been desegregated in Atlanta, and the district court did not err in postponing the consideration of teacher assignment. Angustus v. Bd. of Public Instruction of Escambia County, Florida, 5th Cir., 1962, 306 F. 2d F. 2d. 862."

Finally it is worthy of note that the court said:

> "In the meantime the Atlanta plan is working. Progress is the test, and the necessary transition is taking place. There has been no trouble. All responsible officials and many private citizens have cooperated to make it work, and to preserve public education."

Circuit Judge Rives, in a strong dissent, said that for the Circuit Court to affirm the judgment "amounts to a backward step rather than a step consistent with what I consider to be the clear teaching of the Supreme Court's unarmious opinion in the Watson case." Judge Rives dissent cited two significant paragraphs from Watson, et al. v. City of Memphis, et al., U.S. (1962):

"It is now more than nine years since this court held in the first Brown decision, Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483, that racial segregation in the state public schools violates the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

"Given the extended time which has elapsed, it is far from clear that the mandate of the second Brown decision requiring that desegregation proceed with all deliberate speed would today be fully satisfied by types of plans or programs for desegregation of public educational facilities which eight years ago might have been deemed sufficient. Brown never contemplated that the concept of deliberate speed would countenance indefinite delay in elimination of racial barriers in schools."

The heart of Judge Rives dissent was:

"The essential fact, as disclosed by the record before us, is that the schools of the City of Atlanta do not have a single grade, in either the grammar or high schools, in which Negro children are permitted to become students on the same basis as are white children. In other words, whatever may have produced this result, it is not disputed that it is impossible for a Negro student in the top three grades, which have, under the Atlanta plan, been desegregated, to enter such desegregated school without being subjected to requirements that do not apply to any white student in the grade. This comes about by reason of the fact that, while the basis for first considering applications of a Negro student for a transfer to a white school is the test normally conducted during the school year for all students, both white and Negro alike, the Negro student seeking to transfer is required to meet standards based upon an analysis of his tests and also based upon a personality interview, which do not apply to the white students who are already enrolled in the school, or who come into the grade from a lower grade by reason of having been in a feeder system as to which all white children are in white schools and all Negro students are in Negro schools."

In a footnote to the above comment he writes:

> "I use the term 'white and Negro schools' in a pracitcal sense. Considerable attention is paid by the trial court and the majority to the fact that the words 'Negro' and 'white' no longer appear in the literature of the Board of Education. That there are still Negro and white schools, however, is conceded by the appelless."

The dissent contended that though the appellants did not appeal from the original decision of the trial court approving the transfer plan, this did not foreclose the right of appellants to complain that when the plan was put into operation it was operated in a discriminatory manner. Judge Rives questioned the majority opinion's justification for approving the plan because the majority did so, he opined, on the assumption that the plan was not based on considerations of race. He reasoned that "since the assumption on which the opinion rests is demonstrably not correct, the opinion cannot be logically supported."

On the question of tests, Judge Rives noted that the trial court and the majority opinion placed emphasis on the fact that the same tests were given to white and Negro children, and that they were all subject to the same grading system. The dissenting judge said in a footnote:

> "The significant point is not the tests, but the use that is made of them. Thus, it is a question of the application of criteria to the Negro student's grades that are not applied to the grades of the white student.
>
> "The record shows that the only Negro applications for transfer to white schools that were considered were those submitted between

> May 1 and May 15 of each year. In addition to these there were many transfers made informally during the school year by white students among white schools, or by Negro students among Negro schools."

His argument was that the criteria applied to Negro applications to transfer to white schools submitted between May 1 and May 15 were not applied to the informal transfers.

The basis for his conclusion that a dual system was operating in Atlanta was found in footnotes 4 and 5:

> 4. While the trial court stated, "neither does the evidence show that defendants are maintaining a 'dual system of school attendance area lines': and the majority opinion says, "even if it may be said that there is a dual system in Atlanta, and the evidence does not o disclose" both statements are incorrect. The superintendent of schools, who was the only witness, testified as follows on page 90 of the record.
>
> "Q. And by whom are these administrative lines drawn?
>
> "A. By the area superintendent in cooperation with the school officials, local school officials.
>
> "Q. And these lines serve to delineate the area for particular elementary schools?
>
> "A. Yes, to the degree that it is necessary to balance one school's attendance.
>
> "Q. Now, in the areas where the housing is mixed racially, that is, the areas where Negroes and whites live in the same area, these lines would overlap, so to speak, wouldn't they?
>
> "A. Well, formerly they were drawn separately for white and Negro schools.
>
> "Q. And how are they drawn now?

"A. They are drawn on the basis of the Pupil Placement Law under which we are operating. There has been no change in the elementary situation.

"Q. Now, you say the lines are drawn now pursuant to the Pupil Placement Laws. Is that a state law or is that the plan?

"A. That is the plan.

"Q. And you say the lines are drawn pursuant to that?

"A. The same lines that were in existence in 1960 are in existence at the present time.

"Q. I see.

"A. With variations that have been made. There have been no specific change in those lines.

"Q. And you still have separate lines which relate to the Negro schools and separate lines which would relate to the white elementary schools; is this right?

"A. Roughly, yes."

5. The superintendent testified as on page 92 of the record:

"Q. You have sort of a feeder system where certain elementary schools would feed into certain high schools?

"A. Yes.

"Q. And the white elementary schools would feed into one of these 18 white or formerly white high schools?

"A. Right.

"Q. Is that the way these high school students are now assigned to the schools?

"A. The same way, except they are subject to transfer upon request."

Judge Rives concluded:

> "I cannot concur in a decision of this court that takes a backward rather than a current, much less forward, step.
>
> "I would require the moderate rate of increase prayed for by appellants to the extent of desegregating the classes to include the eighth and ninth grades in 1963, and the fifth, sixth, and seventh grades in 1964. . ."

The plaintiffs filed a petition for rehearing which was denied. However, the court of appeals clarified its previous stand by expressly stipulating that in making pupil assignments and passing on transfer requests, the school officials could not: (1) conduct personality interviews with students if this practice were confined to Negro pupils only; (2) require a transferee to make a class average score in tests for scholastic ability or achievement as a prerequisite to transfer; (3) impose any scholastic requirement whatever for assignment or transfer if the requirement were applied only to Negro students. [Calhoun v. Latimer, 321 F. 2d. 316 (1963)] The court modified its opinion to make it clear that this corrective action must apply to transfers and assignments for the 1963-64 school term to the extent, if any, that the prqctices giving rise to the deficiencies may have been continued in use."

In May, 1963, 191 Negro students applied for transfers to 14 high schools, two of which were all-white. Of these, 86 were accepted. In 1961, 8 per cent and in 1962 14 per cent of the applicants had been admitted to desegregated situations. The 86 approved transfers represented 43 per cent of those applying in

1963. Deputy Superintendent Stephens emphasized that for the past two years nationally standardized achievement and IQ tests had been administered to both Negro and white students. Stephens said that of the 105 applications turned down during summer, tests scores indicated that 80 were "probable failures." The 86 students accepted--along with 36 who had transferred in 1962 and who had not graduated--would enter ten predominately white schools, including two not previously desegregated.[76]

Late in August Deputy Superintendent Stephens announced that students who had been denied transfers on the basis of low scores had been informed of a "change in desegregation ground rules." "About 70" of them were invited to a conference at City Hall "to have their rights explained." These new rights resulted from an order by the Court of Appeals calling for corrective action as applied to transfers and assignments for the 1963-64 school term /Calhoun v. Latimer, 321 F. 2d. 316 (1963)./ According to The Atlanta Journal, August 27, 1963, the "corrective action eliminates the use of indicated scholastic ability as a yardstick for approving or denying a Negro student's application for transfer to a desegregated school." Dr. Stephens warned that Negro students would be advised that with poor achievement records they would face serious difficulties if they transferred to new schools. Stephens told the 25 Negro students who showed up at City Hall to "learn their rights" that "you have a legal right to fail just as a white student has."[77]

On September 11 parents of white children then currently

attending the Lena H. Cox elementary school learned that their children were to be transferred to Center Hill School, also all-white, and the Cox school became an all-Negro facility. Superintendent Letson explained "racial shift in residential patterns" had indicated that Negroes attending overcrowded schools should now be able to go to Cox, which was nearer their homes. Letson pointed out that in the case of white students "one school could hold the students from both schools."[78]

In mid-November the School Board agreed to meet with the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference, a coalition of Negro civil rights groups and community organizations, to discuss Negroes' objectives for school desegregation. The Summit Conference outlined its aims: "The development by the School Board of a plan for total desegregation of the school system, including its teaching and administrative staffs; the adoption of two criteria only--availability of space and desired programs of study--in the placement of white and Negro children in particular schools; the setting up of an in-service training program in intergroup relations."[79]

The board responded to a Summit Leadership Conference request for faculty desegregation with a vague position summed up by one board member's comment that "certain areas we cannot profitably implement tomorrow because of the impact on the community."[80]

Meanwhile, following the judgment of the Court of Appeals denying the plaintiffs' motion for further relief, appeal

was made to the Supreme Court. Pending argument of the appeal, Superintendent Letson announced new regulations for transfers, based on the plan School Board attorneys would present to the Supreme Court. The new regulations were announced pursuant a resolution adopted by the School Board on April 8, 1964. The Resolution read:

> "Be it resolved: That for the school year beginning August 24, 1964, all pupils entering the eighth grade from elementary schools be assigned among the various high schools without regard to race, after consiceration of the following factors:
>
> 1. Choice of the pupil or his parents;
>
> 2. Availability of facilities; and
>
> 3. Proximity of the school to place of residence.
>
> "Be it further resolved: That among those seeking to attend a particular school, where facilities are not available for all, priority shall be based on proximity, except that for justifiable educational reasons and in hardship cases other factors not related to race may be applied. Administrative assignments or reassignments may be made in cases of overcrowding, in hardship cases, and for disciplinary reasons. When such administrative assignments are made they shall be based on relative proximity and available facilities, giving consideration to pupil choice where possible.
>
> "Be further resolved: That in those grades already reached by the Atlanta plan of desegregation (ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades), transfers be freely granted according to the criteria hereinbefore provided, without formal application, other than the usual pre-registration required of all students.
>
> "Be it further resolved: That a certified copy of this resolution be furnished to the

> attorneys for transmission to the Supreme Court of the United States in accordance with its direction."

In May of 1964, the Supreme Court in a per curiam decision [89 S. ET. 1226, 377 U. S. 263-64 (1964)] vacated the judgment of the Court of Appeals and remanded the case to the district court. The court wanted the district court to examine the contradictory claims of the parties concerning assignment and transfer policies. On this point the court said:

> "In light of the developments at and since the argument, we deem it appropriate that the nature and effect of the board's resolution of April 8, 1964 be appraised by the district court in a proper evidentiary hearing."

Finally, the Court ruled that:

> "Although Atlanta's commendable effort to effect desegregation is recognized, the district court on remand, must, of course, test the entire Atlanta plan by the considerations discussed" . . . in recent Supreme Court decisions.

Margaret Shannon, Washington correspondent for The Atlanta Journal, reported on the arguments before the Supreme Court. She wrote: "During arguments of the case questions by the justices indicated their confusion. Part of the mix-up stemmed from the fact that School Board Attorney A. C. Latimer often was discussing things the board intended to do rather than what it had actually done."[81]

When parents of white children, at Murphy High School, complained to the School Board that an increase of Negro students at the school would prompt mass withdrawal by whites, Superintendent

Letson commented that "while accurate enrollment estimates were impossible at that time, if more white parents move out, then more Negro pupils will enroll."

Letson announced in late summer of 1964 that the Smith-Hughes Vocational School would be renamed Central High School and opened with only Negro eighth grade pupils attending. None of the children in the nearly white public housing projects were scheduled to attend.

The conversion of Smith-Hughes brought protest from the Negro community. On August 31, a group of 50 Negro parents picketed the school, protesting that establishing an enrollment based on race was a step toward re-segregating Atlanta's schools. A Negro state senator inspected the school and said there was a feeling in the Negro community that "Negroes get second-hand facilities" and that the board's action was intended to "re-enforce segregation." He added that the Atlanta board had "failed miserably in its communications with the Negro community."[82]

The board proceeded with its plan despite the testimony of the city fire marshal that he "wouldn't recommend occupancy by any age group (of Smith-Hughes) until deficiencies are corrected."[83] Dr. Clement, the lone Negro member of the board, announced that he would go along with the plan to convert Smith-Hughes to an all-Negro eighth-grade facility on the condition that the board "at the same time instruct our administration to make the fullest possible use of presently available high school facilities." T. Charles Allen, who had proposed the Smith-Hughes change,

accepted Clement's amendment and the board approved it unanimously. Before the vote on Clement's proposal, Board Chairman Oby Brewer, Jr., asked Letson's opinion. The Superintendent replied that school officials could make full utilization of vacant classrooms, "if approved by the board." (Schools chiefly affected by the shift would be Bass, Murphy, O'Keefe and West Fulton.) Clement said after the meeting that "we've just faced up to what the courts said we must do."

On September 4, 1964, two Negro students and the father of two white students were arrested as a result of separate incidents at West Fulton High School. The clashes came during a turbulent week in which white students withdrew from the school. Superintendent Letson, commenting on the change from a ratio of three whites to two Negroes, to a seven-to-five ratio, with Negroes outnumbering whites, called the situation "very tense." The board had made no decision as to whether 100 white students would be allowed to transfer to another school.[84]

About 50 parents of white students at West Fulton High School attended a School Board meeting to protest conditions at the "heavily integrated" school. Earlier school officials had announced approval of more than 50 transfer applications and turned down about 150, according to Letson. Brewer and other board members repeatedly pointed out to the irrate crowd that school officials were operating under court order.

"The board simply cannot deviate from that ... I don't think anyone in this room would want us to openly defy a federal

court order," Brewer said. He added that any parent whose child had not received permission to transfer could appeal directly to the board. "We'll call a special meeting if necessary to consider transfers," he said.

Letson said after the meeting that transfers were approved only in accordance with the court order.[85]

An NAACP spokesman urged the board to desegregate faculites to ease racial problems. Both the NAACP and the Atlanta Council on Human Relations asked the board to take advantage of aid available under the 1964 Civil Rights Act for dealing with desegregation.[86]

In January of 1965, Kirkwood Elementary School, previously all-white, changed to an almost totally Negro school. Area Superintendent G. Y. Smith said that all pupils previously attending Kirkwood had been permitted to leave. The school was centered in an area which human relations groups had hoped to stabilize, heading off "re-segregation."[87]

When Letson testified at a court hearing in February, specific attention was given to Kirkwood Elementary. Letson said the board agreed to let Negro pupils transfer in January, but admitted he had previously sent a letter to white parents notifying them of the impending action and informing them they could transfer elsewhere if they wished. He repeated that Kirkwood was in a "transitional neighborhood." On the day some 500 Negroes entered Kirkwood, all but six whites had transferred out. The white faculty was transferred along with the students.

School Board Attorney A. C. Latimer displayed a 1964 board resolution indicating its willingness to alter the grade-a-year procedure, starting with kindergarten and the first grade. Latimer pointed out that the plan required a court order.[88]

In April school officials directed a plea to angry Negro parents concerning the C. W. Hill School. The officials asked that the controversy be "removed from the racial arena." The board planned to move more than 800 Negro pupils from C. W. Hill to 20 mobile classroom units at the all-Negro Howard High Annex. Despite protests by Hill school parents, Board President Oby Brewer Jr. called the proposal a "sound one under the circumstances."[89] The School Board later reversed its plan, offering to keep Hill open for another school year, although it threatened delay and possible renogotiation of a contract for the city auditorium to be constructed on the land where the school was presently located. The one-year reprieve was granted in order to allow school officials and urban renewal experts time to build a new school in the area.[90]

On remand from the Supreme Court, the district court, after a pre-trial hearing and trial in February of 1965, held the rate of desegregation in the Atlanta public schools was inadequate. It ordered that the Atlanta plan be amended to embrace the kindergarten and the first grade during the school year 1965-66 and proceed upward at the rate of two grades per year each year thereafter. This would embrace the sixth and seventh grades during the school year 1968-69. The court approved the Atlanta

Plan in all other respects as an adequate means of achieving complete school desegregation. (Calhoun v. Latimer)

The court's decision observed at the outset that the remand by the Supreme Court was limited to only two specific questions: (1) that the nature and effect of the April 8, 1964 Resolution of the defendant School Board be appraised, and (2) that the Atlanta plan be tested by considerations in recent decisions of the Supreme Court. The court, therefore, did not address itself to several issues raised in the record by plaintiffs. Those issues included extra-curricular activities such as banquets, clubs, PTA meetings, athletics; the fixing of zone lines between adjoining schools; overcrowding in Negro schools; assignment of teachers without discrimination, and the policy of allowing children to stay in the same school unless transfer had been requested.

The court took the position that the issues were limited to those specified by the Supreme Court and those specified in the pre-trial order. The other issues, felt the court, were apparently laid to rest by the Court of Appeals (321 F. 2d. 302); for example, the fixing of zone lines between adjoining schools. Nor were these issues remanded for additional consideration by the Supreme Court.

The three criteria of choice of pupil or his parents, availability of facilities, and priority of the school for the initial assignment and transfer, as set forth in the Resolution, were held to be reasonable and non-discriminatory. The court

seemed eager to make it very clear that as to each of the criteria, no Negro student had filed a specific complaint alleging discrimination. Several refusals to admit Negroes to the schools of their choice were found to have been justified by administrative or curriculum considerations not related to race.

The Atlanta School Board voted in July of 1965 to open all grades to Negroes. The decision came during a special board meeting to resolve the C. W. Hill School controversy in which the board decided to transfer all Hill students to the Howard High annex. Whereupon the Negro leadership agreed that the board's liberalized desegregation plan, along with announced intentions of building a $1.4 million school near the present Hill location, had headed off widespread protests by Negroes.[91]

Negro parents agreed to accept temporary arrangements for their children at the Howard Annex for one year, but construction of a new school lagged. At a stormy special meeting of the board, school officials agreed to pay an additional $12,000 to avoid "bucking the Board of Aldermen and Negro leaders from Buttermilk Bottom." Hill PTA spokesman Jesse Hill pointed out that Negro parents had agreed to send their children to Howard Annex for one year in return for the guarantee that a new school would be completed.[92] The Board of Aldermen sent the contract back to the School Board, explaining that the extra $12,000 still allowed the contractor to go 90 days beyond the deadline and not lose a cent from the original contract. The board responded by lowering the amount to $9,500. This action came as a result of

Negroes' protest that the school was not really due for completion until January of 1967.[93]

Dr. H. E. Tate, executive secretary of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association and member of the Atlanta School Board, early in January requested that State Superintendent Jack P. Nix use his influence to see that discriminatory practices based solely on race be discontinued. Dr. Tate's specific reference was to salary differentials.[94]

At a discussion of the proposed $22 million bond issue for schools, Letson was confronted by Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook, as well as other Negroes, who expressed lack of confidence in the school system's policies and indicated that Negroes for this reason might not support the bond election.[95]

In mid-July Dr. Gerald Reed, advisor to "Operation Breadbasket," an organization made up of the majority of Atlanta Negro ministers, appeared with two other members of the organization before the School Board. Only Dr. Reed was permitted to speak. He urged the board to give more attention to educating Negro students, warning that "the growing tense situation in Atlanta is in large part due to our failure in the field of Negro education in the past." He also warned that if the board continued to refuse Negroes the right to air their grievances, "this will be our last non-violent protest."[96]

As late as September 5, the Atlanta Inquirer, a weekly Negro tabloid, pointed out in a news article that Atlanta is lagging in the area of faculty desegregation. It reported that no

Negro teachers have been assigned to predominantly white schools in the Atlanta system for the school year 1966-67. Murphy and West Fulton high schools, which until two years ago had student bodies that were mostly white, are now predominantly Negro in both student and faculty makeup. The article suggests that re-segregation takes place for both students and teachers.

Dr. Letson is quoted in the article saying that there were from 12 to 15 schools with integrated faculties. "We have proceeded on the basis of faculty desegregation," Dr. Letson said, "in terms of those situations where it's running roughshod over personnel, where the need existed, and where there was a proper combination of qualification and the availability of personnel."

At Bass High, which is near 50-50 in its racial composition, there is not a single Negro teacher according to a Negro parent. "It seems that Dr. Letson and the School Board would rather wait until a school is 99% Negro before they permit a Negro teacher to teach," said the parent.

Years after desegregation---indeed, as late as 1966---Negroes still were protesting to the Atlanta School Board about overcrowding and double sessions. Last August, parents of students at all-Negro Harper High School complained to Superintendent Letson about the school's overload.

"A half day of education is not enough," they said in a telegram to Letson. "We expect our children to receive a full day's education."

The executive committee of the Atlanta branch of the

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People adopted a resolution calling on the Atlanta School Board to work "seven days a week and 24 hours a day" to get a new high school constructed to relieve overcrowding at Harper.[97]

The protests resulted in little, if any, relief of conditions at Harper. An editorial in The Atlanta Constitution on August 10 states what might be considered the position of official Atlanta and the School Board on such matters:

> Ultimatums, threats of boycotts, shouting matches and mass demonstrations are not going to solve the serious problem of overcrowded schools in Atlanta. It's going to take money, bricks and mortar. It's going to take settlement of construction industry strikes. And, above all, it's going to take the dedicated effort and good will of reasonable men and women. . . .
>
> Two recent meetings, one an informal one to discuss double sessions at Harper High School and the other a meeting of the Atlanta Board of Education, degenerated into shouting matches and irresponsible accusations against Supt. John W. Letson and other school officials.
>
> Harper High will go on double sessions when school opens about three weeks from now, so will 11 elementary schools in the city, and other schools will be overcrowded. About half the 3,500 pupils on double sessions will be at Harper and this disturbs their parents. It also disturbs members of the school board, Supt. Letson, and should disturb all citizens of Atlanta.
>
> Because Harper is an all-Negro high school, the problem to many minds is essentially racial. But is it? The school is located in a Negro section of southwest Atlanta and serves the people in that community. Present overcrowding there is partly the result of poor planning, but it also is the result of rapid population shifts and inadequate funds for school construction.

> Parents of pupils at Harper and their spokesmen have suggested that the overcrowded condition there be alleviated by transferring pupils to other, less crowded schools. This proposal should be explored with the parents involved. They may or may not want their children spending an hour or two each day commuting rather than attending double sessions. It may or may not be a reasonable solution from the standpoint of the administrative problems and physical facilities involved.
>
> But when spokesmen for these parents, self-appointed or otherwise, turn meetings into shouting contests and accuse Dr. Letson of being "dictatorial" and "conniving," they are not seeking solutions, nor are they serving the cause of better education for the children of Atlanta.
>
> New schools are being built, architect's plans for a high school to relieve Harper have been approved, and Dr. Letson hopes to cut double sessions in half by December and do away with them altogether next year. He'll need all the constructive help he can get, and he could use some from the people who are now fighting him over the Harper High problem.

Last summer Superintendent Letson challenged the powerful Georgia High School Association and won the right for Atlanta Negro schools to compete with predominantly white schools in the 1966 football season. GHSA had wanted to put 14 Negro schools---seven of them in Atlanta---in a "region" to themselves. "If you're going to cut off the dog's tail," said Letson, generally a gradualist, "there's no sense in cutting it off an inch at a time."[98] As the season got underway, Negro teams won handily in a series of victories over squads from predominantly white schools.

In summing up, we might turn back to a news feature from The Atlanta Journal-Constitution of August 27, 1961, on the eve of Atlanta's desegregation. The article supplied a considerable amount of background to the desegregation story and traced the desegregation controversy. Said a paragraph deep in the body of the article:

"Somewhere along the way, the Atlanta (School) Board adopted the attitude that it would do no more about integration than compelled to by court order. That is its attitude to this day."

This paragraph summarizes, as well as any, Atlanta's general and historic approach to equal educational opportunity.

FOOTNOTES

1. Reeves v. Cook, civil docket No. 2538 (N. D. Ga. 1942)

2. Ibid. The exact reasons for the dismissal (without prejudice) are obscure. Plantiff Reeves had been dismissed by the school board on his admission that he had syphilis, and another teacher, Davis, intervened as plantiff. The most probable reason was the good faith exhibited by the school board immediately after the suit was filed when a resolution was adopted announcing that race would no longer be a factor in teacher's salaries. However, results were not forthcoming (see note 15 infra.).

3. Davis v. Cook, 55 F. Supp. 1004, 1005 (N. D. Ga., 1944). It is of some interest that counsel for plantiffs were Thurgood Marshall, later U.S. Solicitor General, and the late A. T. Walden of Atlanta.

4. Ibid. The court failed to state which clause of the 14th Amendment was violated.

5. Ibid. Citing Alston v. School Board, 112 F. Id 992 (4th Cir. 1940), Cert. denied, 311 U. S. 793 (1940).

6. Davis v. Cook, 340 U. S. 811 (1950) Cert. denied).

7. Time Magazine, May 24, 1954 p. 22.

8. Ibid. p. 22.

9. New York Times, May 18, .1954.

10. Southern School News, December, 1954.

11. Southern School News, November 12, 1954.

12. Don Shoemaker, With All Deliberate Speed, Harpers, 1957 p. 85.

13. Ga. Acts 1956, Act No. 11, p. 6.

14. Ga. Acts 1955, Act No. 82, p. 174.

15. To be supplied.

16. 3 Race Rel. L. Rep. 335 (1958).

17. Calhoun v. Board of Ed., 4 Race Rel. L. Rep. 576, 577 (N. D. Ga. 1959)

18. Calhoun v. Board of Ed., 188 F. Supp. 401, 404 (N. D. Ga. 1959)

19. Id. at 404-405.

20. Calhoun v. Board of Ed., 188 F. Supp. 401, 404 (N. D. Ga. 1959).

21. Ibid.

22. Calhoun v. Board of Ed., 5 Race Rel. L. Rep. 57 (1960)

23. Calhoun; 188 F. Supp. 401-405 (N.D. Ga. 1959)

24. Calhoun v. Board of Ed., 5 Race Rel. L. Rep. 57, 65 (N. D. Ga. 1960)

25. Ga. Laws 1960, Vol. 1, H.R. 369-801, p. 1187

26. Committee on Schools of the General Assembly of Georgia, report of majority, 5 Race Rel. L. Rep. 509 (1960).

27. Background: Atlanta, A Handbook for Reporters covering the Desegregation of Atlanta Public Schools; prepared by OASIS, 1961.

28. Atlanta Journal, January 18, 1960.

29. Atlanta Constitution, January 1, 1961.

30. Background: Atlanta, infra, p. 8.

31. Ibid.

32. Holmes v. Danner, 191 F. Supp. 394 (M. D. Ga. 1961).

33. Atlanta Constitution, January 19, 1961.

34. Ga. Laws 1961, H. Bill No. 174

35. Ga. Laws 1961, S. Bill No. 48

36. The Atlanta Constitution, January 1, 1961

37. The Atlanta Constitution, January 11, 1961

38. Atlanta Journal, February 4, 1961

39. Atlanta Journal, February 10, 1961

40. Atlanta Journal, April 25, 1961

41. Ibid.

42. Atlanta Journal, April 26, 1961

43. Atlanta Journal, April 28, 1961

44. Atlanta Journal, May 2-3-9, 1961; Atlanta Daily World May 5, 1961

45. Atlanta Daily World, May 7, 1961; Atlanta Journal May 9, 1961.

46. Atlanta Journal, May 11, 1961

47. Ibid.

48. Atlanta Journal, May 5-29, 1961.

49. Chattannoga Times, June 4, 1961.

50. Atlanta Journal, June 5, 1961.

51. Atlanta Journal (Editorial) June 6, 1961.

52. Washington Post, August 28, 1961.

53. Atlanta Constitution, June 1, 1961.

54. Atlanta Journal, August 8, 1961.

55. Atlanta Constitution, August 28, 1961.

56. Atlanta Journal, August 27, 1961.

57. Chattanooga Times, August 25, 1961.

58. Atlanta Journal, June 13, 1961.

59. Atlanta Constitution, August 31, 1961.

60. Washington Post, August 27, 1961.

61. New York Times, August 8, 1961.

62. Atlanta Constitution, August 31, 1961.

63. Atlanta Journal, November 16, 1961.

64. Atlanta Constitution, April 16, 1962.

65. Ibid.

66. Atlanta Journal, May 29, 1962.

67. Atlanta Journal, May 29, 1962; Atlanta Constitution, June 21, 1962.

68. Atlanta Journal, May 29, 1962.

69. Atlanta Journal, June 12, 1962.

70. Atlanta Journal, June 27, 1962.

71. Atlanta Constitution, July 10, 1962.

72. Atlanta Constitution, June 15, 1962.

73. Atlanta Journal, August 29, 1962.

74. Atlanta Constitution, August 8, 1963.

75. Atlanta Constitution, August 28, 1963.

76. Atlanta Constitution, September 12, 1963.

77. Atlanta Journal, November 14, 1963.

78. Atlanta Constitution, November 20, 1963.

79. Atlanta Journal, May 25, 1964.

80. Atlanta Constitution, July 14, 1964.

81. Atlanta Constitution, August 31, 1964.

82. Atlanta Constitution, July 29, 1964.

83. Atlanta Times, September 5, 1964.

84. Atlanta Constitution, September 15, 1964.

85. Atlanta Constitution, September 15, 1964.

86. New York Times, January 31, 1965.

87. Atlanta Journal, February 15, 1965.

88. Atlanta Constitution, April 16, 1965.

89. Atlanta Constitution, April 22, 1965.

90. Atlanta Journal, July 7, 1965.

91. Atlanta Constitution, July 8, 1965.

92. Atlanta Constitution, December 22, 1965.

93. Atlanta Constitution, January 2, 1966.

94. Atlanta Daily World, February 18, 1966.

95. Atlanta Journal, March 15, 1966.

96. Atlanta Daily World, July 13, 1966.

97. Atlanta Daily World, August 11, 1966.

98. Atlanta Journal, July 1, 1966.

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KNOW YOUR GEORGIA GOVERNMENT

Written By

Florence B. Robin

For The

Voter Education Project

Of The

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

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5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

Atlanta, Georgia 30303

January, 1967

It's a great feeling to be a voter. Having a vote means you have power -- power to decide who is going to run your city, and your county and your state.

But getting into that voting booth for the first time might scare you a little. There are dozens of people trying to get elected to dozens of jobs that maybe you've never even heard of. How can you vote right for comptroller-general or public service commissioner or county commissioner if you are not sure what they are supposed to do?

That's what this booklet is all about. It explains how our government works and who is who in it. You probably know a great deal of this already -- maybe more than you think you know. Once you get the whole story, you will have a great advantage over most Georgians. Thousands of people have been voting in this state for years and years, and they still don't know how their government works. So we hope you'll want to share your information with your neighbors and friends.

In Georgia, we have three kinds of government: city, county and state. Of course, everybody comes under the state government. It has more power than the other two.

But not everybody lives in a city under a city government. If you live on a farm or in a home outside the city's borders, or in a town too small to have its own government, your local affairs will be run by the county government.

Six out of ten people in Georgia live in cities.

We have three kinds of city government in our state:

1) A mayor serving with a city council or board of aldermen. The mayor is elected by all the voters in the city. Generally, the aldermen or councilmen are each elected from their home district. This system means that you can help elect a local man who knows what your neighborhood needs.

2) A city commission in which all the people elect from three to five city commissioners. Each commissioner is elected to be the boss of a particular department of city government. Often, one of these commissioners acts as the mayor in addition to his department job.

3) A city manager government. The people elect commissioners, and the commissioners hire a city manager. The commissioners make the decisions and the city manager carries them out and also runs the everyday business of the city. But the city manager is not really the boss, because the commissioners can fire him any time they don't like what he is doing.

But no matter what the form of government, all Georgia cities are limited in their powers. The state legislature gives permission for a place to form a city. As we'll see later, the state has most of the say about important things.

Here are some things that city governments can do:

1. Appoint heads of departments like chief of police,

fire chief, director of water supply department, director of sanitation department and so on.

2. Pass local laws about city affairs -- local traffic rules, building codes, sanitary codes, zoning rules, sewer and street maintenance.

3. Regulate and run city property like parks, pools, libraries, jails, city-owned airports, auditoriums and so on.

4. Decide what city employees will be hired and how much they will be paid.

5. Set up police courts to try people for breaking city laws and traffic laws.

In a few big cities, the city government runs its own schools. But in most Georgia cities, education comes under the county government. And all schools are at least partly run and partly paid for -- indeed, largely paid for -- by the state.

Where does the money come from to pay for city government? We'll talk about this on pages _____ when we look into taxes.

Georgia has more counties -- 159 -- than any other state except Texas. The reason for this dates back from before the Civil War, when each plantation or big farm formed its own local government. These later became counties.

Now that we have more cities, some large counties, like Fulton or Chatham, have a lot of people in them who earn good

money. There are large plants and businesses there which pay high taxes to support the government. Other counties, like Taliaferro or Crisp, do not have many people and don't have any big plants or mills in them. This means that they cannot easily pay for their share of schools or welfare or other services.

In order to help these poorer counties, a lot of people have suggested that two or more of them should combine into one county. In this way, they could have one school system, one welfare department, one health department. They could serve their people better and cheaper. This idea is called county consolidation.

The Georgia Legislature -- called the General Assembly -- decides how counties shall be run. The State Constitution says that all counties must be run alike, but some exceptions have been made for the big counties like Fulton, DeKalb and Chatham.

Most counties are run by a board of commissioners. There can be as many as eight commissioners or as few as one. Most counties have three.

These commissioners can do the following:

- Hire and fire county employees
- Keep up county roads and public buildings
- Name (with state okay) the people who run the county welfare system
- Run county jails and work camps

o Set county tax rates.

The commissioners, however, do not hire sheriffs. Unlike city police chiefs who are appointed to their jobs, county sheriffs are elected by the voters in each county. Their salaries and those of their deputies are paid for out of county taxes. In addition, a few counties hire a police force to work alongside the sheriff's office.

Our state government is divided into three parts:

o The executive branch, which means the governor, all the people appointed by him, and the various elected department heads.

o The legislative branch, which means our state legislature -- the General Assembly -- which passes our state laws.

o The judicial branch, which means our courts of law, including the Supreme Court of Georgia which passes on whether or not the laws passed by the General Assembly are in line with the State Constitution.

These three branches copy the United States government in Washington, where we have an executive branch headed by the President, a legislative branch which is the United States Congress, and a judicial branch headed by the United States Supreme Court.

The reason for this division of powers is that no one branch should become so strong that it runs the country --

or the state -- by itself. With these three branches of government, one can check the power of the others. This is known as the system of Checks and Balances.

The governor of Georgia is the single most powerful political figure in the state. Here are some of the things he can do:

He has executive powers to appoint people to important jobs. With the okay of the Senate, he can appoint:

o The Board of Education (it runs the public schools).

o The Board of Regents and its director, called the chancellor (it runs the state-owned colleges).

o The Board of Corrections and its director (who run the prisons and decide what prisoners are to be assigned to which prisons).

o Chief supervisor of the Board of Pardons and Paroles (decide when prisoners shall be released from jail).

o Director of the Board of Industry and Trade (to bring new business to Georgia).

He can also appoint heads of state departments without anybody's consent. Among these important jobs are:

o The director of the Family and Children's Services Bureau (Welfare Department), which runs welfare services in Georgia.

o The supervisor of purchases. This department buys

all the printing and office supplies for the state, and rents or buys all the services and property the state needs.

o The revenue commissioner. He collects state taxes and figures out how much property is worth so that it can be assessed for state taxes.

o Director of the Department of Parks, which operates all state-owned park land.

In addition, the governor is commander of the state militia, and the State Patrol is directly under his control. The State Patrol is a state police force that is used mostly for catching traffic offenders on state roads. But the governor can have the State Patrol take over law enforcement in a county or town if a local sheriff or police chief is not doing his job to control riots or to enforce the law in other ways.

You can see right away why the governor is so important. The people he appoints run the day-to-day business of the state. If he appoints good men, the citizens will get public servants who are looking for better ways to improve education and welfare and recreation and other services. The citizens will get officials who care about conditions in prisons and juvenile homes and other places where the inmates are helpless to protest.

If the governor appoints men who are lazy or dishonest or selfish or prejudiced, the citizens will get little service and lots of being pushed around.

Because the governor can make so many appointments, his power in his political party is very great. People are willing to work for the party if they know they stand a chance of getting good jobs if their candidate wins. It is part of our political system that the man the voters elect has the right to appoint his campaign workers who helped get him elected to the good jobs. This is one of the things that helps keep a political party going. It is called patronage.

But the power of the governor only begins with his power to appoint people to jobs. He also helps make laws with the following legislative powers:

o He can call a special session of the General Assembly. If he has some important matter he wants them to take up that they didn't do when the regular six-weeks sesson was on, he can call them back to act on it. A special session is limited to ten weeks, but it can be less.

o He can end the regular session of the General Assembly. If the two Houses of the General Assembly -- the Senate and the House of Representatives -- cannot agree on when to adjourn, the governor can set the time.

o He submits the state budget to the Legislature. He tells the General Assembly how much money he thinks the state has to spend, and what he thinks they ought to spend it on.

o He recommends bills to the General Assembly. At the beginning of each legislative session, the governor makes a speech, telling the legislators what condition the state is in and what bills he thinks are needed. He can also send special messages on particular bills to the General Assembly. Then, various legislators introduce the bills that the governor wants. Of course, a bill that everybody knows the governor is backing gets much more serious attention than one that is backed by just one or two legislators.

o He can veto a bill. Veto is a Latin word that means "I forbid," and that is exactly what he can do. Even after the Legislature passes a bill, the governor can veto or forbid it. Then, if the legislators still want it, they must pass it again. But this time, two-thirds of the members must vote for it -- not just a simple majority.

In the judicial branch, the governor has the power to:

o Grant pardons to prisoners

o Hold up a death sentence until the Pardon and Parole Board reviews the case.

o Appoint judges to vacancies in the Supreme Court of Georgia, the Georgia Court of Appeals and the state Superior Courts until the next regular election.

o Tell the attorney general to bring law suits in the

state's name. He may also ask the attorney general to give him a ruling on whether or not some action or some law is unconstitutional. The attorney general's ruling is followed until somebody questions it in court.

Although, as we have seen, the governor has the right to appoint many officials, everybody in the executive branch is not appointed by him. Twelve executive department heads are elected by the voters. Here are some of the most important ones that the voters elect:

o Commissioner of Labor. This is important because the commissioner of labor runs the State Employment Service. If the offices of your local Employment Service are segregated, or if Negroes get sent out to apply for jobs as janitors or laborers and nothing else, the commissioner of labor ought to hear about it. Also, he makes the rules for paying workmen's compensation. This is money collected from employers and put into a state fund to pay to workers who are hurt while on the job.

Remember that the State Employment Service is entirely paid for by the federal government, and under the Civil Rights Act, it is not allowed to discriminate against anybody.

o Attorney General. He is the lawyer for the state in all cases where the death penalty is involved and in many other kinds of cases, too. He can start an investigation when he hears

that a state employee is dishonest or is doing something seriously wrong. He represents the state in court actions. And as we said before, he gives opinions on whether bills or other actions are constitutional. He also helps legislators to write bills.

o Superintendent of Schools. We said before that the governor appoints the Board of Education. But the superintendent of schools is elected by the voters. Since the superintendent's job is full-time and the board's is not, the everyday running of the public schools is left to the superintendent. He and the board together make the rules for running the schools, decide what shall be studied in them, and what books and materials the schools will use. The superintendent and the board also have the power to stop giving state money to a school district which does not follow standards of health, safety and the proper number of teachers, as well as other rules. Although they have this right, they hardly ever use it.

o Comptroller-General. The comptroller-general does many jobs. He keeps records of the money spent by state departments. Also, he must okay the amount that insurance companies can charge you for insurance. He is the state fire safety commissioner, which means that he is in charge of fire prevention laws. And he also handles the laws for small-loan companies. If you think a small-loan company is a "loan shark" -- that is charging interest that is too high or making unfair charges -- tell the comp-

troller-general's office about it. The same goes for complaints about insurance.

The Legislature -- the General Assembly -- makes the laws we live under in Georgia. There are two houses in the General Assembly: a House of Representatives with 205 members and a Senate with 54 members. Both houses must pass a bill before it can become a law.

The laws these men pass must follow the Constitution of the State of Georgia and of the United States. When a citizen feels that a law does not follow the State Constitution, he may sue in the Georgia Supreme Court to have it declared unconstitutional. When he feels that a law or a part of the Georgia State Constitution does not follow the United States Constitution, he may sue in a federal court. This is an example of the system of checks and balances we talked about earlier.

A suit in federal court, for instance, changed the way we elect our Legislature. It used to be that every county, no matter how small in population, had at least one representative. A big county, even if it had 100 times as many people in it as a small one, had only three representatives. This meant that the vote of a person living in a county with very few people counted for much more than the vote of a person living in a city.

A group of citizens felt that each person's vote, no matter where he lived, should count the same as each other person's vote.

They sued in federal court to get equal representation for all citizens. The court agreed with them and ruled that every legislator elected must represent the same number of people. This idea is called "one man, one vote." Under the federal court's ruling, the state was divided up into new House districts and new Senate districts. This division, called reapportionment, gives city people their fair share of representatives.

How Laws Are Made

Even though you are not a legislator, you -- as a voter -- can play a part in enacting good laws in Georgia. Let's take a look at a bill that was introduced last year into the Senate and follow its progress to see what part the legislators played and what part the citizens played in its outcome.

As our example, we shall use the bill to cut down the number of crimes which can be punished by the death penalty.

During the 1965 General Assembly, a resolution was adopted creating a special Senate committee to study the death penalty. This committee was appointed because more and more people in Georgia want to do away with the death penalty, and they told their legislators about this. The strongest feeling for getting rid of the death penalty comes from Negro groups, who know that Negroes are sentenced to death in Georgia more than four times

as often as whites, because of the prejudice of all-white police forces, juries and judges.

The reapportioned legislature meant that for the first time there were two Negro senators, and they made the wishes of their voters known. So voters played an important part in having the special committee created.

When a special committee is created by the Senate, the lieutenant governor, who is the chief officer of the Senate, appoints the members to serve on it. In the House, committee members are appointed by the speaker of the House. In this case, the lieutenant governor appointed ten senators.

The special committee decided to study the death penalty by getting in touch with all the other states and finding out whether those dropping it had more crime or less, and any other facts the other states could tell them.

As a second, and more important step, they held public hearings in Athens, Rome, Albany, Macon, Savannah and Atlanta. At these hearings, people for and against the death penalty got up and told how they felt and why.

If you hear or read in the paper that a public hearing on a bill that interests you is going to be held, you can write to the chairman of that committee and ask for a chance to speak. But keep in mind that it means much more if you are speaking for a whole group of people, such as a church or club or civic im-

provement association.

After the hearings, the special Senate committee wrote a report. As happens many times, all the members did not agree. Six of them felt that death penalty should be kept; four felt it should not be. So the report had a section where the six -- the majority -- stated their opinion, and the four -- the minority -- stated theirs. Then they all got together and agreed on a bill which would reduce the number of crimes which can be punished by the death penalty.

The steps that a bill goes through are:

1. The bill is introduced into the Senate (or the House; either way the procedure is exactly the same) and just the title telling what it is about is read.

2. The bill is referred to a committee -- in the case of the death penalty, a special committee.

3. Then public hearings may be held, such as the ones we've just talked about. But there is no law that says public hearings <u>must</u> be held. So if you think a particular bill ought to have a public hearing, you should write to your legislator and ask him to see that they are held.

4. After a bill goes to committee, one of several things can happen to it:

o It can be sent back to the Senate (or House) floor to be passed, just as it is.

o It can be sent to the Senate (or House) floor to pass, but with some changes.

o It can be sent out with no recommendation, either to pass it or not to pass it. Or it can be sent out with a recommendation that it do not pass.

o It can be held in the committee so that no debate will take place in the Senate (or House). By holding it this way, the committee can kill it.

5. If the bill comes out into the Senate, the whole bill is read. Then the senators debate it, make changes in it, if necessary, and finally vote on it. To pass the Senate (or House) a majority of the total membership must vote in favor of it.

6. If the bill is passed in the Senate (or House), it then goes to the House (or Senate) for the same routine. Of course, if it is defeated, that is the end of it for that session of the Legislature. Any changes made by either house must be approved by the other house.

7. If the bill is passed by both houses, it goes to the governor for his signature. We have seen that he can either sign it into law, or veto it.

In the case of the bill to reduce the number of crimes which could be punished by death, it was passed by both houses and signed into law by the governor.

In future sessions, the bill to abolish the death penalty completely will come up again and again. For even though a bill may be defeated in one session, there is nothing to prevent it being introduced in the next session and the next.

As more and more voters are registered, and new and different legislators are elected, the chances for good laws get better and better. This does not mean that it always works out this way. There can be many setbacks, but the long-range trend seems to be going that way.

The State Constitution

The constitutions of some states are short, because they are meant to be used as a guide to the people and the legislators for general policy. But Georgia's constitution goes into great detail about a lot of different matters, many of them of no great importance.

As a result, a lot of laws that need to be passed cannot be passed because they do not agree with the State Constitution on some small point. A constitutional amendment was necessary for example, before action could be taken on a school lunch program, or special treatment for juvenile delinquents, or consolidating school districts.

Any legislator may bring up an amendment to the Constitution. If it is approved by two-thirds of the members of the House and

the Senate, it is placed on the ballot at election time for the voters to pass on. In the 1966 election, voters had to plow through 20 amendments statewide, plus local amendments.

Some amendments affect only the people of one county, not everybody. These are voted on only by the people in the county or counties involved. These are the local amendments we mentioned above.

As a result of all the rules and regulations in the Constitution, it has had to be amended almost 400 times since 1945. You can see right away that anything that has to be patched up this often isn't going to work very well.

A voter can tell whether a governor is doing a good job by the bills he recommends, by the kind of people he appoints. He can tell whether the Legislature is doing a good job by the bills they pass. But it is hard for a voter who is not a lawyer to know whether the judges he elects are doing a good job.

But even though we don't know enough to tell whether the decisions a judge makes are fair, we can sometimes tell a lot by the way court is conducted. Are people who come before the court treated courteously? Is their side of the story listened to patiently? Are they called Mrs. or Mister if they are Negroes, or just by their first names? A visit to your local court is both interesting and educational.

Georgia has three kinds of courts: inferior or lower courts, superior courts, and appellate courts. Let's take them in order and see what they do.

1. Inferior Courts (lower courts)

These are courts which try small civil (non-criminal) cases and misdemeanors. A misdeameanor is a small crime like being drunk and disorderly. There are several kinds of inferior or lower courts, and the kind of court depends in part on the community. There are:

o Justices of the Peace. Georgia has 1,600 justices of the peace, most elected from rural areas. They can try civil cases where up to $200 is involved. They cannot try any criminal cases, but they can issue a warrant for a suspect's arrest. They can also question the suspect and hold him for a criminal court.

The trouble is that justices of the peace don't have to be lawyers or have any legal training. Sometimes they don't know anything about what people's rights are. Yet they are allowed to take actions depriving people of property and personal liberty.

o Police Courts. Most cities no longer have justices of the peace. One of the things that has replaced them is the police court, which is most often run by a judge or official with some kind of legal training. These courts can try traffic offenses and persons accused of breaking city laws.

o City and County Courts. These courts can rule on civil

cases like contracts, suits for damages and so on. They can also try misdemeanors.

o Courts of the Ordinary. Every county has an ordinary. Part of his job is to be in charge of issuing marriage licenses, pistol-carrying permits and other licenses. He also is in charge of county elections.

The other part of his job is to be a judge and rule on wills, estates, guardianships and insanity hearings. The ordinary can also try misdemeanors and traffic cases in counties where there are no city or county courts.

o Small Claims Courts. These courts are new. They only handle civil cases up to $500. The idea is that people can come into them without having a lawyer and the judge will settle the quarrel between them.

2. Superior Courts

Superior Courts try civil cases involving more money than the lower courts, and certain special kin of civil cases such as land title cases and divorces.

They can try criminal cases where felonies are charged. A felony is a more serious crime than a misdemeanor, ranging from robbery to murder, or any crime where the defendant might be sent to the state prison or given the death penalty.

Superior courts also have appellate powers. This means that if you feel the decision of a lower court such as justice

of the peace or police court is wrong in your case, you may take the case (appeal it) to a Superior Court, and it has the power to overrule the lower court.

o Juvenile Courts. Every county over 50,000 in Georgia has to have a juvenile court, and those with less people can have one if grand juries in those counties recommend it. Here are two important things to think about in our juvenile court set-up:

o Many people have the idea that a juvenile must be tried in a juvenile court in a county where there is one. This is not true. A Superior Court judge can take the child out of the hands of the juvenile court and try him as though he were a grown-up. The judge can send him to a regular prison, not a juvenile home. The Georgia Supreme Court has said that a Superior Court judge may do this. So maybe we need new laws which say that no child under a certain age may be sent to anything but a juvenile home.

o Juvenile court judges are appointed by the Superior Court judge in that district, and they do not conduct their courts in the regular way. They try to be informal, and do away with all the rules which might stop them from understanding what is best for the child. This is a fine idea, but it has some dangers. By relaxing the rules to help the child, the court takes away his legal right to a lawyer and to question witnesses, and to

defend himself. We need to think of some way to try these cases informally and protect the child's rights at the same time.

3. Appellate Courts.

If you feel that the decisions of the Superior Court are wrong in your case, you may take the case to an appellate court. The appellate court for criminal cases is the Georgia Court of Appeals. The one that deals with civil appeals is the Georgia Supreme Court.

Georgia's Jury System

If you are being tried for overtime parking, or breaking some city law, you don't usually ask for a jury trial, although it is your right to have one. If you do, your case might be held for the Superior Court, since not all lower courts have juries. Those lower courts which do have juries have six-man juries. Superior Court juries have 12-man juries.

How is a juror picked? The judge or judges of the Superior Court appoint a jury commission for each county in that area. Members of this jury commission serve six years. They make up a list of jurors from the property tax lists. Whenever a jury is called for, the names are taken from this larger list. A special list of better-known, better-educated citizens is taken from this larger list to be members of the grand jury. We'll talk about the difference between a trial jury (petit jury) and

a grand jury a little further on.

Thinking about this way of picking jurors for just a moment will show what's the matter with it. Since the jurors are picked from tax list, this means that only people who have enough property to pay taxes can be picked. That leaves poor people out entirely. A person who is being tried for a crime who happens to be poor has the right to have people on the jury who are poor themselves, who can understand what he's up against.

Another thing is that members of the jury commission often have shown that they are prejudiced against Negroes. They skip over the names of those whose addresses are in Negro neighborhoods. This practice is being attacked in court by lawyers who feel their clients did not receive fair trials because Negroes were purposely kept off juries. When these legal attacks have been appealed to higher courts, they have won. The defendant had to be tried all over again before a jury which had Negroes on it. In some cases, the defendant was let off free without being tried all over again.

To avoid these legal appeals, some jury commissions are putting a few "token" Negroes on the jury lists. But that really isn't the answer, and neither is fighting these practices

case by case, one at a time.

What we need to have is an entirely new way of picking juries, which makes sure that everybody (except criminals, the mentally ill or the totally handicapped) has the same chance to serve on a jury. To get this, we need new laws, both in Georgia and in the whole country.

o The Grand Jury. The grand jury is composed of from 18 to 36 people. They have two jobs:

They hear evidence against a defendant charged with a felony and decide whether it is enough to hold him for a trial. They listen to the policeman who arrested him and the witnesses against him. They don't decide whether the defendant is guilty, just whether it is reasonable to think he might possibly be guilty. If they feel that there is enough against him to bring him to trial, they <u>indict</u> him. This is also called <u>returning a true bill</u>. If they feel there isn't enough against him, they return a <u>no bill</u>, and the defendant is let go.

The grand jurors also look into public matters. They can investigate the honesty of public officials, make recommendations about county roads, education, public morals, political events, needed laws, and a whole lot of other things. Their opinions -- called <u>presentments</u> -- are not laws and do not have to be obeyed.

But they sometimes get a lot of public attention. That is another reason why it is bad to have grand jurors who are supposed to be "better" citizens. By better, we tend to mean all-white, all upper middle-class. So we are likely to get opinions which are all one-sided.

o The trial jury (petit jury) decides questions in the trial itself. It listens to the facts and decides who is telling the truth. All twelve people on a jury must agree on the decision or verdict.

o The Solicitor General. The lawyer for the state who prosecutes (tries) the criminal case for the government's side, both before the grand jury and the trial jury, is call the solicitor general. He is elected for four years, and there is one solicitor general for each Superior Court district.

As you can see by the number of executive departments on page _____, the state provides many different services. We don't have room to tell about all of them. But the three that touch the largest number of people are education, welfare and highways.

Education

Here are some facts to remember about Georgia's educational system:

o All public schools are under the State Board of Education, headed by the state superintendent of schools.

o Every county is a school district. So we have 159 school districts, plus 36 more independent school districts set up for some of the cities. This means that a small county with not many school children in it has to have a grammar school and a high school in it whether it has enough pupils or not.

Add to this fact that most counties for years have kept their schools segregated. So they also have a separate grammar school and high school for Negro pupils.

The big reason -- or at least one of the biggest reasons -- why Georgia's public school education is considered poor is that segregation plus so many school districts combine to give us hundreds of small, poorly-equipped schools, instead of larger, well-equipped schools which are centrally located to teach all the children.

An amendment to the Constitution voted in November 1966 permits two or more counties to combine their school systems if they want to. This is called <u>school consolidation</u>. When this happens, and when segregated schools are dropped, our children will have a better chance at a cheaper cost to us all.

o Schools are paid for by the county or city, plus the state, plus the federal government. Out of every ten dollars the state spends, six are spent on education. The state spends so much because the counties put up so little of the money.

The federal government gives large amounts of money, too -- for school lunches, special educational programs, and anti-poverty programs. The federal money can be taken away from a school district if it won't stop segregating its pupils.

o Half a billion dollars of local, state and federal funds were spent on Georgia's public schools last year. This sounds like an awful lot of money. But when it is divided among our 1,140,000 school children, we find out that the amount of money spent on each child is a good deal less than is spent in most states.

o Our teachers are paid $1,200 a year less than the national average salary for teachers. Many have less training than they should.

It's pretty plain that there is much to be done to improve education in Georgia. And although the State Board of Education has the power to insist that school districts give good service to all our children, in practice they let the counties do what they want to unless there is a big fuss made.

That is why it is so important to take part in local school board elections. A local school board needs members who are: in favor of good, equal educational opportunity for every child, Negro and white; in favor of combining school districts when needed; in favor of getting rid of segregated schools; in favor of obeying the Civil Rights Act so that federal funds won't be

taken away; in favor of hiring well-trained teachers.

Just as important as voting in school board elections is having people who care about education go to school board meetings. If school board members know that the voters are watching them, they are much more likely to make fair rules for everybody.

Welfare

The Welfare Department -- now called the Department of Family and Children Services -- gives the following services:

- o Hospital care to the old, the blind and the disabled.
- o Money to support needy old and disabled people.
- o Relief money to families with small children who have no one to support them.
- o Homes for children who have gotten into trouble with the law or who have been abandoned.
- o Help to unmarried mothers
- o Adoption services and foster homes
- o Licensing of maternity homes, adoption agencies and day-care centers and nurseries.

Most of the money for these welfare services -- seven dollars out of every ten -- comes from the federal government, which gives it to the state to spend.

The State Welfare Department has the power to supervise

how welfare is run. But actually, the everyday running of welfare is left in the hands of county welfare boards. Sometimes their rules are unfair and can actually hurt the welfare client.

There are many cases on record where welfare payments are refused to a mother with small children because she is employed full time, even though she may be making as little as $20 a week. Sometimes people are put off welfare when there is a crop in the neighborhood to be harvested. Sometimes welfare workers will come into a person's home in the middle of the night and with no invitation, to snoop and see if there is a wage-earning man living there. And we have even heard that welfare workers will tell clients that they won't get their checks unless they vote for a particular candidate. Some Negroes on welfare are afraid to register to vote.

All of these things are wrong. If any of them happen to you, you should complain directly to the State Department of Family and Children Services in Atlanta.

Highways

Every time you buy a gallon of gas, you pay a state gasoline tax. All of this money, under the Georgia Constitution, must be spent on state and county highways and roads. This means that there is a great deal of money to spend on highways.

The State Highway Department decides where roads shall be built. Then it gets a road contractor to build it. The road contractor is picked among several who bid on the job, and the one who puts in the lowest bid gets the contract. Or, the individual county makes a contract with the Highway Department to build a road, and it goes out and hires its own road contractor.

Since all this money is on hand to build roads, the General Assembly will usually appropriate the money for a new road with very little argument or study. Legislators like to be able to tell their voters that they got their county a new road, because it is something everybody can see -- not like paying a teacher a higher salary or hiring better employes.

In the past there has been very little planning for what roads get built where. Many big cities complain that county legislators help each other by getting money for roads that the big cities need.

Several years ago the state set up a new State Highway Board. It has 10 members -- one from each congressional district. The Highway Board members are elected by the members of the General Assembly in each congressional district. So here is another way in which you can have a say about your government. Tell your state senators and state representatives about roads and highways you need. Your local senator or representative then should tell the Highway Board member from your district.

If you want to talk about a local road, get in touch with your county commissioners.

Most of the officials we have been talking about in this booklet are elected. That means that you have a chance to vote on whether or not they stay in office.

The governor, for example, runs every four years. So do most of the sheriffs, judges, county commissioners, and others, state and local. There are a few -- state legislators and U. S. representatives -- who run every two years. And U.S. senators are elected every six years.

This means there is some sort of election in the summer and fall of every even-numbered year. And other elections, such as those for mayors and other city officials, often come in between. Then there are bond issues, for borrowing money, and elections on policy matters (which are called referendums).

In short, there are many, many elections. You should make it your business to take part in every one of them.

How do you find out about these elections? You keep your eyes and ears open. You stay interested in your government. You try to find out as much as you can -- from newspapers, from radio, from television, and from people you know and trust -- about when elections are held and who is running. This is the job of a citizen, and never forget that you are a citizen.

Does your representative in the Legislature and in Congress vote the way you think he should? If not, vote for somebody else. Does the sheriff and judge and the others treat people fairly? If not, you can vote in the next election for someone else. Are the schools in your neighborhood bad? Find out who makes the decisions, and let them know you will vote for somebody else.

This booklet doesn't tell you all you need to know about government. No booklet can do that.

When all is said and done, it is up to you to find out as much as you can about what is going on. It is up to you to let representatives and other office-holders know how you feel. It is up to you to vote.

This is the job of a citizen, and we are all citizens.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

REGARDING

Accounting procedures in VEP

Ltr. to Mr. Harper Harden, Jr. from P.A. and their correspondence

DATE

2-13-67
2-13-67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

SOWELL AND HARDEN

File U.E.P. -1967

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible] 30303
[illegible]2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

M E M O R A N D U M

February 15, 1967

File

TO : PA; EV; AU; ES; & PW

FROM: VEJ

Gentlemen, I would appreciate your giving this a careful look and give me the benefit of your thinking as to whether or not the Subcommittee is taking the right approach in its investigation. My meeting with the General Council for the Subcommittee leads me to believe that it is going to be a hard-hitting and hard-working committee. Here again, however, anything can happen with the Congressional Committee.

What I am asking for in essence is "H E L P!!"

LISTER HILL, ALA., CHAIRMAN
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JOHN S. FORSYTHE, GENERAL COUNSEL

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

January 17, 1967

RECEIVED
JAN 19 1967

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

I am enclosing a draft plan for Senator Clark's Subcommittee Study on Poverty. The comments voiced at our meeting in New York were most helpful, and I think you will find most of them reflected in the plan.

I would appreciate your comments on the plan. More specifically, your answers to the following questions would be helpful:

1. Given the political tenor of Congress and the country, and assuming that the entire study cannot be completed by July, what order of priorities would you establish and what areas should receive more intensive treatment in the next six months?

2. What, if any changes would you make in the attached plan?

3. Within the 12 study areas outlined, to what specific questions should the subcommittee seek answers, and what particular problems should be investigated?

4. What individuals and/or organizations would you suggest as consultants and witnesses on each study area?

Sincerely yours,

Bill

William C. Smith, Counsel
Subcommittee on Employment,
Manpower and Poverty

STAFF MEMORANDUM

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER & POVERTY

PLAN FOR THE SUBCOMMITTEE STUDY OF THE POVERTY PROGRAM

Recent Congresses have produced a vast outpouring of social welfare legislation which, though desirable, has resulted in a tangled web of statutory material confusing to all who must work with it, including the Congress itself. The 89th Congress alone enacted 17 new school programs, 15 new economic development programs, and 21 new health programs, all of which were heaped upon the hundreds of existing programs. The following study plan mentions at least 25 separate Federal programs designed in whole or in part to alleviate poverty.

The time has clearly come for a reassessment. Both the Majority and Minority leadership in the Senate have called for a tightening up and review, and the President, in his recent State of the Union message declared that the Executive Branch would also attempt such an overhaul. He said: "Every program will be thoroughly evaluated. Grant-in-aid programs will be improved and simplified as desired by many of our local administrators and our Governors."

This subcommittee is uniquely well-suited by its jurisdiction to aid in this tightening-up by a review of programs dealing with the disadvantaged in this country. Senator Clark recognized and announced the need for such a study early last year and all the Minority members of the full Labor and Public

Welfare Committee urged in their additional views on the poverty bill last year that such a study be undertaken.

Majority and minority ~~members~~ STAFF of the committee have, during the past several months, met with various experts in fields related to the war on poverty. As a result of these conferences, the following suggestions are set forth for consideration of the members of the subcommittee.

The study would be organized around three general topics, broken down into 12 separate investigations.

A. Definition of the Problem

Study #1 -- Causes and characteristics of Poverty

B. Evaluation and Examination of Existing Federal Programs and Other Efforts and Proposals to Alleviate Poverty

Study #2 -- Manpower Training and Other Labor Market Services

Study #3 -- Education for the Disadvantaged

Study #4 -- Income Protection and Maintenance

Study #5 -- Housing and Slum Rehabilitation

Study #6 -- Economic Development Programs

Study #7 -- Individual and Family Services

Study #8 -- Economic and Employment Policies

C. Organization and the Mobilization of Resources

Study #9 -- Community Action and the Mobilization of Resources

Study #10 -- The Roles and Responsibilities of Federal, State and Local Governments

Study #11 -- The Organization of the Federal Government

Study #12 -- Manpower Resources For the War On Poverty

A. Definition of the Problem

Study #1 -- Causes and characteristics of poverty -- The study should begin with a brief examination of the problem of poverty. What is poverty? How do government programs define poverty? How should it be defined? What are its causes, symptoms, characteristics? Where do the poor live? Where have they moved in the past few years? How many poor families are Negro, white, rural, urban, etc.? How many poor are adult, children, aged, etc.? What special characteristics or problems should be considered with respect to particular target groups in designing programs to alleviate poverty? What criteria should determine program eligibility? How has the poverty group changed in recent years? What factors produce changes that bring individuals or groups out of poverty?

Material gathered in connection with this phase of the study will be used in connection with the study of specific programs. Therefore, the study should give particular attention to identifying how many poor people fall into different program-solution categories, such as employment, income, support, education, etc. An interim staff report should therefore be prepared by March 1.

B. Evaluation and Examination of Existing Federal Programs and Other Efforts and Proposals to Alleviate Poverty

Federal programs for the disadvantaged, including programs not included in the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act as well as those authorized by the Act, should be examined with varying degrees of intensity depending upon their size, complexity and potential. Such programs together with other proposals and activities should be grouped in the following substantive categories:

Study #2 -- Manpower Training and Other Labor Market Services -- including EOA manpower programs such as Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps, Nelson-Scheuer, Kennedy-Javits, Work-Experience, as well as MDTA, efforts of the Federal-State Employment Service, Vocational Education, Vocational Rehabilitation and other manpower development programs, the activities of the United States Employment Service and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the poverty implications of military manpower policies and Selective Service, and proposals for public service employment and other manpower proposals to assure full employment.

Study #3 -- Education for the Disadvantaged -- Head Start and Elementary and Secondary Education Act programs; Head Start follow-up, literary training and adult basic education.

Study #4 -- Income Protection and Maintenance -- Social Security, public assistance, veterans pensions, unemployment insurance, medicare, medicaid, Kerr-Mills, minimum wage, adjustments in the Federal income tax structure, and various guaranteed income proposals including family allowances and negative income tax.

Study #5 -- Housing and Slum Rehabilitation -- including urban renewal, public housing, housing code enforcement; and other programs designed to upgrade physical environment.

Study #6 -- Economic Development Programs -- Appalachian Regional Development Act programs, Economic Development Act programs, and small business aid.

Study #7 -- Individual and Family Services -- including: health services such as neighborhood health clinics, maternity and child health care and family planning, legal services; consumer protection programs; food distribution and food stamp programs; child day care programs; and private social and family service efforts.

Study #8 -- Economic and Employment Policies -- the effect of economic growth and employment policies on poverty, implementation of the Employment Act of 1946, the availability of economic resources, and national priorities.

It is recognized that many of the above programs are not within the legislative jurisidiction of the subcommittee. An assessment of the war on poverty, however, cannot overlook programs such as Appalachian Development, EDA, Social Security and others. The staff would be expected to assemble most of the necessary material regarding these programs from other Congressional committee sources and the subcommittee would not study most such programs with the same intensity as it would, for example, Economic Opportunity Act programs.

A study of each of the above substantive programs, activities and proposals should encompass the following.

(a). Determination of the extent to which each program is directed toward the poor as opposed to other economic groups or designed in whole or in part to alleviate the causes and/or symptoms of poverty, and assessment of the need for re-focusing programs toward the problems of the poor.

(b). Compilation of published and unpublished information, research studies, data relevant to program evaluation and performance.

(c). Identification of criteria of program effectiveness presently available; assessment of performance and the determination of data and criteria needed for effective program evaluation by the administering, agency and the Congress.

(d). Examination of the relevance and the effectivess of each program in solving the special problems of particular target groups such as youth, aged, rural, urban, Negro, white, north,south, Indians and migrants.

(e). The mobilization of Federa, State, local and private profit and non-profit resources in the planning, operation and administration of programs.

C. Organization and the Mobilization of Resources

While the subcommittee should examine the role of each governmental agency in the planning and operation of each program, it should also review the larger questions involving the role of local, state and Federal governments in alleviating poverty and the effective mobilization of public and private resources toward that end. In this connection, the study should specifically examine:

Study #9 -- Community action and the Mobilization of Resources -- The Subcommittee should examine the different concepts of community action, its role in planning, operating and coordinating local programs, its relationship to the local political structure and other community power structure, its potential as an instrument for the effective mobilization of local resources, role in social and political protest and institutional change, etc. In this connection the subcommittee should also examine the concept of resident participation, methods used to achieve resident participation and the effectiveness of and problems connected with each

such method.

Study #10 -- The Roles and Responsibilities of Federal, State and Local Governments -- What is the proper division of labor under the Federal system? What are the responsibilities of the different levels of government under existing legislation? In practice? Review the effectiveness of state technical assistance and the advisability and effectiveness of state planning.

Study #11 -- The Organization of the Federal Government -- What is and should be the role of OEO? What agencies should operate which programs? What Executive and/or Legislative reorganization is desirable? Coordination of poverty programs and policies. Over-all evaluation. Research and demonstration.

Study #12 -- Manpower Resources for the War on Poverty -- Assessment of the needs, shortages and manpower requirements in human service fields necessary to staff the war on poverty.

Methods of Inquiry

The study should be conducted through a combination of staff work, individual consultants, contracts with research institutions, and hearings in Washington and in the field.

The study would be under the direction of a full-time study director, who would work closely with subcommittee majority and minority counsel. A central study staff would be hired to compile documents, analyze data, write background reports, prepare digests of consultants' materials, and assist in report writing.

Contracts would be made with research institutions which have a reservoir of knowledge related to the substantive programs listed above. Where suitable institutions are not available individual consultants will be employed. For each program area, a preliminary report defining major issues will be submitted prior to the start of hearings, and reports will be presented by the time the subcommittee begins to prepare its report and legislation. The final report and proposed legislation would be ready for filing in early July.

Field hearings would be conducted in several cities and rural areas.

Staff consultants would identify possible witnesses for hearings and would suggest questions for inquiry.

The reports of contractors and staff would be published as subcommittee documents along with the hearings.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

VEP

REGARDING

PA'S REPLY TO MEMO FROM VJ 2/15/67 on
SUB COMMITTEE ON RURAL POVERTY

DATE

2/20/67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

PA MEMOS 1967

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

VEP

REGARDING

Special grant to VEP from Field Foundation
"In memory of Martin L. King, Jr."

DATE

Telegram 4-6-68

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

VEP

REGARDING

Supplementary Grant of $50,000 for 1967

Letter from L. W. Dunbar

DATE

April 20, 1967

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION

See V.E.P. #2
Cr. ref. Paul Weiss, Rifkind etc
re: workshops for candidates & officers
for public ref. & voluntary
legal aid as safe in
sponsoring such
workshops

April 24, 1967

Mr. Adrian W. DeWind
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. DeWind:

Last year the Voter Education Project conducted in cooperation with the Legal Defense Fund a Workshop for candidates for office in Alabama and South Carolina. The sponsors were careful to limit this to guidance on the legal rights and responsibilities of candidates. No discussion took place on issues or even techniques of campaigning for winning. Since this activity was not specifically mentioned in our earlier descriptions of the new Voter Project, I would very much appreciate your opinion on whether or not this falls within our allowable program. Needless to say, we feel they do but would like to have your reaction.

Enclosed is a summary description of the program, the rationale for it, and several of the documents used in connection with it.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

The unprecedented increase in Negro voter registration in the South in the past five years has had a profound effect on the politics of the region. The traditional political patterns of the region have changed and are changing. The Negro vote is not taken lightly even by the most demogogic southern politicians. Because of the Negro vote, both actual and potential, state and local governments have begun to respond to the needs, problems and aspirations of Negro people, though not all of them to the same degree.

Negro candidacy for public office is one of the most exciting results of the increase in Negro voter registration. Yet it is fraught with serious problems. Historically, the Negro has been totally alienated from participation in the political process in the South. Not until 1944 could the Negro legally vote in primary elections. And though the right to do so is now clear, fear, intimidation, economic reprisals and a long tradition of non-involvement have operated to minimize Negro participation.

In the past five years, more and more Negroes have offered for public office. Today twenty Negroes serve in three state legislatures in the South. There are Negroes serving on county commissions, city councils, and boards of education throughout the region.

Last spring it was evident that there would be a large number of Negro candidates, especially in Alabama and South Carolina. Many of these candidates were running in rural Black Belt areas where estrangement from the political process was particularly deep-rooted and acute. Fair play demanded that some instruction be provided for these totally inexperienced Negro candidates regarding the rights and responsibilities of candidates under state and federal laws.

Accordingly, candidates were invited to seminars in Montgomery and Columbia for the purpose of familarizing them with their rights and obligations as candidates. Poll watchers also were invited. Stress was placed on rights and responsibilities under both state and federal election laws. Candidates and poll watchers were instructed regarding various forms and documents required by state laws. No instruction was provided on the mechanics and

politics of conducting and winning an election. The seminars were co-sponsored by the Voter Education Project and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund.

The need for these seminars soon proved to be well founded. Reports of irregularities were widespread throughout the Black Belt, particularly in Alabama.

Almost without exception, Negro candidates and Negro voters were the victims of these irregularities. Two suits have been filed by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund contesting elections in Alabama on the basis of instruction provided at the Montgomery seminar. In the final analysis, only five Negro candidates were elected in Alabama and only four were elected in South Carolina.

The real intent of the seminars was not so much to protect the Negro candidates but to protect the thousands of newly registered Negroes who would be voting for the first time. While the seminars were by no means wholly successful in doing this, they were at least partly successful.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

SRC PROJECTS _ VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT #2

REGARDING

XXXXX SUSPENSION OF FUNDS FOR ARKANSAS VEP

Letter to Mr. Elijah Coleman - Arkansas Council

DATE

4-29-67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

ARKANSAS COUNCIL

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

SRC PROJECTS - VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT #2

REGARDING

RESTORATION OF ARKANSAS VEP FUNDS

Letter to Mr. V. E. Jordan 5-1-67 from Mr. Coleman

DATE

5-1-67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS ~~XER~~

See V.E.P. Statistics

1967 ELECTION CALENDAR

	GOVERNOR	LEGISLATURE	FILING DEADLINE (for candidates)	REGISTRATION DEADLINE		ELECTION DATES		
	ELECT	ELECT		PRIMARY	GENERAL	PRIMARY	RUN-OFF	GENERAL
ALABAMA	NO	NO						
ARKANSAS	NO	NO						
FLORIDA	NO	NO						
GEORGIA	NO	NO						
LOUISIANA	YES	YES	Aug. 12	Oct. 4	Jan.6, 1968	Nov. 4	Dec. 16	Feb.6, 1968
MISSISSIPPI	YES	YES	June 9	July 7*	July 7	Aug. 8	Aug. 29	Nov. 7
N. CAROLINA	NO	NO						
S. CAROLINA	NO	NO						
TENNESSEE	NO	NO						
TEXAS	NO	NO						
VIRGINIA	NO	YES	April 12	June 10	Oct. 7	July 11	Aug. 15	Nov. 7

* July 8 falls on Saturday

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
May, 1967

1967 ELECTION CALENDAR

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
May, 1967

Yes, ref statistics

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VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SPRING, 1967

STATE	WHITE REGISTERED	NEGRO REGISTERED	TOTAL REGISTERED	% NEGRO OF TOTAL*
ALABAMA	1,200,000	260,000	1,460,000	17.8
ARKANSAS	600,000	120,000	720,000	16.7
FLORIDA	2,169,000	304,000	2,473,000	11.4
GEORGIA	1,380,000	325,000	1,705,000	19.1
LOUISIANA	1,125,000	270,000	1,395,000	19.4
MISSISSIPPI	624,000	194,000	818,000	23.7
N. CAROLINA	1,603,000	277,000	1,880,000	14.7
S. CAROLINA	718,000	191,000	909,000	20.8
TENNESSEE	1,375,000	225,000	1,600,000	14.0
TEXAS	2,600,000	400,000	3,000,000	13.3
VIRGINIA	1,187,000	240,000	1,427,000	16.8
TOTAL	14,581,000	2,806,000	17,387,000	16.1

*Important Note: Percentage is expressed as a percentage of total registration, and not as a percentage of Negro voting-age population. Figures were prepared as requested by The Los Angeles Times. Negro registration for the region is 56 per cent of the Negro voting-age population for the region.

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

June 7, 1967

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Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

June 7, 1967

stencils cut 7/20

6 Mos. Report

The current Voter Education Project now stands exactly at midpoint of its three-year program. VEP can take credit, we believe, for some solid accomplishments during the initial 18 months of its operations.

In the first half of 1967, increasing attention has been focused by VEP on the complex challenges of citizenship education and leadership training. At the same time, standard but vitally necessary programs of voter registration have continued to go forward, especially in those states having summer 1967 elections: Mississippi and Virginia.

Meanwhile, VEP has assisted during the first six months of 1967 in the formation of statewide Voter Education Projects in two additional states: North Carolina and Arkansas. Both of these new organizations are based on the paradigm provided by the highly successful South Carolina Voter Education Project.

The North Carolina Voter Education Project was formed, with financial assistance from VEP and with principal leadership from a group of North Carolina ministers. The

Arkansas Voter Education Project has been functioning under the wing of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. A statewide meeting was held in Camden, Arkansas, in early July to move the Arkansas VEP toward independent footing. At present the SRC Voter Education Project continues to provide major financing for the Arkansas VEP through the Arkansas Council, as it did last year.

All three of these statewice organizations, like SRC's VEP, assist programs of voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training.

For the first time this year, VEP registration projects have available for their use a VEP guidebook on how to set up and conduct registration campaigns. The basic writing and research for the 20-page illustrated booklet was done by Miss Patricia Collins, a Spelman College sophomore who has been employed by VEP as a student intern. Much of the material for the booklet, called "How To Conduct a Registration Campaign," was taken from field reports sent in by more than 100 VEP programs last year. In turn, this year's field reports already indicate that the booklet is being put to good use. Our only regret about the booklet at this point is that we did not have it available to supply to VEP programs sooner.

A second booklet published by VEP during the first half of 1967 was "Know Your Georgia Government," designed for use in citizenship education work. This booklet currently is being used by two VEP student interns in citizenship education classes in Houston County, Georgia. In addition, the booklet also is being used in several counties in Southwest Georgia and in Burke County, Georgia. An Upward Bound program at Mercer University requested 50 copies, and several community libraries have requested copies for their shelves. A Negro newspaper in South Georgia is planning to run excerpts from the booklet.

Reaction to the booklet in actual classroom use has been mixed. The student interns in Houston County report a strong preliminary impression that the booklet needs to be less formal and to have more illustrations. (The students prepared a mimeographed workbook to accompany the booklets, borrowing from a workbook used last year in Southside, Virginia.)

The field of citizenship education is largely uncharted. Our efforts, like those of other organizations working in this field, are largely experimental. Perhaps our experiences eventually will produce a guidebook for citizenship education similar to "How To Conduct a Registration Campaign."

In any case, present VEP plans call for publication of booklets based upon the "Know Your Georgia Government" model for all 11 Southern states, although the format may be varied somewhat to reflect our experiences with the Georgia booklet.

Another publication initiated by VEP in June is a newsletter called "VEP News." The newsletter will be published as available material warrants. This probably will mean monthly during some periods and quarterly during others.

Leadership training programs for this year are similar to those of last year. For example, a meeting of Negro candidates in Mississippi is being scheduled for late July. This one-day meeting will be patterned after meetings conducted last year in Alabama and South Carolina. Candidates will be briefed on their rights and responsibilities as candidates, and on the procedures for poll-watchers. As was the case last year, the conference will be jointly sponsored by VEP and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

Also in late July, VEP will co-sponsor a meeting of elected Negro city and county officials from Southern states. The other sponsor will be the Clark College Center for

Southern Public Policy Studies. This "Local Government Seminar" will be similar to the well-received seminar sponsored by VEP last year for Negro members of Southern legislatures.

Leadership training programs funded by VEP during the first half of 1967 included a meeting of registration workers in Virginia; a meeting in conjunction with the organization of the Arkansas Voter Education Project; and the broad-purpose program in Burke County, Georgia.

VEP continues to make heavy use of student interns, both in the Atlanta office and in the field. Nine are employed for summer work, including the pilot project in Houston County, Georgia. One of the interns, William Beardslee, is serving again this summer as VEP field director. During the early part of the year, Miss Collins served under VEP sponsorship as an intern in the office of Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta. During the summer amother intern, Bernard Parks, is working in the mayor's office and in the office of Atlanta Alderman Q. V. Williamson.

Again this year VEP financed spring holiday registration work through the National Student YWCA. This year's program was in Robeson County, North Carolina, and Jefferson County, Alabama. The Robeson County project was notable in

that the principal work was among Indians. Another departure from the standard registration campaign was one in Charlotte, North Carolina, which was conducted by the city's anti-poverty agency, the Charlotte Area Fund.

VEP assisted in early 1967 in the selection of a new director for the South Carolina Voter Education Project. He is James Felder, a recent Howard University law graduate, who replaces Richard Miles. The Rev. Ben Grinage is director of the Arkansas Voter Education Project, and John Edwards directs the North Carolina Voter Education Project.

The Voter Education Project continues to be the agency looked to by both regional and national agencies for such facts and figures as voter registration, number of Negroes elected to public office, Negroes running for public office, and the like. The VEP director continues to make addresses and personal appearances across the South, the latest being at the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University, where he spoke on "The Negro in the Southern Political Process." The VEP director also continues to serve on a number of important national and local boards and committees. Early this year he was a member of the presidential commission studying military draft laws.

A breakdown by type of projects funded during the first six months of 1967 is as follows:

Voter Registration and Citizenship Education	39
Voter Registration	23
Voter Registration, Citizenship Education and Leadership Training	1
Citizenship Education	1
Leadership Training	2
Program Development	3
Special Student Intern	1
TOTAL	70

The amount of money allotted for projects thus far this year totals $141,480.15. A breakdown by states follows (it should be noted that the Georgia figure includes the YWCA project described above.):

Alabama	6,981.00
Arkansas	10,940.00
Florida	4,320.00
Georgia	14,020.30
Louisiana	11,360.00
Mississippi	42,691.85
North Carolina	21,650.00
South Carolina	13,500.00
Tennessee	2,592.00
Virginia	13,425.00
TOTAL	141,480.15

file VEP 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

July 7, 1967

TO: SRC Staff

FROM: VEJ

RE: Leadership Training Meetings Sponsored by VEP

The VEP is sponsoring and participating in the following meetings over the South. We felt that you would want to know when these meetings are taking place, and what they are about. Should any of you have a desire to participate or to share these meetings, please feel free to do so.

JULY 8:

Camden, Arkansas. The Arkansas Voter Education Project is holding its first Statewide Leadership Training Conference at the Hotel Camden. The meeting will feature workshops on "How to Conduct a Voter Registration Campaign," "Effective Get Out To Vote Campaigns," The Election Laws of Arkansas," and "Community Organization."

Wiley Branton is the keynote speaker for the meeting. In addition, the formal Constitution and By-Laws of the Arkansas VEP will be adopted along with the formal statewide organization of the Arkansas project.

JULY 22:

Jackson, Mississippi. The VEP, in cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, is holding a Leadership Training Institute in Jackson, Miss., at the Masonic Temple on Lynch Street. The Institute will focus on the laws, duties and responsibilities of the candidates and their poll watchers in the Democratic primary on August 8 and the general election of November. Instructions for the Institute will be handled by lawyers from the LDF.

MEMO TO: SRC Staff - 2.
July 7, 1967

JULY 22:

Durham, North Carolina. The North Carolina VEP is holding its first Statewide Leadership Training Conference and Organizational meeting.

The meeting will consist of workshops on "How to Conduct a Voter Registration Campaign," "Effective Get Out to Vote Campaigns,""Problems in Citizenship Education," "State and Federal Registration Laws," and"Community Organization."

The meeting will be held at the Jackson Tarr Hotel. VEJ will keynote the meeting.

JULY 27, 28, 29:

The VEP is co-sponsoring with the Clark College Center for Southern Public Policy Studies, a "Local Government Seminar," for all of the Negroes in the South who have been elected to City Councils and Aldermatic Boards.

The meeting will be held at Kresge Hall, Clark College. Featured speakers include, Bayard Rustin, John Field, Jack Greenberg, Sam Cook, John Boone, Moreland Smith, Jean Fairfax, Vivian Henderson, Paul Anthon, et al.

Everyone is invited to attend these sessions.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS W. YOUNG, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Jim VEP

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 4, 1967

Dr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Now that we can look backward at our first Local Government Seminar we are more convinced than ever that it was successful beyond our fondest dream. And, of course, your thoughtful and thought-provoking contributions played an important part in making it a success.

As they went away, the conference participants were expressing the hope that such conferences will be held again and again in the future. Thank you again for helping to make it so.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

Vivian W. Henderson

Vivian W. Henderson
President
Clark College

VEJ:VWH:rlw

See Vep - 1967 Camp

WS file

August 14, 1967

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Dr. Clement:

This comes in response to your letter of August 4 wherein you inquired as to why you were not invited to the Local Government Seminar held at Clark College, July 27 - 29, 1967, jointly sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council and the Center for the Study of Southern Public Policy at Clark College.

The lead article in VEP News, Volume I, No. 2, is misleading where it reads "Negroes holding elected city and county positions throughout the South." Actually, the invitees to the seminar were those Negroes in the South who have been elected to city council or aldermanic positions and the county commissions. The seminar was patterned after the State Legislator's Seminar sponsored by VEP last December to which we invited the 20 Negroes in the South who have been elected to state legislatures. Our plans call for a similar program for school board members in the region. Originally, we planned to combine the city council and school board members seminars but later decided to do them separately.

I might mention that VEP recently made a grant of $2,000.00 to the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality for a conference of Negroes elected or appointed to school boards in the South. The conference is scheduled for August 17 - 20, 1967 at Arlie House, Warrenton, Virginia. Prior to funding this program, we suggested to Marvin Rich that he consult with you in the planning of the meeting and involve you in it if possible. I understand that he has been in touch with you.

Attached is a list of the Local Government Seminar participants and a program. It was, we believe, a successful program.

Please know how much we welcome your interest in VEP programs.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

VEJ:mlj
Enclosure

cc: Dr. Vivian Henderson
Mr. Paul Anthony

File
V.E.P.

Note: Charged to
Dep Acct. Miscellaneous

August 21, 1967

Mr. Ronald Morgan
The Peoples Bank
58 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Morgan:

Enclosed is our check for $5.56 to clear the account of Anthony Dunbar.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

August 21, 1967

To: RHAlexander

From: Paul Anthony

Please draw a check in the amount of $5.56 to the Peoples Bank to clear the account of Anthony Dunbar. (This should be charged to the Voter Education Project -- Miscellaneous)

Mr. Antony,

Mr. Dunbar's account is short 5.56. A deposit of this amount will clear the overdraft and close the account.

Ronald Morgan

Give VEP Statistics

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SUMMER, 1967

STATE	WHITE VAP*	NEGRO VAP*	WHITE REGISTERED	% WHITE VAP REGISTERED	NEGRO REGISTERED	% NEGRO VAP REGISTERED
ALABAMA	1,353,058	481,320	1,211,000	89.5	255,000	53.1
ARKANSAS	850,643	192,626	616,000	72.4	121,000	62.8
FLORIDA	2,617,438	470,261	2,169,000	82.8	304,000	64.6
GEORGIA	1,797,062	612,910	1,450,000	80.6	334,000	54.5
LOUISIANA	1,289,216	514,589	1,130,000	87.6	273,000	53.2
MISSISSIPPI	748,266	422,256	641,000	85.7	199,000	45.1
N. CAROLINA	2,005,955	550,929	1,603,000	79.9	277,000	50.3
S. CAROLINA	895,147	371,104	730,000	81.6	189,000	50.8
TENNESSEE	1,779,018	313,873	1,434,000	80.6	225,000	71.7
TEXAS	4,884,765	649,512	2,600,000	53.2	400,000	61.6
VIRGINIA	1,876,167	436,720	1,190,000	63.4	243,000	55.6
TOTAL	20,096,735	5,016,100	14,774,000	73.5	2,820,000	56.2

*VAP= Voting age population

See memo.

file

M E M O R A N D U M

September 2, 1967

TO: Percy Sutton, Manhattan Borough President
Mervyn Dymally, State Senator, California

FROM: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director, Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council

RE: National Conference of Negro Elected Officials

Percy Sutton and I met in New York on Wednesday, August 30, to discuss the program of the National Conference of Negro Elected Officials, scheduled for the University of Chicago, September 28-31, 1967. Because the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council has had some experience in holding such conferences, several persons suggested that Percy and I might discuss plans for the conference. We agreed to do so at the meeting of the Urban Coalition in Washington August 28.

Attached is a suggested agenda for the program that I have prepared based on my conversations with Percy, the suggested agenda of the conference planning committee, and the experience of VEP in convening such meetings. VEP has convened two such meetings. Both were highly successful from the standpoints of both content and participation.

While the VEP conferences for state legislators and city and county officials were limited to the South and southern problems, I believe that, to some extent, the same format has validity for a national meeting. The big handicap in preparing the agenda is my lack of knowledge of the interests and expertise of the various northern, western, and midwestern elected officials. In other words, I don't know who does what best as relates to those areas. I am fairly familiar with this as relates to the South.

MEMO TO: Percy Sutton, -- 2.
September 2, 1967

It should be clearly understood that this is a suggested agenda that may serve as a working paper in reaching final program decisions. I am not wedded to it in terms of specifics and who does what. I do believe the agenda broadly addresses itself to the pragmatic needs of the conferees. I think it is designed to provoke discussion and debate on general problems as well as on specific problems and interests.

There are several matters which I believe to be crucially important. They are:

(1) The meeting must be absolutely non-partisan. It has to be an educational and leadership training type meeting---a meeting geared to helping the conferees do a better job of serving their constituents and the total community through a full understanding of problems, issues, and programs.

(2) To the extent possible, there should be an equal sharing, party-wise and geographically, of program participation. That includes presiding, panel participation, speeches and the like. Women officials must also share in leading roles.

(3) There should be no effort to formally organize the conference. Formal organization would defeat the educational and leadership training value of the meeting. Politicians, being what they are, likely would devote more of the meeting caucusing for the elections than doing what they came to do---learn.

(4) Formal organization of the group raises other difficult questions, such as party loyalty, public positions, and factional and geographical divisions. Besides, continuity may be difficult given the fact that all of the participants are subject to re-election at some point.

(5) The workshops should be closed to the press. The presence of the press may inhibit frank and honest discussion of issues. And politicians cannot resist the thought of how this or that statement might help back home.

MEMO TO: Percy Sutton, -- 3.
September 2, 1967

Assuming that you have contrary feelings regarding the press, I suggest:

A. A press conference prior to the opening sessions by the co-chairman. Subject matter would be limited to the conference, the need for such a conference, the program content, and what the conference hopes to accomplish.

B. That the press be admitted to the following:

1) the opening session, addresses by Ken Clark and Vivian Henderson, and to the luncheon and dinner addresses.

C. At the end of the conference the co-chairman hold a final press conference on what the meeting accomplished, some of the concerns expressed and the like.

D. The press will surely want to interview individuals attending the conference. Realistically, this cannot be avoided, but it should not conflict with the workshops. Such arrangements ought not be the responsibility of the conference.

(6) That the proceedings of the meeting be recorded either by tapes or court reporter. The conference should make the proceedings available to each conferee and to the foundations supporting the conference.

Now a note or two about workshops.

It is intended that the workshops, in addition to their educational and informational value, provoke discussion and debate. I think that the first and second workshops with the reaction panels will be stimulating in themselves. Discussion necessarily will be limited because these are general sessions---hence the panels to react to the speakers.

MEMO TO: Percy Sutton -- 4.
September 2, 1967

I am assuming that at least 250 elected officials will be in attendance. Therefore, the Saturday afternoon workshops are broken down into six groups for discussion of governmental programs. The conferees would be assigned to these groups, based on their preference, prior to the conference. Each workshop will have approximately 40 persons. More than 40 persons is not desirable.

The format would consist of the presiding officers opening up the meeting and presenting the person who would present the problem. The resource people would react and then discussion would come from the floor.

In the workshops Sunday morning, the confereees would divide up according to elected positions. Since there are so few congressmen, I am suggesting that three of them be involved as chairmen of the three sessions on the "Practical Problems of the Negro Elected Official." The others, assuming their presence, can be elsewhere.

These are panel discussions in which experienced elected officials, reflecting party differences and geographic location, relate the practical problems that have confronted them in maintaining public office. Our experience has been that these are lively and highly informative sessions.

The other sessions, I believe speak for themselves.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF NEGRO ELECTED OFFICIALS

SUGGESTED AGENDA

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1967

2:00 p. m. - REGISTRATION

4:00 p. m. - Conference Planning Committee Meeting

Percy Sutton, Co-Chairman

Mervyn M. Dymally, Co-Chairman

a. General Program Review

b. Conference Financing

7:00 p. m. - OPENING SESSION

Co-Chairman, Mervyn M. Dymally -- Presiding
State Senator, California

WELCOME --

Keynote Address --

Percy Sutton, President,
Borough of Manhattan
New York City

9:00 p. m. GET ACQUAINTED RECEPTION

SUGGESTED AGENDA -- 2.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30

9:00 - 11:00 a.m. - FIRST WORKSHOP SESSION

Presiding --

ADDRESS: Dr. Kenneth Clark
President, MARC, Inc.
New York City

(Here Dr. Clark would state the problem of race and equality in America today and then discuss, as he sees it, the role of Negro elected officials in meeting the problem.)

REACTOR PANEL:

1. A state legislator
2. A city councilman
3. A school board member
4. A congressman

DISCUSSION --

11:15 - 12:30 p. m.

- Presiding --

ADDRESS: Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
President, Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

"Negro Economic Security: Jobs and Welfare"

SUGGESTED AGENDA -- 3.

REACTOR PANEL:

1. A state legislator
2. A city councilman
3. A school board member
4. A congressman

DISCUSSION --

12:30 - 1:30 p. m. LUNCH

Presiding --

ADDRESS: Dr. John Hope Franklin, Chairman
Department of History, University of Chicago

"The Negro's Role in The Political History of the United States"

2:00 - 4:00 p. m.

- SECOND WORKSHOP SESSION

"Governmental Programs and Policies - Affect on Negro"

CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

A. HOUSING -- Public and Private Housing, model cities, rent supplements, 221-03

Presiding --

SUGGESTED AGENDA -- 4.

- "Statement of the Problem"

  --James O. Gibson, Potomac Institute
  Washington, D.C.

- RESOURCE PANEL:

  --George Nesbitt, HUD

  --Theodore A. Jones, Illinois Revenue Commissioner

  --Q. V. Williamson, Alderman
  Atlanta, Georgia

B. POVERTY -- The Community action program, NYC, Job Corps, Crash Summer Programs

Presiding --

Statement of the Problem:

--Cyril D. Tyson, Deputy Administrator
Human Resources Administration, New York City

- RESOURCE PANEL:

  --David Hill, Director, Pittsburgh Poverty Program

  --Phillip Rutlege, Director
  Detroit Poverty Program

  --H. Carl McCall, President
  New York Council on Poverty

  --Washington Butler, Director
  Memphis Poverty Program

SUGGESTED AGENDA -- 5.

C. WELFARE --

Presiding --

Statement of the Problem:

Edward Sparer, Professor
Columbia University
School of Social Work

RESOURCE PANEL:

--Lyle Carter, Assistant Secretary, HEW

--Marion Wright, Attorney
Jackson, Mississippi

--William Robinson, Director
Cook County Welfare Department

D. MANPOWER -- Training - Employment

Presiding --

Statement of the Problem:

Dr. Cleveland Dennard, President
Washington Technical Institute

RESOURCE PANEL:

--Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary, NAACP

--Samuel C. Jackson, Commissioner
Equal Employment Opportunity
Commission

--William Oliver, UAW

SUGGESTED AGENDA -- 6.

E. EDUCATION -- North and South

Presiding --

Statement of the Problem:

Dr. Hylan Lewis
MARC, Inc
Professor, Brooklyn College

RESOURCE PANEL:

--F. Peter Labossi, HEW

--Jean Fairfax, NAACP
Legal Defense Fund

--M. Carl Holman, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

--June Shagloff, NAACP

F. LEGAL SERVICES TO THE POOR -- PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

Presiding --

Statement of the Problem:

Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel
NAACP, Legal Defense Fund

RESOURCE PANEL:

--Julian Dugas, Director, Legal Services OPO
Washington, D. C.

--Robert Ming, Member, OEO Legal Services Advisory
Chicago Attorney Committee

--Clyde Ferguson, Dean, Howard University
Law School

SUGGESTED AGENDA -- 7.

4:15 - 6:00 p. m. - THIRD WORKSHOP SESSION

COMMUNITY DISORDERS --

Presiding --

Statement of the Problem:

Bayard Rustin, Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
New York City

RESOURCE PANEL:

--Roger Wilkins, Director
U. S. Community Relations Service

--Paul N. Ylvisaker, Director
Community Relations for
State of New Jersey

--
Detroit Representative

--
Newark Representative

--LeRoy Johnson, State Senator
Atlanta, Georgia

7:30 P. M. - DINNER

Presiding --

ADDRESS -- Senator Edward Brooke
Massachusetts

SUGGESTED AGENDA -- 8.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 31

9:00 - 11:00 a.m. - FOURTH WORKSHOP SESSION

"Practical Problems of Negro Elected Officials"

CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

A. City Councilmen

Presiding -- (A.U.S. Congressman)

PANEL DISCUSSION:

--John Stewart, City Councilman,
Durham, North Carolina

--Robert Lillard, City Councilman
Nashville, Tennessee

-- Northern City

-- Northern City

-- Midwest or western City

B. STATE LEGISLATORS

Presiding -- (A U. S. Congressman)

PANEL DISCUSSION:

--A. W. Willis, Tennessee House

Northern Representative

Midwest "

Western "

--Horace T. Ward, State Senate
Atlanta, Georgia

SUGGESTED AGENDA -- 10.

1:30 - 2:30 p. m. - FINAL WORKSHOP SESSION

SERVICES AVAILABLE TO NEGRO
ELECTED OFFICIALS

Presiding --

PANEL DISCUSSION:

--MARC, Inc

--Clark College Center for
The Study of Southern Public Policy

--NAACP Legal Defense Fund

--Voter Education Project of the
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

--A. Philip Randolph Institute

--Scholarship, Education, and Defense
Fund for Racial Equality

2:30 - 3:00 p. m. - CLOSING SESSION

3:00 p. m. ADJOURNMENT

SUGGESTED AGENDA -- 9.

C. SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS

Presiding -- (A U. S. Congressman)

PaNEL DISCUSSION:

--Rufus Clement, Atlanta, Georgia

--Horace Anderson, Palo Alto

-- North

-- Mid-West

11:15-12:30 p. m.

- COALITION, ALLIANCES - VOTER REGISTRATION AND EDUCATION - COMMUNICATION WITH CONSTITUENCY

Presiding -- Senator Barbara Jordan, Texas

PANEL DISCUSSION:

--Russell Sugarmon, Tenn. House of Representatives

--George Haley, Kansas House of Representatives

-- City Councilman

-- School Board Member

--Wiley A. Branton U. S. Dept. of Justice

12:30 - 1:30 p. m.

- LUNCH

Presiding --

ADDRESS:

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

REGARDING

Request for Supplemental grant of $50,000 for 1967 for VEP

DATE

9-8-67

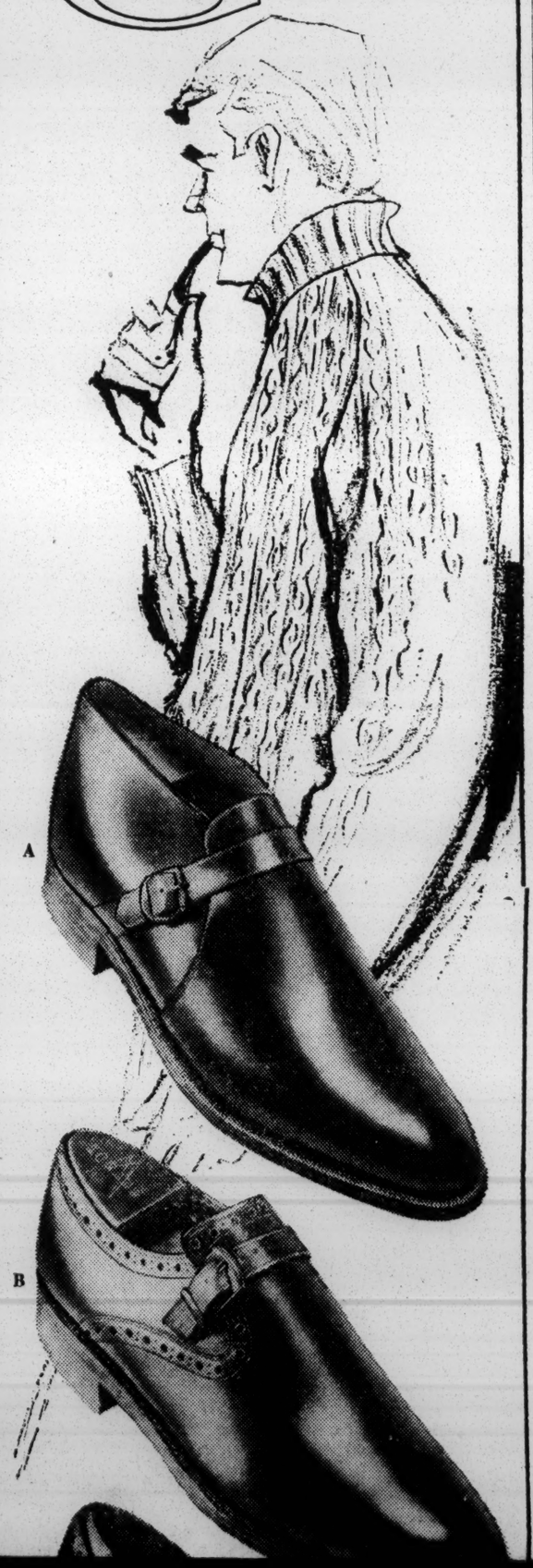
(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION

file N.Y.P. Promotion

PHONE PE 6-5100 . . . OPEN LATE MONDAY NIGHTS

GIMBELS



South Carolina Negroes Meet To Push for Voter Registration

Special to The New York Times

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21 Held in Chicago Suburb As Police Enforce Curfew

CHICAGO, Sept. 24 (UPI)—Twenty-one persons—11 of them white—were arrested tonight as the police clamped a 9 o'clock curfew on the western suburb of Maywood to prevent a third straight night of violence in a Negro neighborhood.

Three white persons, two men and a woman, were arrested after the police found a rifle, nine boxes of ammunition, a pistol and an ax in their car. Four white men were arrested for failure to stop at a barricade, having open liquor in a car and curfew violation.

Two white youths and two white girls were taken to the police station after the curfew was imposed.

The police surrounded a Negro neighborhood, stopping outsiders from entering the area.

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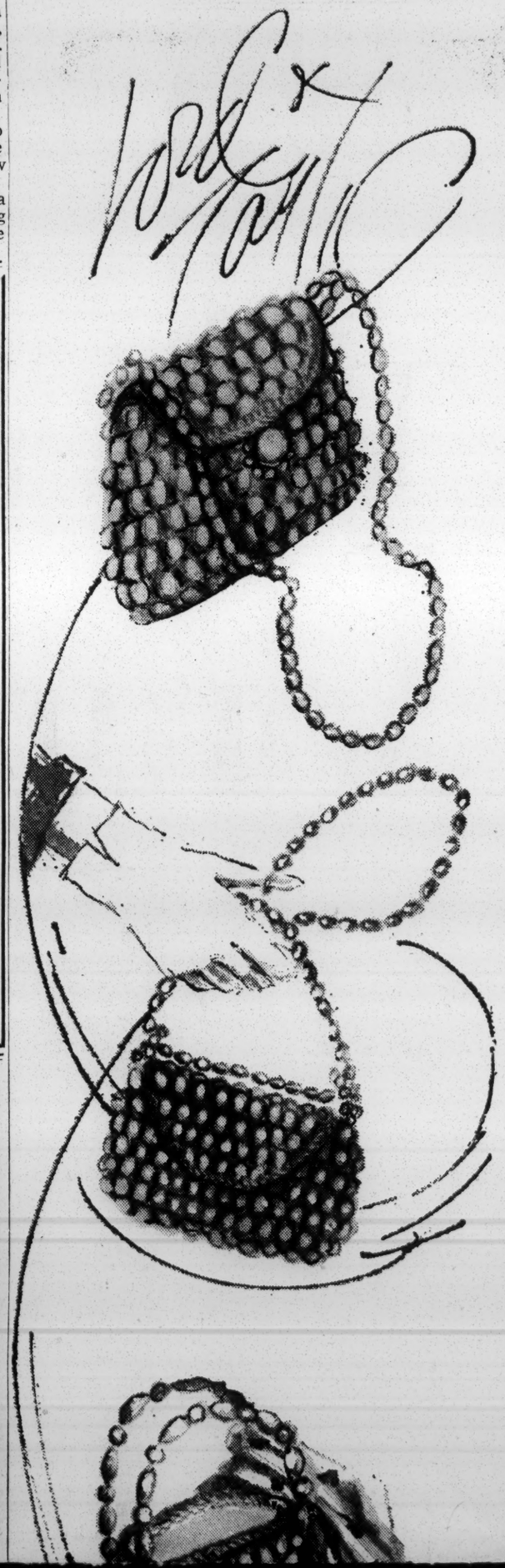

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C. *The Diplomat in black. Sizes 7-12; C and D widths $19

D. The Cavalier in black or brown. Sizes 7-12; C, D and E widths ... $19

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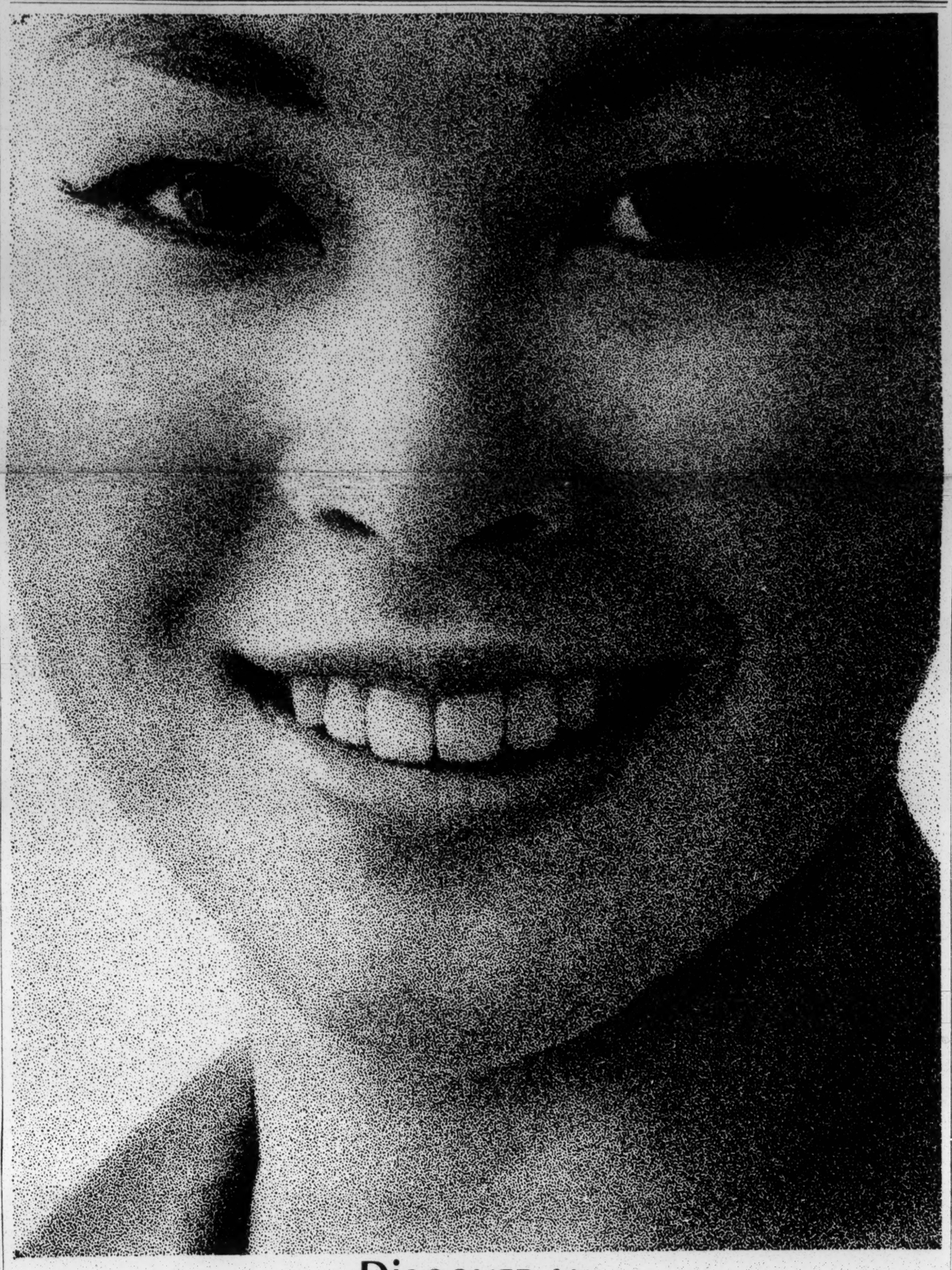

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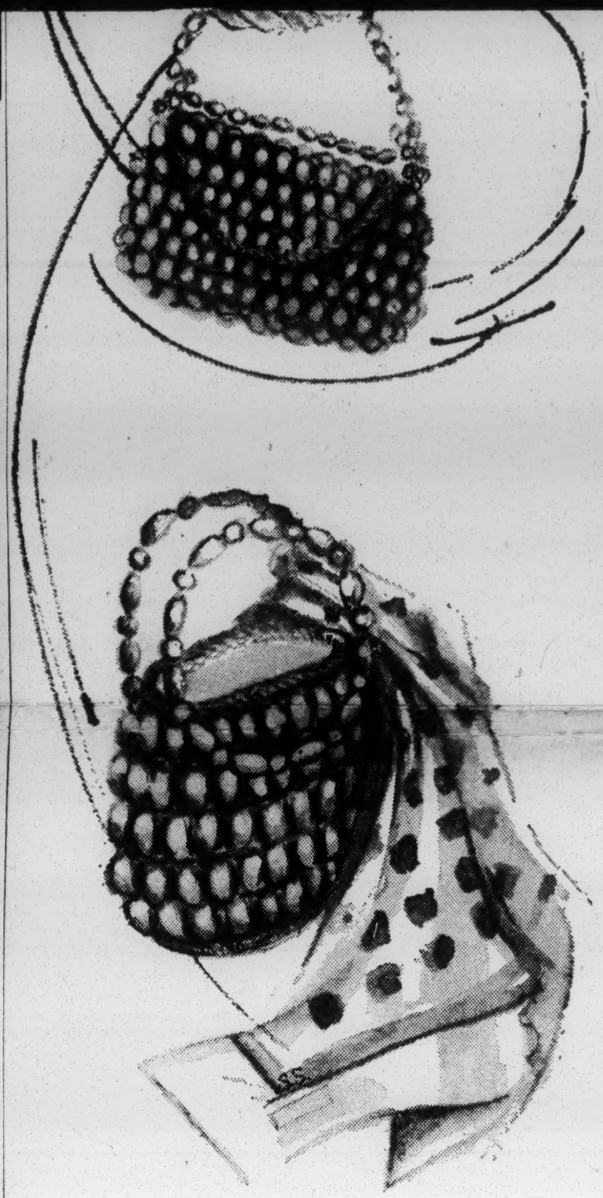

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JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS W. YOUNG, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible] [illegible]A 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

See Voter Ed. Project

September 27, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

This is to assure you in writing that all is in order as your letter requested. This matter has been reviewed with the VEP staff and we will be very sensitive to the possibility that any activity or statement of ours may be misinterpreted or misunderstood.

Let me also repeat to you, in writing, my sincere belief that my speech was by no means partisan in nature. My audience clearly understood that I was saying something much more important than simply commenting on a particular elected official. I was saying, and I believe this is very important to say, that where Negroes exercise their responsibility at the ballot box they, like all other voters, cannot be taken for granted; that every elected official must be responsive to the needs and interest of all of those who elect them. And, this is to me a universal truth without regard

to Republicans, Democrats, or any other political grouping.

Be that as it may, let me again assure you that we shall continue to be very sensitive to the possibilities this incident raises and shall do everything possible to see that it does not again occur.

Sincerely,

Vernon

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

VEJ/nm

September 26, 1967

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
The Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

This is in reference to our conversation about the New York Times story of Monday, September 25, 1967 concerning the statement you were quoted as having made in Columbia on Sunday, September 23rd.

I am reassured that this meeting was not of a partisan nature and I understand completely your sentiments in making such a statement. I believe, however, such actions as this could be harmful and could be interpreted as action that would jeopardize our tax exemption.

Let me hasten to add that I am assured generally that your conduct and your administration of the Voter Education Project is and has been of the highest caliber, and that you and your staff are making every reasonable effort to conduct that project in keeping with the spirit as well as the letter of the law. But

I believe we simply cannot be too careful not only to so run the project, but to avoid any situation which might lead others to believe otherwise.

I would like for you to review this situation with your staff and while I know I have it, I would like in writing your assurance that this has been done.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE

FILE

PUB. The News & Courier

CITY Charleston, SC

DATE Sept 28, 1967

FYI to

MEMO to

See Voter Ed Project: South Carolina Meeting

Palmetto Politics

Two thrusts at Sen. Ernest F. Hollings delivered before a Negro leadership meeting Sunday in Columbia significantly came out of Atlanta and Washington. Assuming credit for Negro votes as the margin of victory for Sen. Hollings over a Republican opponent in 1966, Vernon Jordan, director of the Southwide voter education project of the Southern Regional Council, said:

"Fritz Hollings must understand one thing: the Negro vote giveth and it taketh away."

The Washington spokesman was Wiley A. Branton, a special assistant to Attorney General Ramsey Clark. When he asked, "Did Sen. Hollings vote for you when he voted against Thurgood Marshall?" the audience responded with a resounding "No!"

Does the dispatch of an assistant attorney general to South Carolina who made such a statement mean that the Johnson administration has turned against Sen. Hollings? The following day Mr. Branton denied that he had "attacked" Mr. Hollings, but was only using him as an example.

Most senators from the South voted against the nomination of Associate Justice Marshall. Sens. Thurmond and Hollings both said in casting their votes that the decision was based not on race but in opposition to the constitutional views of Mr. Marshall.

If it is to be assumed that every Negro vote is to hang on the attitude of Senators toward such appointments, then bloc voting will be the invariable rule and all elections will depend on appeals to color prejudice.

Who would be the beneficiary of Negro votes which Vernon Jordan said could be taken away from Mr. Hollings? The lines of the political campaign of 1968 are now forming. The Sunday speeches at the South Carolina Voter Education Project are interesting signals. If Sen. Hollings is to have Democratic opposition, where will it come from in South Carolina?

Ref to PA

See V.E. Proj.

October 3, 1967

Mr. Adrian W. DeWind
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. DeWind:

Several members of the Southern Regional Council Executive Committee have expressed concern over the New York Times account of a voter education meeting in Columbia, South Carolina on September 23.

Enclosed is a copy of that article. Would you be good enough to give us your reaction - especially whether or not you consider the statement by Vernon Jordan to be of any particular significance relative to tax exempt activity.

I am reluctant to ask you to take the time to do this but the Committee and the staff would find your evaluation of considerable help.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

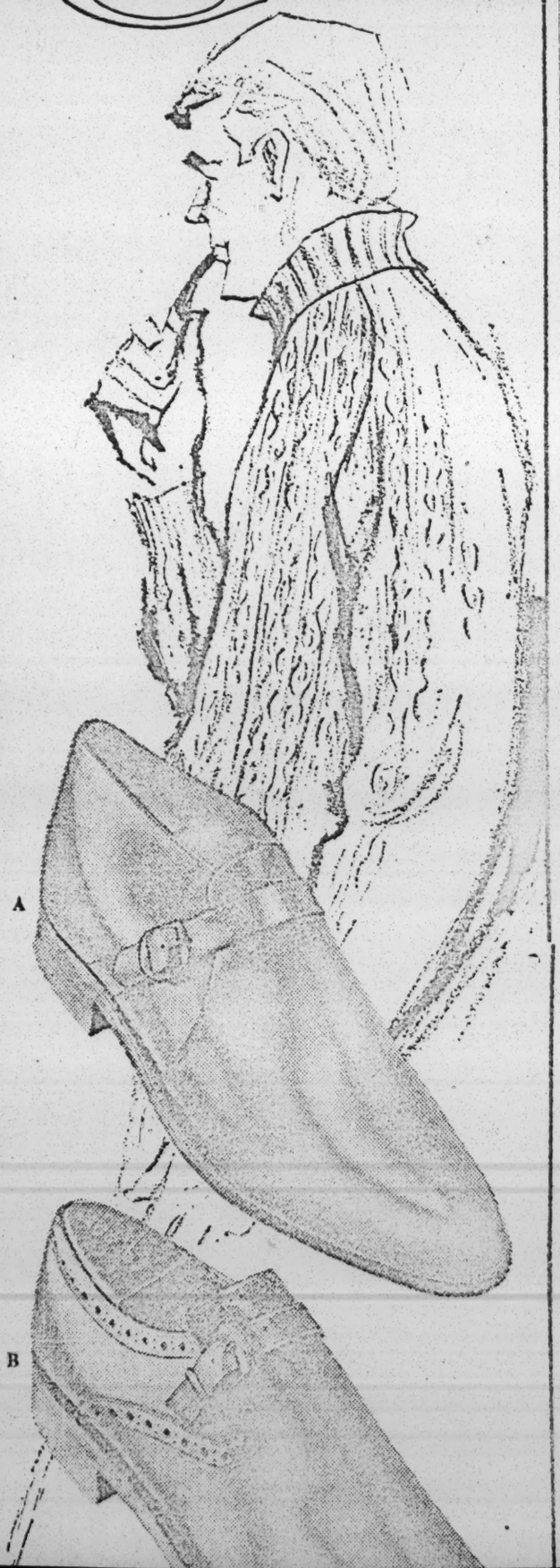
PA/km

Enclosure

September 25, 1967

PHONE PE 6-5100 . . . OPEN LATE MONDAY NIGHTS

GIMBELS



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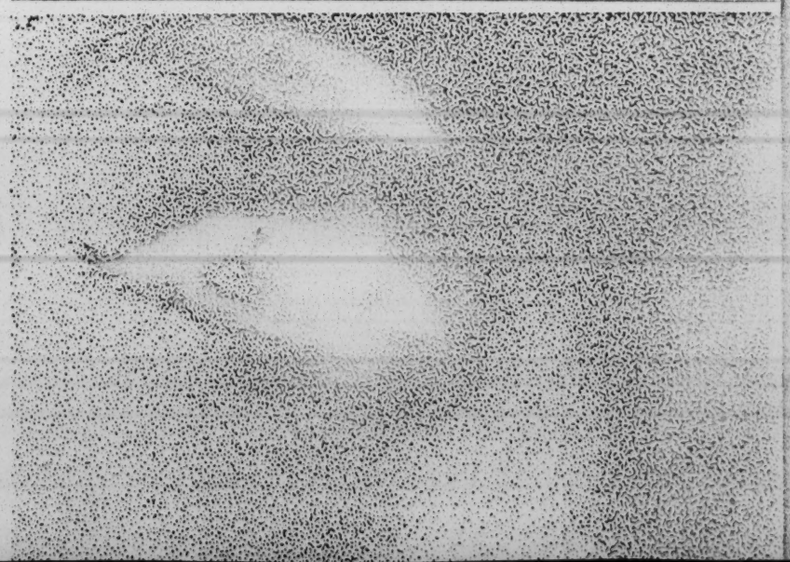

File
V.E.P.

M E M O R A N D U M October 9, 1967

TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please make a check for $100.00 to ALL CITIZENS REGISTRATION COMMITTEE and send to Mr. Jessie Hill at Atlanta Life Insurance Company. Charge to #318.

PA/km

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October 9, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I acknowledge receipt of the reprint from the New York Times of Monday, September 25, 1967 which includes a report of a meeting at which South Carolina Negros applauded "Vernon Jordan, Director of the Southwide voter education project of the Southern Regional Council", who is reported to have said, "Fritz Hollings must understand one thing: The Negro vote giveth and it taketh away."

I view this statement, if it is a correct one, as a very serious breach of the conditions under which Vernon Jordan is supposed to be working in connection with the voter education project. As you know, the exemption under Section 501 (c) of the Internal Revenue Code defines corporations which are exempt as those which are "organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific testing for public safety, literary or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation <u>and which does not participate in or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements) any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office</u>."

While I do not think that the statement allegedly made by Mr. Jordan constitutes entering a political campaign on behalf of a candidate, it is certainly something which persons who are inimical to the purposes and programs of SRC might well seize upon to cause considerable embarrassment to the organization.

The fact that Wiley Branton, a former Director of the voter education project, is also quoted in the same article in connection with the manner in which Senator Hollings cast his vote also aggravates the problem.

As you know, the voter education project was organized strictly as a research program and contributions have been made to the project with this understanding and for the purposes of research in ascertaining the best methods of encouraging potential voters to register to vote. Nothing in this program warrants any member of the staff of the VEP indicating any favor or disfavor towards any potential candidate for office in any state.

In my opinion, this matter should be brought to the attention of the Executive Committee of Southern Regional Council for appropriate action not inconsistent with the gravity of the charges.

This letter is a confidential communication from legal counsel, and as such should be considered privileged and not disclosed to any person outside of the Board of Directors of Southern Regional Council and yourself.

Very truly yours,

Joseph F. Haas

JOSEPH F. HAAS
For the Firm

JFH:H

Rec'd 10/16/67

Make file
Voter Ed. Project:
South Carolina
meeting

File

Topknot
Linville Falls, N. C.
28647

October 12, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for sending me copy of the letter of Mr. Haas written to you on October 9. His views on the question involved are completely in accord with my own.

I think Mr. Haas did an excellent piece of work in getting Internal Revenue approval for the VEP. The line which was drawn was an exceedingly narrow one. My feeling is that, upon more than one occasion, we have gone beyond the necessary limits imposed by the Revenue Service.

We will be in serious trouble if these infractions are permitted to continue.

I shall back your judgment completely as to when and under what circumstances this matter shall be taken up with the Executive Committee or the full membership.

With best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

gwf

Topknot
Linville Falls, N. C.
28647

October 18, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I hope you may have seen Volume 1, No. 1 of Carolina Contrast issued September 3, 1967. I have a copy before me but cannot forward it to you since I am under obligation to return it.

This paper seems to be issued by South Carolina VEP, 1719 Taylor Street, Columbia, South Carolina, 29201.

I am not precisely sure what the term Voter Education Project includes. I was under the impression that its primary, if not sole, objective is to engage in research on the best methods of securing registration of voters. It may be much broader than that, as to which you will have accurate information.

The issue before me contains a page on "The Shame of Freedom-of-Choice"; another page on "Sumter--Is Victory In Sight"? This has to do with the wages of maids in Sumter County homes. Another page is headed "School for Revolutionaries" a fairly inflammatory title, as I think you will agree. There are two pages on "Duplicity in Dorchester", which attacks the role of the Federal Government and, particularly "those guys in the basement of the White House--the ones that advise the President". There is another page containing a highly laudatory review of "The Autobiography of Malcom X". The review quotes with approval a sentence from the book as follows: "And the only way the black people, caught up in this society, can be saved is not to integrate into a corruption, but to separate from it, to a land of our own where we can reform ourselves . . .".

So much for the first issue. There is no way of forecasting what other issues may contain.

If you can get hold of a copy, I should like very much for you to put it before Mr. Joseph Haas and learn his views as to whether or not such literature falls within the scope of the proposed activities of VEP and activities approved by the Internal Revenue Service.

I hope I am not an alarmist but I do feel that we run grave risks in lending our support and name to a movement which seems to be foreign to the policy of Southern Regional Council and which may well impair our own tax exempt status.

Best regards.

Yours very truly,

M. A. W

M. A. Wright

gwf

file
SRC Staff

HAAS, HOLLAND, FREEMAN, LEVISON & GIBERT

HERBERT J. HAAS (1905-1953)

JOSEPH F. HAAS
J. KURT HOLLAND
RICHARD C. FREEMAN
S. JARVIN LEVISON
ROBERT H. WALLING
HUGH W. GIBERT
RICHARD N. HUBERT

EDWARD L. GREENBLATT
RICHARD D. FLEXNER
ROSE M. SCHREIBER

LAW OFFICES
2709 FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

TELEPHONE 525-6141
AREA CODE 404

October 27, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Receipt this week of the V.E.P. News prompts me to write you and express to you confidentially my growing concern over what appears to me to be the conduct on the part of the staff of V.E.P. which could, in a hostile setting, be interpreted as overly aggressive and in such a situation might invite deep problems for the organization.

I feel that too little emphasis has been recently placed upon the research aspect of the V.E.P. and, on the other hand, what might be considered a use of partisan approach as a stimulus for voter registration. I am not sure that such a partisan approach, ipso facto, violates any of the stringent restrictions on what charitable organizations are to do, but I think it has to be kept in bounds, and I think it is the responsibility of our organization to do it.

I would like to discuss this with you and I think we ought to come to a decision on this as to whether or not the matter ought to be thrown open for discussion at the next Executive Committee meeting.

You know of my very high regard for Vernon Jordan, and I know that you realize that nothing I say is intended to hurt him personally, but I do feel that there is a responsibility upon

me which I cannot assume without taking some position which may not coincide with his.

I look forward to hearing from you and, of course, I again wish to point out that this letter is personal, confidential and a privileged communication and shall not be disclosed to anyone without consultation with counsel for the SRC.

Kindest personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Joe

JOSEPH F. HAAS
For the Firm

JFH:H

Personal and confidential

file V.E.P. Gen.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
Of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
522-8764

October 31, 1967

==========

DRAFT PROPOSAL FOR FUTURE PROGRAM

When the current Voter Education Project began work in 1966, about 2.1 million Negroes were registered in the South. This was about 41 per cent of the Negro voting age population.

Now about 2.9 million are registered---about 57 per cent.

By the time the current three-year VEP is ended, Negro registration in the South probably will exceed three million (even with the across-the-board re-registration requirement in South Carolina, which affects nearly 200,000 Negro voters).

With the passage of the Voting Rights Act and the relaxation of Southern registration barriers (which are, it should be noted, far from being completely removed), the Voter Education Project's emphasis has shifted from straight registration programs to programs of citizenship education and leadership training.

Under the heading of citizenship education, VEP has provided materials and classroom instruction for newly registered Negro voters. In several cases, VEP has funded programs designed to give Negro voters instructions on the procedures for casting ballots. A pilot booklet called "Know Your Georgia Government" has been produced.

The need for this type of instruction is vast, and there is much disagreement over methods and approaches for meeting this need. At the root of this need for citizenship education is lack of experience and education which has handicapped generations of Negroes in the South. It is doubtful that a program can be created within feasible limits to meet this need in each and every community across the South. VEP has tried somewhat experimental programs in selected communities. But to carry these programs into every community needing them would be an enormous undertaking.

Under the heading of leadership training come the various institutes, seminars and conferences for Negro candidates, officeholders and leaders. These have been among the more successful VEP efforts. There have been one-day institutes for candidates in South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. There have been statewide leadership conferences in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Arkansas. There have been seminars in Atlanta for Negro legislators and for Negro members of city and county governing boards. Virtually all of these meetings have been unqualified successes.

Here again the need is great. Most Negro candidates and officeholders are as inexperienced as many of those casting ballots for them. Running for office and holding office in the South thrusts these Negro southerners into new and demanding situations. Our institutes, conferences and seminars have sought to bring specialized instruction to these leadership elements to enable them to better meet

these new and demanding situations. Most of those who have attended these sessions have told us of the great need to have such meetings and to have more of them. The meetings have brought together Negro leaders from widely separate counties and states. They have been able to compare experiences and exchange advice. There is general agreement that the meetings are highly beneficial.

VEP feels strongly that these meetings should continue and should be held on a regular basis. Moreover, there should be continuing efforts to keep officeholders and leaders in touch with each other and in touch with developments of common interest. VEP already is serving as a sort of clearinghouse for information on candidates, officeholders, voter registration and the like. Already we are passing along---directly and through our newsletter---information which we feel will be useful. More of this needs to be done.

Bringing together Negro candidates, officeholders and leaders and providing them with information and other services should continue so long as there is a need. That need is not likely to end within the foreseeable future. Certainly it will extend beyond the current VEP's third and final year.

More and more Negroes are running for office and more and more are being elected. Because of the society in which they live, most have been denied the education and experience which would make them fully effective in their new roles. VEP is the principal agency in the South today providing Negro leaders with instruction

and information to make them more effective. VEP possesses the experience and knowledge needed to assemble qualified experts---from within the region and from without---and to arrange successful meetings. Through conversations with scores of leaders, VEP has acquired the background for servicing the needs of Negro leaders.

At a time when more Negro leaders are emerging it would be unfortunate indeed to discontinue the agency and staff best equipped to assist these leaders.

What is proposed here, however, is not a continuation of VEP as it presently exists. What is proposed is a successor agency to pick up the work of the second VEP and carry it forward.

Primary emphasis would be on leadership training. More institutes, conferences, seminars and workshops would be held. These would be similar to the aforementioned seminars for office-holders, institutes for candidates, and statewide conferences for leaders. The new agency would continue to draw upon both regional and national experts as resources for Southern Negro leaders. A more concentrated and structured effort would be made to assist these leaders in the exchange of information and experiences.

Why, it might be asked, shouldn't these leaders organize and arrange their own meetings? They can, of course, and this has been discussed. However, the probability of politicking and conflict clearly would be high. It is entirely likely that such organizations would splinter and die before ever accomplishing anything. However, we have found that leaders brought together by a non-partisan and

unallied agency work together very well. If the program is interesting, they will listen. But we have the gravest doubts that politicians can arrange effective programs for politicians. The temptation to upstage each other normally is too great to resist.

So the new agency would continue and expand the current VEP's efforts in the field of leadership training. However, programs of citizenship education and voter registration should not be abandoned completely. These efforts should continue, but on considerably reduced basis. In certain parts of the South---particularly in rural areas---voter registration remains an acute need. And as already explained, citizenship education is greatly needed. It is our feeling that expanded programs of leadership training will equip and inspire these leaders to organize and conduct citizenship education programs in their own communities.

This draft is presented for discussion by the Council as it considers meeting the continuing needs of the region through future programs.

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

File N.E.P. - General

P.O. Box 3285
Jackson, Miss. 39207
Nov. 20, 1967

Mr. Marvin Walls
Director of Research
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Walls,

As discussed in our brief meeting in Lexington, Nov. 8, I am enclosing a proposal for consideration by VEP.

To summarize the proposal's research outline, the purpose of my study in Holmes County is to examine the organization and conduct of the Negro candidates' campaign for public office; and to relate the campaign to thenature and sources of political leadership, voter attitude and behavior, and political and civic organization in the county.

I have three major rationales for the study.

1. The academic rationale - All of the major works on Negro politics in the New South (the region, not yonr publication) with which I am familiar have tended, for the most part, to formulate generalizations or pinpoint trends which were applicable to the region as a whole or its major subdivisions. This focus disregards the vastly different situations in which the drama of Negro politics is played out. Furthermore, most of this literature has confined itself to the analysis of election results or the attitudes of a sampling of individuals - be they mere voters or leaders. The actual process of Negro electoral-campaign politics has not been treated in depth, if only because trained social scientists or researchers have not been present as participant -observers when the process was occurring. Finally, none of the studies I have read satisfactorily deal with the dynamics of social change as it relates to political activity, during the last six or seven years. In identifying indices which appear to be causally related to the level of Negro political participation in the South, social scientists (I am referring in particular here to Matthews and Prothro) have not examined the forces which alter such indices. The factors which Matthews and Prothro, for example, (Negro Politics and the New South) correlate with a high level of Negro politicaal participation were virtually absent in Holmes County four years ago. Many of them are still absent today, yet the county has elected the first Negro representative to the state legislature since Reconstruction. These comments suggest the need for an intensive study of an actual campaign to elect Negro candidates in an area where social change has been untypically dramatic.

2. The journalistic rationale - By describing a particular campaign and particular individuals concretely and intimately, one has the opportunity to capture the richness and subtlety of reality and in so doing illuminate much broader issues in a way that abstraction and generalization cannot. I am arguing that much can be said for the Oscar Lewis approach, or the Truman Capote approach, or the Walter Lord approach (take your pick) to examining phenomena. The two pages of notes I have on what Edgar Love was thinking in the brief span of three minutes when his life was threatened on the main street of Tchula, October 17, say a great deal about the role of violence in the rural South.

3. The practical rationale - Robert Clark was elected representative in Holmes County while all the other 11 candidates, save one, lost. Why they lost and he won should not be a question which haunts us. The question should be answered in detail, to assist others in the South who engage in politics in the future.

The study, if funded through VEP, would be completed for the purpose of publishing a monograph under SRC-VEP's auspicies. The monograph would be yours, I would simply be its author. I would estimate something in the neighborhood of 50-70 pages, book size. The grant would be made to Mississippi Action for Community Education, for which I am Director of Research. This arrangement will allow MACE to use the funds for matching purposes with Ford Foundation funds which have been committed to MACE for leadership training. Ford has stipulated that its grant for training to MACE must be matched on a 7-10 basis, although the matched funds do not have to be used for training.

The matter of some adequate financial compensation for my research is of some importance. Ford money has not been committed to the staff position I am filling. Research and Information funds must be raised from other sources. For the past two and a half years, I have been working in the state largely without pay. For a number of reasons, that is no longer a realistic, even possible, arrangement. Even were that not the case, I could not afford the additional expenses involved in further research without outside assistance. I mention this only to be absolutely frank about my financial situation.

I hope very much you will be able to support the proposal. Should you have further questions, I can be reached in Jackson at 354-1578 or 355-4489. If you feel the proposal warrants a trip to Atlanta, I am also prepared to do that. As you remember, I had intended to send the proposal off to you several days after our meeting, by the latest. I hope that my failure to live up to those good intentions, do not soften your impression of my commitment to the research.

With regards,

David

David Emmons

cc: Paul Anthony

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

File

File N.E.P

December 15, 1967

MEMO

To: VEP Advisory Committee

From: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

I thought you would be interested in having a copy of the agenda and roster of the Institute for Mississippi Negro Elected Officials.

The conference is being held in Jackson, Mississippi, on the 14th and 15th of this month. We will share with you the results of the meeting.

INSTITUTE FOR MISSISSIPPI NEGRO ELECTED OFFICIALS

DOWNTOWNER MOTOR INN

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

DECEMBER 14 - 15 1967

SPONSORED BY

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT OF
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL,
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
30303

A G E N D A

INSTITUTE FOR MISSISSIPPI NEGRO ELECTED OFFICIALS

DOWNTOWNER MOTOR INN, JACKSON, MISS.

* * * * *

THURSDAY - DECEMBER 14

8:30 - 9:30 a. m. - REGISTRATION AND ROOM ASSIGNMENT

FIRST SESSION

9:30 - 10:00 a. m.

VERNON E. JORDAN, Presiding
Director, Voter Education Project

ROLL CALL AND INTRODUCTIONS

Weldon Rougeau, Field Director
Voter Education Project

"WHY WE ARE HERE" -- Mr. Jordan

10:00 - 12:00 Noon

"MISSISSIPPI GOVERNMENT - PAST AND PRESENT"
Frank Smith
Member, Tennessee Valley Authority

DISCUSSION

12:30 LUNCH

ADDRESS -- "THE NEGRO AND ECONOMIC SECURITY"
Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
President, Clark College

THURSDAY - DECEMBER 14 (Continued)

SECOND SESSION

2:00 p. m. - 5:00 p. m. - Mr. Rougeau, Presiding

PANEL DISCUSSION

"THE ELECTED OFFICIAL --
DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF OFFICE"

COUNTY SUPERVISOR -- Paul Brest, attorney, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

CONSTABLE - Jack Young, attorney, Jackson

JUSTICE OF THE PEACE - Ruben Anderson, attorney, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

CHANCERY CLERK - Mr. Brest

CORONER - Mr. Anderson

8:00 p. m. DINNER

Mrs. Martin L. Harvey, Presiding
Member, Executive Committee
Southern Regional Council

ADDRESS -- "AN OVERVIEW OF THE NEGRO IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS"

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

FRIDAY - DECEMBER 15

THIRD SESSION

9:00 a. m. - 10:30 a. m.

Claude Ramsey, Presiding
President, Mississippi AFL-CIO

PANEL DISCUSSION

"THE ELECTED OFFICIAL AND THE PRESS"

Marvin Wall, Director of Research
Voter Education Project

William Raspberry, Reporter,
Washington Post

Reese Cleghorn, Associate Editor
Atlanta Journal

Dave Emmons, former Reporter,
Chicago Daily News

10:30 - 11:00 a. m. COFFEE BREAK

11:00 - 12:30 p. m.

PANEL DISCUSSION

"SERVING THE PEOPLE -- HOW AND WHY"

Julian Bond, Member, Georgia House of
Representatives

Horace Ward, State Senator, Georgia

Russell Sugarmon, Tennessee House of
Representatives

Q. V. Williamson, Alderman, Atlanta

FRIDAY - DECEMBER 15 (Continued)

12:30 p. m. LUNCH

ADDRESS -- "THE NEGRO ELECTED OFFICIAL AND HIS RELATIONSHIP TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT"

Clarence Mitchell, Director
Washington Bureau, NAACP

FINAL SESSION

2:00 p. m. - 4:00 p. m.

Norman Hill, Presiding
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO

"SPECIAL PROBLEMS CONFRONTING MISSISSIPPI NEGRO ELECTED OFFICIALS"

-- QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

PAUL BREST

RUBEN ANDERSON

HORACE WARD

CHARLES EVERS, Mississippi Field Director NAACP

WELDON ROUGEAU

JACK YOUNG

MARVIN WALL

4:15 p. m. ADJOURNMENT

INSTITUTE FOR MISSISSIPPI NEGRO ELECTED OFFICIALS

ADAMS COUNTY

Mr. Sandy Nealey
Constable
5 Ray Street
Natchez, Mississippi 39120

The Reverend W. S. Scott
Justice of the Peace
4 St. Catherine Street
Natchez, Mississippi 39120

BOLIVAR COUNTY

Mr. Kermit Stanton
Supervisor
P. O. Box 611
Shelby, Mississippi 38714

CLAIBORNE COUNTY

Mr. Alexander Collins
Justice of the Peace
716 Coffee Street
Port Gibson, Mississippi 39150

Mrs. Geneva Collins
Chancery Clerk
716 Coffee Street
Port Gibson, Mississippi 391

Mr. Leander Monroe
Constable
106 Mulberry Street
Port Gibson, Mississippi

Mr. William Matt Ross
Supervisor
P. O. Box 115
Port Gibson, Mississippi

COAHOMA COUNTY

The Reverend Dan Ferguson
Justice of the Peace
General Delivery
Friars Point, Mississippi 38631

Mr. Charlie Jones
Justice of the Peace
Route 1, Box 14
Coahoma, Mississippi

HOLMES COUNTY

Mr. Robert G. Clark
State House of Representatives
P O. Box 184
Lexington, Mississippi

Mr. Griffin McLaurin
Constable

ISSAQUENA COUNTY

Mr. Melvin Smith
Constable
P. O. Box 53
Mayersville, Mississippi 39113

Mr. Matthew Walker
Justice of the Peace
Star Route, Box 27
Rolling Fork, Mississippi

JEFFERSON COUNTY

Mr. Sylvester Gaines
Supervisor
Route 2, Box 18
Lorman, Mississippi

Mrs. Martha Lee
Justice of the Peace
Route 1, Box 212
Lorman, Mississippi 39096

Mr. Earlie Lott
Constable
P. O. Box 274
Fayette, Mississippi

Mr. Willie Thompson
Justice of the Peace
P. O. Box 581
Fayette, Mississippi

MADISON COUNTY

Mr. U. S. Rimmer
Justice of the Peace
Route 2, Box 74
Camden, Mississippi

MARSHALL COUNTY

Mr. Osborn Bell
Coroner
Walthall Street
Holly Springs, Mississippi

Mr. James Malone
Justice of the Peace
Route 2
Waterford, Mississippi

Mr. McEwen Walker
Constable
RFD 2, # 79A
Waterford, Mississippi

WILKINSON COUNTY

Mr. James Jolliff, Jr.
Supervisor
Route 2, Box 112
Woodville, Mississippi 39669

See V.E.P. 1967

December 15, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Jim Wood

Please charge VEP $12,000 for overhead. This figure is arrived at by taking 4% of a basic $300,000 VEP program.

JW/km

See Sep. 1967

appendix

17

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VEP GRANTS 38

January 1 - December 19, 1967 28

14
2
28

ALABAMA	$ 10,981.00
ARKANSAS	12,724.39
FLORIDA	4,320.00
GEORGIA	30,491.25
LOUISIANA	20,200.37
MISSISSIPPI	44,617.29
NORTH CAROLINA	30,350.00
SOUTH CAROLINA	41,765.60
TENNESSEE	7,657.00
TEXAS	5,000.00
VIRGINIA	17,900.00
OTHER FUNDS	4,500.00
TOTAL	$ 230,506.90

file - VEP.

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
December 28, 1967

1968 ELECTION CALENDAR

STATE	U.S. CONGRESS SENATORS	U.S. CONGRESS REPRESENTATIVES	GOVERNOR	FILING DEADLINE FOR CANDIDATES	REGISTRATION DEADLINE PRIMARY	REGISTRATION DEADLINE GENERAL ELECT.	ELECTION DATES PRIMARY	ELECTION DATES RUN-OFF	ELECTION DATES GENERAL
ALABAMA	Hill	5-D; 3-R	no	March 1	April 27	Oct. 26	May 7	June 4	Nov. 5
ARKANSAS	Fulbright	3-D; 1-R	yes	April 30	July 10	Oct. 16	July 30	Aug. 13	Nov. 5
FLORIDA	Smathers	9-D; 3-R	no	April 2	April 6	Oct. 5	May 7	May 28	Nov. 5
GEORGIA	Talmadge	8-D; 2-R	no	July 26	July 23	Sept. 16	Sept 11	Sept 25	Nov. 5
LOUISIANA (1)	Long, R.	8-D	yes	June 21	July 17	Oct. 5	Aug. 17	Sept 28	Nov. 5
MISSISSIPPI		5-D	no	April 5	May 4	July 2	June 4	June 25	Nov. 5
N. CAROLINA	Ervin	8-D; 3-R	yes	Feb. 23	April 20	Oct. 26	May 4	June 1	Nov. 5
S. CAROLINA	Hollings	5-D; 1-R	no	(2)	May 11	Oct. 12	June 11	June 25	Nov. 5
TENNESSEE		5-D; 4-R	no	June 6	July 2	Oct. 12	Aug. 1		Nov. 5
TEXAS		21-D; 2-R	yes	Feb. 5	Jan. 31	Oct. 1	May 4	June 1	Nov. 5
VIRGINIA		6-D; 4-R	no	April 10	June 8	Oct. 5	July 9	Aug. 13	Nov. 5

(1) Feb. 6, 1968 - General Election for Louisiana state offices. Registration deadline for this: Jan. 6, 1968.

(2) Filing deadline will be two weeks after the second day of state conventions, usually held in March.

1967 ANNUAL REPORT

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director

During 1967, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., funded 122 programs. The number of funded programs exceeded the number supported during 1966 by 16. Programs were financed in all eleven Old South states.

In addition, the Voter Education Project sponsored a wide variety of new programs. Chief among these were the seminar for Negro city councilmen and county officers held at Clark College in July and the institute held in December for elected Negro officeholders in Mississippi.

Thirty-four elected Negro officials from across the South attended the three-day meeting in July. VEP joined with the Center for the Study of Southern Public Policy at Clark College in sponsoring the seminar.

Eighteen of the 22 newly elected Negro officeholders in Mississippi attended the December meeting. The meeting, held at the Downtowner Motor Inn in Jackson, was a historic one, and it attracted considerable attention in Mississippi. Among those attending the two-day institute were Negroes elected to the offices of supervisor, chancery clerk, justice of the peace, constable and legislator. They listened attentively to sessions on such subjects as the duties and responsibilities of their offices, how to serve the people, politics, economics and dealing with the press. The group found that it had a common problem in being bonded to take office, and it sent a telegram to the U. S. attorney general regarding this difficulty. (The officials subsequently were bonded.)

Major voter registration efforts during 1967 came in Mississippi, Virginia, Louisiana and South Carolina, although some voter registration drives were supported in ten of the eleven states. Voter registration was spurred ahead by state-wide elections in the first three states listed above. The

areas selected included some of the most difficult in these states. VEP programs were partly responsible for making it possible for Negroes to win county-level offices in all three states. The list included a legislator in each. Registration programs in South Carolina were tied to that state's re-registration law, which requires all voters to re-register in order to vote in 1968.

Special mention might be made of several registration projects in North Carolina and Georgia. In Charlotte, North Carolina, VEP sponsored its first registration drive through a community anti-poverty agency. In Robeson County (Lumberton), North Carolina, VEP funded a registration drive among Lumbee Indians which added nearly 4,000 names to the voting books. When three counties (Terrell, Lee and Screven) were designated for the first and only federal examiners sent to Georgia, VEP acted immediately and was instrumental in setting up voter registration campaigns in all three counties.

During 1967, VEP helped move two additional state VEPs toward permanent status. The Arkansas and North Carolina Voter Education Projects received funds, elected boards, and employed full-time directors. VEP continued its support of the South Carolina Voter Education Project and assisted SCVEP in obtaining a new director. And a statewide meeting in Baton Rouge supplied the groundwork for organizing a state VEP in Louisiana.

Leadership training received increased attention during 1967. Statewide leadership training meetings were held in North Carolina, South Carolina, Arkansas and Texas. The latter was held through the Texas Leadership Conference, and the other three through state VEPs. Typically, these one-day conferences consisted of general meetings and workshops on such topics as registration, voting, citizenship education, registration and election laws, the role of Negro

officeholders, and the anti-poverty program. Hundreds of Negroes from all corners of these four states attended the leadership conferences.

During 1966 VEP had joined the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund in sponsoring one-day institutes for Negro candidates in South Carolina and Alabama. These institutes had been most useful in enabling Negro candidates to protect themselves against election fraud. In 1967, the institutes for candidates were continued in Mississippi and Louisiana, the latter being the largest such meeting yet held. In each case, Fred Wallace of the Legal Defense Fund was in charge of briefing the candidates.

The Clark College and Mississippi seminars already mentioned were among the more successful and inspiring in which VEP has been involved. These meetings, along with the VEP-sponsored conference in 1966 for Negro legislators, marked the first time that such groups of Negro officeholders had met in the South. (Prior to 1967, of course, there was only one Negro officeholder at the county level in Mississippi, and he was elected in 1966.) As did the meeting of Negro legislators, these seminars provided the base for continuing liaison for the officeholders who attended.

Speakers for the Clark seminar included Bayard Rustin, Miss Marian Wright, Dr. Vivian Henderson, Jack Greenberg, Dr. Samuel D. Cook, and others. On the basis of his experience with these successful programs, the VEP director was asked to participate in planning the national conference of Negro officeholders which was held in late September in Chicago.

Speakers for the Mississippi meeting included Dr. Henderson, Mr. Rustin, Frank Smith, Jack Young, Julian Bond, Horace Ward, Claude Ramsey, Clarence Mitchell, and William Raspberry. Also participating were lawyers from the Legal Defense Fund and members of the VEP staff.

The Voter Education Project supplied $2,000 of the cost of a workshop for Negro school board members which was held in August at Arlie House near Washington. This workshop was planned and conducted by the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, Inc. The Arkansas VEP held a training institute for Negro school board members in that state in November.

Additional emphasis also was placed on citizenship education during 1967. Most of the Mississippi, Louisiana and Virginia registration projects were tied in with citizenship education work on procedures for casting the ballot. The same was true of several registration projects in North Carolina, Georgia and Florida. VEP funded a citizenship education program in Memphis, and $6,000 was allocated to the regional office of the Urban League for citizenship education in Florida and Alabama.

Research grants included Dave Emmons, Holmes County, Mississippi, Charles Webster; Crenshaw County, Alabama, and Dean B. R. Brazeal, a study of registration problems in rural Georgia. Another research grant went to Armstead L. Robinson, a Yale student. His research on Negro life in Memphis during the Reconstruction enabled him to apply successfully for the Scholar of the House program at Yale.

VEP employed nine student interns during the summer, three of whom worked with the Atlanta All-Citizens Registration Committee. For the second year, VEP helped the YWCA sponsor student programs of voter registration during the spring holidays. And as always, young people played important roles in local registration programs funded by VEP across the region. One VEP intern, Miss Patricia Collins, served in the office of Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen. Another, Bernard Parks, served in the office of Mayor Allen and Atlanta Alderman Q. V. Williamson.

VEP publications produced in 1967 were "How To Conduct a Registration Campaign," "Know Your Georgia Government," and a monthly newsletter which started in June. "Know Your Georgia Government," a 24-page booklet containing basic facts about local and state government, was evaluated during the summer in Houston County, Georgia by two VEP student interns. The evaluation provided useful ideas for improving such booklets in the future. Similar booklets are planned in the near future for Mississippi, Virginia and Louisiana, and others will follow as the booklet format is established. Several schools have written for copies of "Know Your Georgia Government." The Watters-Cleghorn book about VEP, "Climbing Jacob's Ladder," was published in November.

With VEP assistance, a second citizenship education film was produced by the Auburn League of Women Voters. Called "Getting To Know Them," the film explained the duties of state and local officials in Alabama. The film was televised in Alabama in August.

The Voter Education Project during 1967 continued to be the primary source of information on voter registration, Negro candidates and Negro officeholders in the South. Several books and national publications requested and received permission to use VEP statistics. The research director collected information and maintained files which enabled him to answer numerous requests from newspapers, news magazines, television networks, writers, college students and professors, civil rights organizations and others. The research director also was responsible for the writing and/or editing of all VEP publications.

In September, the Voter Education Project acquired a full-time field director. He was Weldon Rougeau, a recent graduate of Loyola University of Chicago and a native of

Lake Charles, Louisiana. Mr. Rougeau worked two years as a field secretary for CORE and also carried out assignments for the first Voter Education Project.

During the latter part of the year, the VEP director participated in planning and background work for the Urban Coalition. He was designated for these duties by John Wheeler, president of SRC, who serves on the steering committee for the Urban Coalition. During the early part of the year, Mr. Jordan completed his service on the President's National Advisory Commission on Selective Service. In January, Mr. Jordan visited Israel as one of 12 young Negroes selected for such tours by the American Jewish Committee.

The third year of the current Voter Education Project probably will be its biggest. We sense that the interest of the citizenry will be very high, for in addition to congressional elections and the Presidential election, four Southern states will be electing governors and seven will be electing U. S. senators. Along with this will come county, district, state and national political conventions and the usual wide variety of local elections.

With less than three-fifths of the region's adult Negro population registered at the end of 1967 (as against nearly three-fourths of the whites), VEP's services are expected to be in greater demand than ever next year. Negroes are beginning to enjoy political successes throughout the region, even in such hard-core states as Mississippi and Alabama. There is a growing awareness of political participation as a lever for justice and equal rights. Consequently, there is more interest among Negroes in registering, voting and running.

Institutes for candidates should be held in 1968 in most, if not all, of the states of the Old South. Additional institutes for officeholders also are being planned.

Along with this should come more leadership conferences as a means of developing potential candidates and organizers. We hope to employ more student interns, some to serve with Negro legislators. We will continue to develop citizenship education materials, such as the know-your-government booklets. And we will continue our efforts to organize state VEPs, which can be valuable watchdogs over such processes as political conventions. Finally, we must continue our efforts to get Southern Negroes registered---which is, after all, where political participation begins.

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VEP GRANTS

January 1 - December 19, 1967

ALABAMA	$ 11,518.00
ARKANSAS	12,749.36
FLORIDA	4,320.00
GEORGIA	30,491.25
LOUISIANA	21,200.37
MISSISSIPPI	47,298.42
NORTH CAROLINA	30,350.00
SOUTH CAROLINA	44,891.86
TENNESSEE	7,657.00
TEXAS	5,000.00
VIRGINIA	17,900.00
OTHER FUNDS	4,500.00
TOTAL	$ 237,876,26

ALABAMA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Regional Office, NAACP Birmingham	$ 3,460.00	Voter Registration
Auburn League of Women Voters Auburn	737.00	Citizenship Education
Russell County VEP Seale	500.00	Voter Registration
Pike County Voters League Troy	500.00	Voter Registration
Talladega Improvement Association Talladega	2,321.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Madison County Voters League Huntsville	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Greene County Civic Organization Eutaw	1,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Alabama Council on Human Relations Auburn	500.00	Voter Registration
TOTAL	$ 11,518.00	

ARKANSAS

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Arkansas Voter Education Project Little Rock	$ 11,200.36	Program Development
Arkansas Voter Education Project Statewide Meeting, Camden	1,549.00	Leadership Training
TOTAL	$ 12,749.36	

FLORIDA

Fort Lauderdale Branch, NAACP Fort Lauderdale	$ 2,500.00	Citizenship Education and Voter Registration
Marion County Voters League Ocala	1,820.00	Voter Registration
TOTAL	$ 4,320.00	

GEORGIA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
YWCA (Student Interns) Atlanta	$ 3,027.00	Voter Registration
Screven County VEP Sylvania	1,500.00	Voter Registration
Terrell County VEP Dawson	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Richmond County Branch, NAACP Augusta	500.00	Voter Registration
Houston County (SCLC) Warner Robins	1,800.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
All Citizens Registration Committee Atlanta	3,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Burke County Improvement Association Waynesboro	2,663.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Toombs County VEP Vidalia	1,000.00	Voter Registration
B. R. Brazeal Atlanta	1,201.25	Research
Crisp County VEP Cordele	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Regional Office Urban League Atlanta	6,600.00	Citizenship Education

LOUISIANA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Mansfield Branch, NAACP Mansfield	$ 1,410.00	Voter Registration
Caddo Parish, VEP Shreveport	3,590.37	Voter Registration
New Iberia Branch, NAACP New Iberia	1,000.00	Voter Registration
St. John the Baptist Parish Mount Airy	2,200.00	Voter Registration
New Orleans Youth Council, NAACP New Orleans	1,750.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Community League for Citizenship Education and Voter Registration New Orleans	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Four Parish Voter Education Project Iberville	3,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
East Baton Rouge Parish VEP Baton Rouge	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Madison Parish Voters League Tallulah	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
East Carroll Branch, NAACP Lake Providence	750.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Louisiana Workshop for Candidates Baton Rouge	1,000.00	Leadership Training
TOTAL	$ 21,200.37	

MISSISSIPPI

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Bolivar County VEP Gunnerson	$ 1,920.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Holmes County VEP Tchula	1,985.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Quitman County VEP Marks	1,830.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Sunflower County VEP Ruleville	2,100.44	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Tallahatchie County VEP Glendora	1,790.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Yazoo County VEP Vaughn	1,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Amite County VEP Liberty	1,200.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Issaquena County Voters League Mayersville	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Holmes County Branch, NAACP Lexington	750.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Coahoma County Branch, NAACP Clarksdale	2,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Clay County Community Association West Point	1,001.85	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Carroll County Improvement Association Vaiden	1,020.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Pike County Branch, NAACP McComb	$ 1,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Grenada County Voters League Grenada	2,200.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Warren County Improvement League Vicksburg	1,200.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Civic League of Simpson County Mendenhall	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Sharkey County Improvement Association Anguilla	1,592.80	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Voters League of Jeff Davis County Prentiss	2,050.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Wilkerson County Voter Education League Woodville	2,200.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Hinds County Registration League Jackson	3,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Rankin County Movement Brandon	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Lawrence County Civic League Monticello	1,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Leake County Branch, NAACP Carthage	1,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Lauderdale County VEP Meridian	1,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Forrest County Branch, NAACP Hattiesburg	$ 1,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
North Gulfport Political Action Committee Gulfport	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Clay County West Point	1,020.00	Research
Mississippi Council on Human Relations Jackson	600.00	Voter Registration
Mississippi Institute Jackson	1,088.33	Leadership Training
Dave Emmons	1,250.00	Research
TOTAL	$ 47,298.42	

NORTH CAROLINA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Lumbee Citizens Council Pembroke	$ 4,150.00	Voter Registration
Charlotte Area Fund, Inc. Charlotte	2,000.00	Voter Registration
Greensboro Branch, NAACP Greensboro	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Halifax County Voters Movement Weldon	1,500.00	Voter Registration
North Carolina VEP Durham	13,000.00	Program Development
North Carolina Leadership Training Program (Statewide Meeting) Durham	2,000.00	Leadership Training
Citizens Voter Registration Project Rocky Mount	2,000.00	Voter Registration
Martin County VEP Williamston	1,500.00	Voter Registration
Goldsboro Branch, NAACP Goldsboro	1,200.00	Voter Registration
Bertie County VEP Windsor	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
TOTAL	$ 30,350.00	

SOUTH CAROLINA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
South Carolina VEP Columbia	$ 13,500.00	Program Development
Lee County VEP Bishopville	950.00	Voter Re-registration
Sumter County VEP Sumter	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Greenville County VEP Greenville	2,026.26	Voter Re-registration
Orangeburg County VEP Orangeburg	3,050.00	Voter Re-registration
Laurens County VEP Clinton	1,500.00	Voter Re-registration
Clarendon County VEP Manning	3,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Allendale County VEP Allendale	750.00	Voter Re-registration
Anderson County VEP Anderson	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Darlington County VEP Darlington	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration
South Carolina VEP Leadership Conference (Statewide Meeting) Columbia	3,095.60	Leadership Training
Richland County VEP Columbia	2,000.00	Voter Re-registration

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Charleston Branch, NAACP Charleston	$ 2,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Newberry County VEP Newberry	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Hampton County Branch, NAACP Hampton	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Williamsburg County Voters League Kingstree	2,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Kershaw County Registration Drive Camden	620.00	Voter Re-registration
Abbeville Civic League Abbeville	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration
McCormick Civic League McCormick	900.00	Voter Re-registration
Ridgeville Branch, NAACP Ridgeville	1,400.00	Voter Re-registration
Palmetto State Voters Association Bennettsville	1,500.00	Voter Re-registration
Richland County VEP (Student Program) Columbia	600.00	Student Program
TOTAL	$ 44,891.86	

TENNESSEE

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Nashville Branch, NAACP Nashville	$ 2,592.00	Voter Registration
A. L. Robinson (Student Intern) Memphis	500.00	Research
Ripley Branch, NAACP Ripley	2,000.00	Voter Registration
Memphis Branch, NAACP Memphis	2,565.00	Citizenship Education
TOTAL	$ 7,657.00	

TEXAS*

Texas Leadership Conference (Statewide Meeting) San Marcos	$ 5,000.00	Leadership Training

*Late 1966 registration programs in three Texas counties extended into early 1967 and were, for the most part, 1967 projects.

VIRGINIA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Virginia State Conference, NAACP Richmond	$ 200.00	Leadership Training
Danville VEP (SCLC) Danville	3,300.00	Voter Registration
Lynchburg Voters League Lunchburg	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Galax Branch, NAACP Galax	1,110.00	Voter Registration
Petersburg Improvement Association (SCLC) Petersburg	3,000.00	Voter Registration
New Kent County VEP Quinton	1,050.00	Voter Registration
Amelia County Branch, NAACP Amelia	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Brunswick County League for Progress Lawrenceville	1,175.00	Voter Registration
Richmond Branch, NAACP Richmond	3,495.00	Voter Registration
Powhatan County Branch, NAACP Powhatan	820.00	Voter Registration
Greensville County Branch, NAACP Emporia	1,750.00	Voter Registration
TOTAL	$ 17,900.00	

OTHER

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality	$ 2,000.00	Leadership Training
Law Students Research Council Mississippi	2,500.00	Research
TOTAL	**$ 4,500.00**	

NOTE: VEP 67 - 24 is included in the total of 122 projects, but is not listed because the recipient declined the grant since the registration deadline had passed.

A. Philip Randolph Institute

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file
V.E.P.
(make folder "Jackson Miss Seminar")

file

January 16, 1968

Dear Friend:

As you probably heard, I was recently reported in the New York Times, the Washington Post, and other national newspapers as electioneering for President Johnson at a conference in the South sponsored by the Southern Regional Council. This, let me assure you, is erroneous. I am not endorsing any candidate at this time.

As a result of the reports I have come under severe attacks from different quarters, and therefore I have been at pains to set the record straight.

Enclosed please find copies of correspondence that both myself and Vernon Jordon of the Southern Regional Council have addressed to the New York Times and the Washington Post in reply to the distortion which originated in a UPI dispatch. I have also included my Amsterdam News column on this matter.

You will also find enclosed a copy of the Federationist in which there is a reprint of the COPE speech (beginning on page 12) to which I refer in my letters to the Times and Post.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

BR/mld
Encl.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, JANUARY 12, 1968

Letters to the Editor of The Times

Bayard Rustin's Views

To the Editor:

I was surprised to read in your Dec. 23 issue a U.P.I. dispatch from Atlanta headlined "Rustin Is Urging Vote for Johnson: Suffers Rebuff From Other Negro Rights Leaders." The story purports to be an account of a conference of the Southern Regional Council.

The fact is that the S.R.C. Conference never discussed Presidential endorsements, and I did not express an endorsement of any candidate.

To date the only opinion I have expressed toward the elections is reflected in a speech delivered to the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Committee on Political Education (and reprinted in New South, the magazine published by S.R.C.), in which I said, in part, that the Negro and labor "cannot afford a return to conservative rule, even in its cleaned-up, well-dressed, broad-grinned Madison Avenue varieties."

I further expressed concern that election of a Republican "dove" would result in a "more conservative Congress, with the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition even more firmly in control."

My COPE speech reflects the current state of my opinion. As for endorsing candidates, I repeat that the U.P.I. dispatch is erroneous: the question never arose at the S.R.C. conference. In an election year mind-reading may be an inevitable pastime, but it ought not to pass as news.

BAYARD RUSTIN
Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
New York, Dec. 29, 1967

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News
America's Largest Weekly Newspaper

Reverberation

'I Read The News Today, Oh Boy'

By BAYARD RUSTIN

(Executive Director,
A. Philip Randolph Institute)

The past couple of weeks have, once again, been open season on Rustin. In fact, in a number of respects, it has been an open year. I have not pleased those blacks who believe that this is no time for anyone to concern himself with the problems of jobs, housing, and education for Negroes. And I have not pleased those whites of whom I have asked that the peace movement develop politically feasible strategies for uniting American opinion against the war in Vietnam rather than simply indulging in therapeutic protest.

RUSTIN

I have even, I understand, been listed by one prominent writer as one of those Americans who should not be spoken to in 1968. To say this is neither to boast nor to ocmplain: I am much too old to engage in either enterprise.

But back to the past couple of weeks. My mail has not been favorable, and the voices on the phone have not been happy. All of this has been in response to a UPI dispatch carried in national papers of December 23 to the effect that at a conference in the South I called for the renomination and re-election of President Johnson.

Not True

This is not true.

Item: At no time did that conference go into the matter of presidential endorsements, and at no time did I offer any such endorsement, either of President Johnson or any other candidate.

Item: The southern reporters who heard my speech on December 14 promptly reported it in their morning papers of December 15, and none of them mentioned any electioneering in behalf of President Johnson. The Clarion-Ledger of Jackson, Mississippi, gave front page prominence to the speech under the heading, "Negro Office Holders Attend Sessions Here." The story, written by reporter Lincoln Warren, made no reference to Presidential endorsements.

Item: The same morning's edition of the Commercial Appeal of Memphis, Tennessee, also published a by-lined report of the conference on their front page under the heading, "Negro Officials Given Warning." The only reference to me in that story reads: "Thursday night the group heard an address by Bayard Rustin, executive director of the Randolph Institute."

(Question: Are southern reporters less capable than northern ones of recognizing an important news lead when they hear one? Even at this time of the year, are southern reporters less interested in announcements of presidential endorsements than northern ones?)

Item: Whereas my speech on the night of December 14 was reported in the southern papers on the morning of the 15th, the UPI reporter, assuming he was present, waited until December 22 before filing his report with one of the major national news services.

OH BOY

Was He There

(Question: Was he actually there? Did he actually hear what I said? Or did he piece his report together on the basis of hurried post-conference foraging among people who felt no obligation to report what I had said either responsibly or accurately?)

Item: Contrary to the UPI report that I was rebuffed by Dr. King for the remarks I am purported to have made, I have been told personally by Dr. King that he spoke to no reporter in that connection and that he took no position whatever concerning what went on at the conference.

Let me repeat: To date the only opinion I have expressed toward the elections is reflected in a speech delivered to the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (and reprinted in New South, the magazine published by the Southern Regional Council), in which I said, in part, that the Negro and labor movements "cannot afford a return to conservative rule, even in its cleaned-up, well-dressed, broad-grinned Madison Avenue varieties."

I further expressed concern that the election of a Republican dove could result in "a more conservative congress, with the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition even more firmly in control."

That reflects the current state of my opinion. As for endorsing particular candidates, that is an activity in which the press' interest is and always has been far greater than mine.

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER ... R MONDAY, JANUARY 8, 1968 PAGE A14

"Erroneous" Dispatch

The Washington Post of Dec. 23 carried a UPI dispatch from Atlanta under the heading "Rustin Electioneers for LBJ in the South," which purports to be an account of a speech I made before a recent conference sponsored by the Southern Regional Council. This report must have come as quite a surprise to those who attended the conference and who actually heard what I said. It certainly came as a great surprise to me, for at no time did the conference go into the matter of presidential endorsements and at no time did I issue any such endorsement, whether of President Johnson or any other candidate.

I spoke before the conference on Dec. 14, and, assuming I did issue any such endorsement, I find it strange that a reporter representing a major national news service would have waited until Dec. 22 before filing what indeed would have been an important news story.

To date the only opinion I have expressed toward the elections is reflected in a speech delivered to the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (and reprinted in *New South*, the magazine published by S. R. C.) in which I said, in part, that the Negro and Labor "cannot afford a return to conservative rule, even in its cleaned-up, well-dressed, broad-grinned Madison Avenue varieties."

I further expressed concern that election of a Republican "dove" would result in a "more conservative Congress, with the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition even more firmly in control."

My COPE speech reflects the current state of my opinion. As for endorsing candidates, I repeat that the UPI dispatch is erroneous.

BAYARD RUSTIN,
Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute.
New York.

COPY

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

January 5, 1968

Editor
New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

Dear Sir:

Your issue of December 23, 1967 carried an article by United Press International referring to a meeting of Mississippi Negro officeholders which was sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. Several statements made in the article ought to be cleared up.

1. Mr. Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, was but one of a long list of speakers at the two-day Mississippi meeting, and his reference to the Democratic Party was but a part of a historical and philosophical analysis of the Negro's role in American politics -- an analysis which Mr. Rustin supplied most eloquently.

2. Although the article says Mr. Rustin gave President Johnson "open support," Mr. Rustin did not specifically endorse Mr. Johnson.

We felt that these two points should be made in fairness to Mr. Rustin, who remains a close and valued friend of those of us who are striving to bring long-disfranchised Southern Negroes into the American political process.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

VEJ:nm

NEW FORCES OF URBAN POLITICAL POWER

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director, Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Delivered to:

The Foundations Group
Harmonie Club
New York City
February 20, 1968

One of the great delights of my youth, as I grew up in Atlanta in the country's first public housing project, was the joy of visiting my relatives in the country during the summer. The roadside shanty in West Georgia where my aunt lived was to me a resort, a villa---despite the outdoor toilet, the well water and the cracks in the wall, the ceiling and the floor. There was no place like rural Georgia in the summers of my youth. For in the fresh country air my cousins, my brother and I and the little white boys from the big white house played in the red dirt, kept an eye on the rabbit boxes, and ate heartily my aunt's hot self-rising biscuits and sorghum syrup.

I remember riding there in the "colored" section of the train and waiting to be met in the "colored" section of the tiny, rural railroad station. I remember drinking from the "colored" water tap and going to the back window of the cafe at the county seat on Saturday. These indignities never really bothered me because they were no different from the indignities in Atlanta. I knew that my cousin worked for three dollars a week and two quarts of buttermilk. I knew that in payment for working seven days a week at the big house, my aunt didn't have to pay rent on her shanty. And I thought that telling Mr. Sam's wife at the store to put the candy and drinks I wanted "on the books" was a pretty good deal. I never knew until years later that my aunt could never completely clear the debt and was always owing at the end of the year and at cotton-picking time.

The one thing that I got really mad about, and never accepted, was my aunt's instruction in the summer of 1947 to

call Bobby, one of the white boys at the big house, "Mr. Bobby, now, because Mr. Bobby is twelve years old." I was twelve that year too, but nobody called me "Mr. Vernon." But not even this could keep me from eagerly looking forward to my summers in the country.

But then, after a few summers came a letter written by my aunt to my mother. My aunt explained that she didn't want to stay on Mr. Sam's place any longer. The family owed Mr. Sam great sums of money and was getting deeper in debt with each year and each crop. Cotton and farming wasn't what it used to be. Mr. Sam was looking for work in the county seat for himself, and food was short. My aunt and her family wanted to leave the country and come to the city, but they were afraid to ask Mr. Sam for permission to leave. As it turned out, my brothers and I drove to West Georgia at midnight and sneaked them out under cover of darkness to bring them to the city.

So they came to the city for a better life---for what <u>had</u> to be a better life. But they came uneducated, more than a little frightened, and ill-equipped to deal with the complexities of city life. This is not an uncommon story. It can be told by thousands and thousands of Negroes all over America. My aunt and her family and thousands like them brought something besides their battered luggage to the city. They brought an abiding distrust of white people and their way of manipulating the accounts, a bitterness about the white man's callous manner of dealing with them, and deep scars left by the experience of being driven from the land. Such experiences are not soon forgotten. Their misfortunes and their bitterness are being passed along to generations who don't know what a rabbit box or an outhouse or a cotton crop or a country store look like.

So my aunt and the other black people of America moved to the city. They are still moving. Some are coming to the cities because of drive and ambition and the search for a

better quality of life. Many are being pushed off the land by new farm techniques and, sometimes, by spiteful landowners. With their movement, black people are reshaping the nation's cities and the nation's politics.

But when my aunt and others have left the land and the small towns and the tightly run citadels of resistance and degradation and have fled to the cities, what do they find? They find, to a certain extent, more freedom and, perhaps, fewer overt insults and less constant oppression. In some respects, however, life in the cities is as bad and in many respects it is worse.

Life in American cities is becoming increasingly crowded and chaotic. As an article in the Los Angeles Times recently put it, our cities are "unplanned and unmanageable, unsafe and unhealthy, overcrowded and underfinanced." But to the urban poor---and particularly the black poor---these are abstractions. In the daily press, we read about the problems of air pollution, congested freeways, and overloaded airports. We read about water pollution, inadequate tax base, and the need for rapid transit systems. As real and pressing as these problems are, the problems facing the poor are even more real and pressing---hunger, disease, filth, unemployment, inhumane police, crowded schools, and inadequate housing. For many of the poor, in short, the problem is survival.

Urban Negroes are increasingly finding that an effective weapon for meeting this problem is political participation and the vote. Sometimes the realization comes slowly, but I believe that it now is coming at a rapid accelerating rate.

The Negro vote in the North emerged as an important political force in the presidential election of 1944. It

was in this year that the new Negro votes in Northern cities made the presidency especially responsive to the interests and demands of Negroes.

In the South, meanwhile, Negroes were just getting the right to vote, and that plays an important part in our story.

Just after World War II, only a half-million Negroes were registered to vote in the 11 states of the Old Confederacy. Today the figure is more than three million, or 60 per cent of the Negro voting age population.

These new Negro votes in the South, like Negro votes in the Northern cities, are making themselves felt in national elections. A post-election study by the Southern Regional Council in 1964 showed that the Negro vote made the difference in the presidential outcome in five Southern states. As it turned out, Mr. Johnson was not exactly in desperate need of more electoral votes. Nevertheless, the demonstration of Negro voting strength in the South was there for all to see. In the five Southern states carried by Sen. Goldwater, Negro registration was either below or barely equal to the average for the region. In other words, as might have been expected, the senator carried those states in which Negro registration was the lowest.

The greatest gains in Negro registration in the last several years have come in these states covered by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Under the Act, Negro registration in Alabama has more than doubled. There also have been significant gains in Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia. But nowhere has the leap forward been as dramatic as that in Mississippi. From a pitifully low Negro registration figure of eight per cent, Mississippi Negroes have jumped in just two and a half years to a registration figure of nearly 60 per cent.

I am sure I will surprise you when I tell you that Mississippi no longer is at the bottom of the ladder in Negro registration and that this dubious distinction now belongs to North Carolina with a Negro registration just over 50 per cent. There are more than 30 counties in North Carolina covered by the Voting Rights Act, but thus far the Justice Department has not seen fit to send in federal examiners.

I mentioned presidential races, but I could cite dozens of elections in which the Southern Negro vote has been decisive in the last several years.

For the first time since Reconstruction, Negroes serve in legislatures in six of the 11 Southern states. There is a total now of 23 Negro legislators in the South.

But this barely scratches the surface in describing the extent to which Negroes are gaining political office and political strength in the South. There are nearly 250 elected Negro officials in the South today, and the number is growing steadily. The list of elected officials includes 22 Negroes in Mississippi of whose victories you probably read in November. And just the other day, an additional 35 were elected in Louisiana.

The first big push by Negro voters in the South came in urban areas. It was in the cities that Negroes could register to vote without being put off the land or getting a not-so-friendly visit from the sheriff. To the extent that any Negroes could pay the poll taxes and meet the literacy tests and overcome the other discriminatory barriers erected by Southern registration laws, it was, by and large, urban Negroes. Hence there is hardly a major city in the South today in which Negroes do not constitute an important political force. Often, the Negro vote can be decisive. As

whites move out and Negroes move in, Negro voting strength becomes stronger.

To be sure, sometimes there is difficulty persuading the urban Negro in the South to go to the polls. But this is not always the case. Very often it depends on who is running and what the issues are. Just recently the conservative Richmond News Leader complained that whereas only 63 per cent of the white registration in that city voted last November, 73 per cent of the Negro registration voted. A bit reluctantly, no doubt, The News Leader concluded that "the administration of local affairs rightfully belongs to those who go to the polls come election time."

But as important as the urban Negro vote is, even more stirring developments are taking place in the oft-forgotten rural areas of the South. It is in these areas that the civil rights struggle is most fierce and most hazardous. It is in these areas that the road to political participation is most difficult and most dangerous. Only one of the 23 Negro legislators in the South comes from a rural area. Nevertheless, many seemingly minor but locally significant offices are being won in rural areas.

West Feliciana Parish in Louisiana provides as good an illustration as any I know of. A little over four years ago, not a single Negro was registered in this small parish, although well over half the parish population is Negro. Now more than 2,000 Negroes are registered in this parish, thanks to three things---civil rights activity, the Voting Rights Act and grants from the Voter Education Project. And last November, six Negroes were elected to parish offices in West Feliciana Parish. This is a picture which is gradually beginning to emerge from some of the rural areas in the South where some of the worst racist oppression has taken place. In a few minutes, I plan to tell you what meaning this rural

activity has for the cities, North as well as South.

Thus far, I have attempted to identify two important new forces in the politics of urban America: the Negro voter and the Negro officeholder. Of course, we have had some elements of each of these forces for many years. But now we have both in large numbers, and each constitutes a major urban political force.

There is a third new force which ought to be mentioned. It is the community, or indigenous, organization. I have in mind particularly those neighborhood organizations set up under the anti-poverty program. Others are being organized, publicly or privately, to deal with some special neighborhood need related to ghetto life.

Very rapidly, these community organizations have learned that their demands, no matter how legitimate, generally must be backed with political muscle. They are learning that political participation is a route to justice and the realization of their aspirations. Thus these community organizations quite frequently have political awareness as a major emphasis.

Mayors, county bosses and backward-looking politicians are not unaware of this fact. This explains a great deal of the political opposition to the poverty program. It explains Congress' desire to tack on the Green Amendment and other crippling restrictions designed to check the poverty program's thrust in the direction of political participation on the part of the nation's poor.

Hence, the survival of this new force in the urban political process depends to a degree on how well the poverty program survives. At this point, one would have to say that outlook is unencouraging---perhaps even bleak.

I could mention reapportionment as another new urban

political force. Indeed it was reapportionment that made possible the election of 11 Negroes to the Georgia Legislature. And reapportionment is making legislatures, previously almost totally rural in outlook, at least slightly more responsive to the needs of cities. But reapportionment also has made possible the election of suburban conservatives and reactionaries as well as urban progressives. As a result of reapportionment 20 new members of Congress were elected from suburbs of big cities in 1966. Only five of these new members voted against the drastic curtailment of funds for the Model Cities program. So this force, if we define it as one, moves simultaneously in differing and offsetting directions.

Having identified the new forces of urban political power, the question next becomes what are the problems inherent in making these forces effective. More specifically, how can these forces be made vehicles for meeting the needs of the urban poor and, particularly, the Negro poor?

If these are truly forces to be reckoned with, then there is bound to be conflict over who will lead them. Such conflict rages continually among urban Negroes today. Just a decade or so ago---and I speak especially of Southern cities, which I know best---a handful of Negroes made all the decisions for the black people of the community. Generally, these were in the city's better educated and more successful Negroes. In a word, they were middle-class. In almost every city today, these ruling cliques no longer make all the decisions. In city after city, their power has diminished drastically in the space of a few years. No longer are they the sole consultants for city hall.

The first direct challenge of the old leaders came from the student protesters in the sit-in movement. Nowadays the challenges come from the community organizations I mentioned

earlier. These "grassroots" organizations are demanding a share in the decision-making and a place in neogtiations with city hall and the city's white power groups, such as chambers of commerce.

These conflicts over leadership do not lend themselves to unanimity among urban Negroes. But neither do the times nor the issues. No longer, usually, is the issue simply black vs. white. And objectives are not as easily defined as they were when the target was desegregation of lunch counters and public accommodations. Today the city-wide Negro leadership may be pushing for jobs, housing and better education. But the indigenous organizations may be more interested in paved streets, playgrounds, street lights and better police protection.

An unending battle rages between Negro conservatives and more militant leaders whom we might describe as Young Turks. But even the latter are having to prove their intention and their capacity to lead to the more radical and less rational Black Power advocates. City hall and the chamber of commerce only make the situation more difficult with their seemingly irresistible temptation to brand one leadership group or the other as being "responsible." Black Power groups cannot be excluded from the leadership. There is a tremendous emotional response among Negroes to their position. So black leaders today must be responsive to a wide range of opinion within the black community. The role is not an easy one to fill.

Another problem confronting the new forces of urban politics is alignment or non-alignment with some of the old urban forces. In some parts of the country, urban Negro voters have allied themselves with upper middle-class and power structure whites to elect moderate but cautious white officials. There are strong signs that the burgeoning Negro

vote is ready to reject these alliances, which always were undependable anyway.

No longer will Negro voters be willing to align themselves with those who seek Negro support in the election of a mayor and congressman and then instruct those mayors and congressmen to vote against Negro positions on such issues as open housing and the location of public housing units. In short, the alliance with wealthy whites---which has existed in some Southern cities---has proved too much a one-way street to suit the growing Negro vote.

Neither can labor be counted upon as a regular ally. Negroes are looking with increasing suspicion at the discriminatory practices of many unions. They are looking with increasing suspicion, too, at paper coalitions formed with labor leadership a few weeks before the labor fellowship goes out to vote for the racist candidate. There is a growing awareness among Negro leaders that this sort of thing happens more often than it should.

Lest you think that I overstate the case against labor, let me tell you about a meeting at which I spoke just a few days ago. This was a regional meeting of up-and-coming young prospective labor leaders from Southern states. At this meeting a presidential poll was taken. The results revealed that the front-runner was not Johnson, not McCarthy, not Nixon, and not Romney. It was, instead, none other than the de facto governor of Alabama, George Wallace. When I spoke, I found out that the poll accurately reflected the sentiments of these young white union men, and I am quite sure that the prejudices run just as deep, if not deeper, among the rank-and-file in the locals back home. Urban Negro voters have more than ample reason to be wary in their dealings with labor.

On the other hand, it is clear that Negroes cannot in most cases win by "going it alone." Alliances and coalitions are undoubtedly necessary. Yet they cannot be as tenuous, uncertain and unrewarding as in the past.

Still another problem confronting the new forces of urban politics is the problems these forces have with each other. I speak now about the relations between Negro officeholders and Negro voters.

Every officeholder must try to remain on good terms with his constituency. But for Negro officeholders today, this basic political task is doubly difficult. There is a strong feeling among some American Negroes today that the entire "system" is corrupt, and that this means each and every officeholder, whether black or white. Often the Negro officeholder becomes a favorite target of abuse from the very people who elected him. Whether fairly or unfairly, his constituents expect him to deliver tangible benefits. If he does not deliver, and pretty fast and often, he is assumed to be a "sell-out."

Even the Negro candidate for Congress in southwest Mississippi, Charles Evers, is viewed with suspicion by some Mississippi Negroes. When candidate Evers went to predominantly Negro Tougaloo College a few days ago, he encountered hostile questions. It seems that Mr. Evers was accused of being something of an Uncle Tom because he chose to run for Congress. He was reprimanded for saying that he would strive to represent all the people of the district.

From the standpoint of the Negro voter, it must be said that some of the suspicion about Negro officeholders is understandable. There have been enough Negro officeholders who have been guilty of Uncle Tomism to make Negro voters wary of them all. Very often the Negro officeholder walks

a booby-trapped path, with enemies of both colors waiting in ambush on all sides. Usually he must sit at the table with white officeholders of equal and higher ranks. But the very act of sitting down at the table seems to cost him support among some Negro voters. We may find more and more Negro officeholders going out of their way to get criticized by white politicians. There is nothing like an attack by white interests to repair one's fences among Negro voters.

The Negro officeholder must have some victories in the councils of government to carry back to his constituents. He must produce legislative and policy concessions that go to the heart of ghetto problems, or his days in office are numbered. Such victories also are needed as antidotes to the frustration and disillusionment that lead to urban violence.

Another problem facing the new forces in urban politics is the movement toward metropolitan government and city-county merger. There is a great hue and cry today for consolidation of local government units to provide a broader and more effective base for meeting our multiplying urban problems. This also is a means of recapturing for the city well-to-do whites who have moved to the suburbs for a variety of reasons---among them the desire to escape taxes, responsibility and Negroes. There is much to be said for the trend toward consolidation in local government.

At the same time, this trend poses a threat to the new forces of urban political power that we have been talking about. Generally, the result is a dilution of Negro voting strength. Sometimes it sounds almost like a form of gerrymandering designed to prevent the rise of Negroes in local politics. There is a joke now to the effect that Atlanta will extend its borders to Macon, 90 miles away, if it will prevent the election of a Negro mayor. Three Southern cities ---Miami, Nashville and Jacksonville---have forms of metropolitan government. I must confess some misgivings about this

approach if it means blunting the forces for change and reform.

Likewise, Negroes should be on guard against another "good government" device often pushed in the cities, and that is citywide or areawide elections as opposed to district elections. District election is a major reason why Georgia alone has nearly half of the Negro legislators now serving in the South. Areawide and at-large elections usually mean fewer Negroes at the tables of government.

The community groups and indigenous organizations that I talked about are groping to maximize their effectiveness and to bring needed programs to their community.

Yet, they are relatively inexperienced in government and public affairs, especially in the South, and there is much they need to know. They need to know how to best relate their new political strength to bread-and-butter issues. The tremendous enthusiasm of the new indigenous groups must be matched with technical political skills and know-how, information and research, and an understanding of the nature and functions of government. These groups need an investment of resources and people to help them help themselves.

The leaders of the indigenous groups today are those who yesterday were inspired by the bands of youth in the South who preached to them the gospel of political participation. Having inspired them, and having led them thus far in the political process, the idealistic students of the early sixties have largely abandoned their unlettered but courageous friends of the cotton fields and the slums at a time when they are most needed. Indeed the greatest hope for the masses of Negroes rests with the young, educated, new Negro middle-class. They are needed as community organizers, proposal writers, lawyers, doctors, welfare specialists and the like.

I said earlier that Negro political success in the

South, whether in rural areas or urban areas, influences the solution of urban problems, including those of Northern cities. This is so because rurally oriented Southern conservatives are the quickest to vote against any congressional proposal that has to do with the plight of the cities. Moreover, these Couthern conservatives command key congressional committees that can kill or cripple legislation designed to help the cities. In the past these Southern conservatives have relied on white voting blocs to retain office. The future of these Southern conservatives is decided periodically in dusty crossroads towns that Manhattan never heard of. Thet is why, if I make myself clear, 260,000 Negro voters in Mississippi can have a lot to say about what happens in Harlem, Watts and Hough.

I began this talk by telling how my aunt moved from a rural county to the city. Despite the disappointments and rigors of urban life, she, like most Negro Americans, has not lost faith in America, nor hope for solving the nation's racial problems. She is among those Negro Americans referred to in two recent polls of Negro opinion. The polls reveal the Negro's abiding faith in himself and his country.

The question, however, is whether or not her children and grandchildren will inherit and hold on to her faith and her hope. I say this because their faith and hope are shattered almost daily, as must have been the case in Orangeburg, the children and grandchildren of those who came to the city for a better quality of life remember that they could not bowl in the local alley because they are black. Some are proclaiming that if they could not bowl at the bowling alley, they cannot go to Vietnam. They hear the mayor saying that Orangeburg's race relations are as good as any city's in the nation. They see the governor telling the nation that Black Power was

the cause of it all. And they witness Henry Smith, a fellow student, shot, dragged off campus, slugged with billy clubs, struck by a gun butt, dying by gasping, "You can hit me, but you can't hurt me no more."

So black youths in the ghetto are asking, "Keep WHAT faith, baby?"

The democratic political process can restore that faith and renew that hope. Whether it will or not remains to be seen.

File
V. E. P.

March 8, 1968

Mr. T. Connor Spigelmire
336 Broadmoor Road
Baltimore, Maryland 21212

Dear Mr. Spigelmire:

Your letter of February 23, 1968 has been passed along to me for reply. I am sorry to say that our election statistics for Texas are not as detailed as would be necessary to meet your request. For precinct-by-precinct returns, you would have to write to the secretary of state of Texas. Even then, you might find that the returns do not go below the county level.

Likewise, we do not have registration figures by precinct for Texas. Also, Texas no longer registers voters by race. In past years we have made statewide estimates, which we believe to be reasonably accurate, and I am enclosing a table showing our latest estimate. I am also enclosing Xeroxed copies of both official and unofficial figures relating to registration by county in Texas. You will find figures on voting age population for Texas by county in a report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Information Center called "Registration and Voting Statistics" which was issued March, 1965 in Washington, D. C. I am enclosing a booklet called "The Negro and the Ballot in the South" which also may be helpful. An excellent story on the current Texas registration situation appeared in the Los Angeles Times on December 31, 1967.

You may encounter some difficulty getting election statistics by precinct for Texas. You will encounter still greater difficulty getting registration figures by precinct. In any event I would be very interested in seeing the results of your study. With our necessarily limited resources we stand ready to help you in any way possible.

Best wishes,

Marvin Wall
Director of Research
Voter Education Project

MW:mlj
Enclosure

cc: Paul Anthony

P. S. I urge you to take a look at a book on voter registration in the South by Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorn. The title of the book is "Climbing Jacob's Ladder."

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY, MARCH 31, 1968
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(404) 577-3796 or 522-8764

Formation of a Louisiana Voter Education Project, with William H. Samuel Jr. of Plaquemine as director, was announced Saturday.

The Louisiana VEP, which has been in the planning stages for several months, was formed officially at a meeting held March 14 in Baton Rouge.

Chairman of the Louisiana VEP is Nils Douglas, prominent New Orleans attorney. Acie J. Belton of Baton Rouge and Eric L. Armstrong of Lake Providence are vice chairmen. Alphonse Jackson of Shreveport is secretary,

Dr. Jewel Prestage of Baton Rouge is treasurer, and Louis Berry of Alexandria is legal counsel.

These officers and 12 other prominent Louisiana Negro leaders are the new organization's steering committee. Permanent officers and a board of directors will be elected later.

The Louisiana VEP is the fourth such statewide organization formed with assistance from the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. The first was formed several years ago in South Carolina, followed in 1966 and 1967 by others in Arkansas and North Carolina.

The statewide VEPs bring together various civil rights and community groups in a single non-partisan organization working on programs of voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training. Local funds are raised to supplement grants from the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Samuel, director of the new Louisiana VEP, is 40 years old. Since last June, he has been president of the influential Iberville Industrial Voters League. Before resigning to run unsuccessfully for clerk of court last year, Samuel worked for a year as assistant director of LeMoyne Community Action, Inc., which is Iberville Parish's anti-poverty agency. Last summer Samuel administered the Four-Parish Voter Education Project, which operated in Iberville, Pointe Coupee, West Baton Rouge, and West Feliciana parishes with assistance from the Voter Education Project of SRC.

Born in the town of Plaquemine, Iberville Parish, Samuel served 20 years in the Army. He retired in 1966 with the rank of staff sergeant, having spent tours of duty in Germany, Japan, and Korea. A high school graduate, Samuel recently was enrolled in freshman studies at Southern University.

Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, and

Weldon Rougeau, VEP field director, met with Louisiana Negro leaders at the Baton Rouge organizational meeting. Office of the Louisiana VEP will be in Plaquemine.

In addition to the officers, steering committee members of the Louisiana VEP are:

The Rev. J. H. Scott, Lake Providence; Dr. Louis C. Pendleton, Shreveport; Jesse N. Stone, Shreveport; Murhpy W. Bell, Baton Rouge; J. K. Haynes, Baton Rouge; Robert Thompson, Clinton; Alfred E. Mitchell, Plaquemine; Emmitt J. Douglas, New Roads; Marion Overton White, Opelousas; the Rev. Gilbert Harrison Sr., Alexandria; Rep. Ernest N. Morial, New Orleans; and William W. Harleaux, Plaquemine.

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., supports projects of voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training in the 11 Southern states.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit non-partisan organization of white and Negro Southerners

formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

File Copy

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

WINTER-SPRING 1968

STATE	WHITE VAP*	NEGRO VAP	WHITE REGISTERED	% WHITE VAP REGISTERED	NEGRO REGISTERED	% NEGRO VAP REGISTERED	% BLACK
ALABAMA	1,353,058	481,320	1,119,000	82.7	271,000	56.3	19.5
ARKANSAS	850,643	192,626	616,000	72.4	121,000	62.8	16.4
FLORIDA	2,617,438	470,261	2,194,000	83.8	293,000	62.3	11.8
GEORGIA	1,797,062	612,910	1,450,000	80.6	334,000	54.5	19.1
LOUISIANA	1,289,216	514,589	1,122,000	87.0	301,000	58.5	21.1
MISSISSIPPI	748,266	422,256	655,000	88.9	264,000	62.5	28.4
N. CAROLINA	2,005,955	550,929	1,555,000	77.5	293,000	53.2	15.8
S. CAROLINA	895,147	371,873	567,000	63.3	183,000	49.3	24.4
TENNESSEE	1,779,018	313,873	1,434,000	80.6	225,000	71.7	13.6
TEXAS	4,884,765	649,512	3,532,000	72.3	540,000	83.1	13.2
VIRGINIA	1,876,167	436,720	1,200,000	63.9	247,000	56.6	17.1
TOTALS	20,096,735	5,016,100	15,454,000	76.9	3,072,000	61.2	16.6

*VAP = Voting Age Population

1960 -- 10.7

Free vol 1968

attach Haas ltr. of June 10

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FIFTH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT

June 14, 1968

GRIFFIN B. BELL
CIRCUIT JUDGE
P. O. BOX 845
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30301

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Director, Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

You have shown me a copy of a letter dated June 10, 1968 from Joseph F. Haas, Esq. to you regarding my request that you and the Southern Regional Council assist our court in connection with the implementation of the Federal Jury Selection and Service Act of 1968. I regret that he has declined our request.

We were not seeking the help of the Southern Regional Council except in the sense that we were asking your help as an expert and you are, of course, directly affiliated with the Council. We needed some enlightment on the percentage of disparity which might be tolerated. I have discussed this problem with you but in the end that question remains for the judgment of the court. It must be settled in the confines of what the Act requires and also within Federal constitutional standards if it be determined that the Constitution imposes standards more restrictive than the Act.

What we really needed and this is where your expertise was considered almost indispensable, was some advice with respect to reducing percentages of voter registration in those non-growth counties where the voter registration lists have not been purged. As you know there are a good many facts and factors available on which to base an expert opinion. We have sought the help of the United States Civil Rights Commission and of the Justice Department in this regard but to no avail. We have also been advised that the Census Bureau cannot assist us.

We are left in the position that no expert help is available and therefore we expect to proceed to do our duty as the law imposes a duty upon us. This task will now largely rest on such expertise and good judgment as may exist amongst the members of our court and the district judges of the respective districts in the Fifth Circuit whose jury lists are under consideration.

Your advise and counseling to date is much appreciated. In fact, it has been invaluable and I convey the thanks of our court to you and to the Council for it and for preparing the voter registration data for us.

Yours sincerely,

Griffin B. Bell

Griffin B. Bell

GBB:fc

HAAS, HOLLAND, FREEMAN, LEVISON & GIBERT

HERBERT J. HAAS (1905-1953)

JOSEPH F. HAAS
J. KURT HOLLAND
RICHARD C. FREEMAN
S. JARVIN LEVISON
ROBERT H. WALLING
HUGH W. GIBERT
RICHARD N. HUBERT

EDWARD L. GREENBLATT
RICHARD D. FLEXNER
DAVID F. ROCK*
ROSE M. SCHREIBER

*D. C. BAR ONLY

LAW OFFICES
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ATLANTA, GA. 30303

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AREA CODE 404

See V.E.F.

Cr. ref. Board - Mr. Foss

Has information request from Judge Griffin Bell relative to disparity between the c/o of registered Negro & white voters

June 10, 1968

COPY

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon:

You have advised me that Judge Griffin Bell has asked that the Southern Regional Council provide him with certain information for use in connection with the implementation of the Federal Jury Selection Act. Specifically he asked that (1) the Council give figures showing the true percentage of white registered voters in each county in the 5th Circuit, which, in the 1967 elections, showed more registered white voters than the 1960 white voting age population figures indicated were resident in the counties, and (2) that the Council designate the degree of disparity between the percentage of registered Negro and white voters, which would warrant the Court (as provided in Section _____ of the Act) using other figures than registered voters in determining fair jury selection.

Both you and the Council should be flattered by the expression of confidence implicit in the Judge's request for guidance on such an important situation. However, this confidence has been earned by many years of scrupulous adherence by the Council to the principle that no factual information should be furnished unless it is supported by thorough and careful research. I understand that the Council itself has no figures which show the white voter age population in each county in the 5th Circuit nor is the Council aware of any source which could provide a basis for any reliable figures. Whatever skepticism the Council may have about the reality of the disparity between white voter age population in 1960 and the

COPY

white voter registration in 1967, is based upon general knowledge that there has been great mobility of both Negroes and whites into and out of many counties and upon the apparent anomaly of a county showing more registered voters than reported voter age population. But this skepticism is not a substitute for research and the conclusion reached is based largely upon logic rather than facts. It would therefore be inconsistent with the Council's justly earned reputation for factual integrity, and it would be unfair to the Court or the judges, to give them less than a factually based conclusion. I think, therefore, that the Council cannot conscientiously produce the figures which Judge Bell asked for.

The determination of that disparity, which would authorize the Court to resort to other sources than voter registration for jury selection, is essentially a value judgment based upon fundamental concepts of constitutional government and of what constitutes a fair trial under the constitution. Ultimately, it would seem that the Supreme Court will determine this, based upon evidence which it finds credible and persuasive. While we at the Council may have an opinion, it would, at least at this point, not be based upon research. In any event, it would appear that no staff member should take it upon himself to speak for the Council and that before any recommendation is made, the Executive Committee of the Council, or perhaps the Board itself, should have an opportunity to consider what the staff believes are the determining factors and then make a final determination and recommendation based thereon.

Therefore, I believe that you must regretfully advise Judge Bell that you cannot speak for the Council on these important questions, and that the Council itself is not now able to respond to his request.

Very truly yours,

JOSEPH F. HAAS

JFH/sv

Route 1, Box 485
West Columbia, S.C.
August 26, 1968

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I think, in reply to your letter of August 20, that your assumption of how county voter education projects are funded is incorrect.

I do not need any explanation from Vernon Jordon about the points raised in my previous letter. The damage has already been done, and most of the summer lost. The project here in this county has in good faith incurred in minimum but necesary expenses(office, ty pewriter,etc.) to keep the work going after the first project ended, and is now in debt.

My only purpose in writing was to get an investigation of how funds were being used by the Atlanta VEP office, and to do that just leave me out of it. If you need evidence of what I wrote, please contact R.C. Jones, 522 Parson St., West Columbia, S.C. Tel. 803-794-7591.

Thanks for your attention.

Sincerely,

George

Geo. A. Bowdler

Bring up on V/O return

August 20, 1968

Mr. George Bowdler
Route 1, Box 485
West Columbia, South Carolina

Dear George:

Vernon Jordan, the director of our Voter Education Project, is away on vacation until the end of the month. Immediately on his return you will hear from him about the information in your letter of August 17th.

While we do, of course, continue to have strong interest in voter registration work in South Carolina, it has been my assumption that the South Carolina Voter Education Project was our main instrument there and that that group established its priorities and funded programs largely through an annual grant made by us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. John H. Wheeler

Route 1, Box 485
West Columbia, S.C.
August 17, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Sou thern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

You may recall that we were together on a number of occasions in meetings connected with the S. C. Council on Human Relations when I was a project director hired by Alice Spearman in 1964-65. Later on I went to work with the Durham, N.C., Operation Breakthrough community action agency where Mr. John H. Wheeler and I had lengthy conversations on more than one occasion. I mention all this simply to establish personal contact and to emphasize the sincere interest and concern I have for the Voter Education Project, in which I have participated and continue to do so as a volunteer both with the Orangeburg County project (while in Orangeburg as a Claflin College faculty member) and in the Westside Improvement League project(Lexington County, S.C.) as a resident and voter.

I am somewhat aware of the situation in South Carolina as regards VEP both as to the finances(cognizant of the fact that S.C. has not yet raised its state-wide assesment) and as to personnel, in that James Felder in my opinion is providing a much needed leadership in this field; we can ill afford to lose him. I am not so well acquainted with the staff of VEP in Atlanta, so that there is nothing personal in what I am about to say about the administration of VEP funds as seen from the vantage point of one of the "workers" at the grass roots level(I have recently been taking some of the slim su mmer funds in my own pocket to take hig h school stu dents on voter survey an d registration drives house to house in West Columbia, Cayce, an d Lexington.

My complaint centers about the admin istration of funds from the Atlanta VEP office. A small grant for Lexington County, S.C. where I am involved was approved early this year. Somehow, because it was listed under the name of Westside Imorovement League of West Columbia, the grant was two months or so late in arriving(it ran for five weeks beginning April 8, when it finally got here) then the payments for these five weeks were spread out until sometime in July in spite of the fact that all the reports were sent in on time during the five weeks and some 1200 or more voters were registered during that period though the first week could not be counted because of a curfew in the greater Columbia area and its restrictions on travel and meetings. A renewal proposal has been in Atlanta since the end of June so that registration and voter education workshops could be continued in Lexington and Calhoun counties right up to the deadline this fall. As yet we have not even received a letter from Atlanta VEP to my knowledge concerning the renewal proposal. We were told by some of the S.C. leaders that we could not expect any more funds from VEP until our county assesment has been raised, that this was policy out of ATLANTA and S. C. had been remiss in securing its "matching" funds"-- all of which is or may be partially true, but if this is the case then what we have here isa re-run of bureaucratic government policy which rewards counties that have raised money with grants; those counties that are too poor or lacking in leadership(as in Lexington County's case) to raise money, will get no money even if the people are willing to work as we are and cannot because of the lack of even travel expense to continue the registration and voter workshop efforts. I assure you that my only interest in all t his is to help the dispossessed minority people in this county acquire some political power and get some things changed here. Please look in to this and help us get action.

Sincerely,

Geo. Bowler

CC: Mr. John H. Wheeler

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SPRING-SUMMER, 1968

STATE	WHITE VAP*	NEGRO VAP	WHITE REGISTERED	% WHITE VAP REGISTERED	NEGRO REGISTERED	% NEGRO VAP REGISTERED	% NEGRO
ALABAMA	1,353,058	481,320	1,117,000	82.5	273,000	56.7	19.6
ARKANSAS	850,643	192,626	640,000	75.2	130,000	67.5	16.9
FLORIDA	2,617,438	470,261	2,195,000	83.8	292,000	62.1	11.7
GEORGIA	1,797,062	612,910	1,524,000	84.7	344,000	56.1	18.4
LOUISIANA	1,289,216	514,589	1,133,000	87.9	305,000	59.3	21.2
MISSISSIPPI	748,266	422,256	691,000	92.4	251,000**	59.4	26.6
N. CAROLINA	2,005,955	550,929	1,579,000	78.7	305,000	55.3	16.2
S. CAROLINA	895,147	371,873	587,000	65.6	189,000	50.8	24.5
TENNESSEE	1,779,018	313,873	1,448,000	81.3	228,000	72.6	13.6
TEXAS	4,884,765	649,512	3,532,000	72.3	540,000	83.1	13.2
VIRGINIA	1,876,167	436,720	1,256,000	67.0	255,000	58.4	16.9
TOTALS	20,096,735	5,016,100	15,702,000	78.1	3,112,000	62.0	16.5
						1964 --	13.2

* VAP = Voting Age Population

** Corrects mathematical error in previous table.

September 26, 1968

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Director, Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon,

I wanted to report our recent conversation about the proposals submitted to you by MASLC and the League of Women Voters of Atlanta & Fulton County, to Fran Parham, LWV president, and I thought the best way would be to write you a report of what I understand your answers to be and ask that you correct any inaccuracies.

We submitted a joint proposal for 3 projects, (plus an evaluation project) each of which could be implemented separately but all related to the premise that lack of voting reflects confusion over the process of voting and/or confusion over the issues in any given election.

Our general division of labor between MASLC and the LWV would be political substance and expertise to LWV and involvement of community to MASLC, a unique and we believe important combination, and a "first" for Atlanta.

My understanding of your response to the proposals is as follows:

1. It is too late.

2. You did agree to review the proposal for community leadership training in political education in January but said "this does not promise fundin".

3. You do not plan to fund any more projects in Atlanta at this time.

4. Funding of MASLC for a project would expose VEP to a charge of "partisanship" or taking sides in the local scene. (If this refers to the two "summit" groups, my recollection is that the All Citizens Registration Committee is an affiliate of the Summit Leadership Conference. Certainly no one could object to your funding of a voter registration program through that committee, but it could be argued that this would strengthen our proposal!).

I am writing Mrs. Parham to suggest that we submit these same proposals to the LWV Education Fund. The experience in the primary certainly indicates a crying need for education on the voting process and leadership training in political education, and the "registration for the general election" campaign could be revised to a get-out-the vote campaign for the general election.

We are disappointed that it has not been possible for you to help with these proposals. They were prepared by a bi-racial committee, which makes them fairly historic, and would provide opportunities for using the talents and resources of groups which complement each other and which traditionally have not made up a working team.

Sincerely,

Eliza Paschall

cc: Mrs. L. Glenn Parham, pres. LWV of Atlanta-Fulton Co.
Mr. Paul Anthony, Exec. Director, SRC
Mr. Jesse Hill, Chrm., Advisory Comm, VEP

MEMORANDUM October 9, 1968

To: Ruth H. Vick

From: Paul Anthony

For the current year, for VEP overhead, please take 3% of the first $400,000 contributed to that project.

SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION AND DEFENSE FUND FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.
164 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016
(212) 532-8216

file

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1968

October 9, 1968

Mr. Vernon Jordan, Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon:

The following is the summary of our telephone conversation today which I agreed to send you:

The Voter Education Project has been holding state-wide conferences and has held one south-wide conference of elected officials. VEP would continue to hold such conferences as they considered appropriate. SEDFRE would undertake not to hold state-wide conferences of elected officials in the South or a southern regional conference of elected officials.

SEDFRE would continue to hold national conferences of elected officials and might, as it thought appropriate, hold state-wide conferences in the North. A major national conference of School Board members is planned by SEDFRE for January. SEDFRE would provide elected officials with day-to-day, face-to-fact technical assistance on a national basis. In many cases, this will be the follow-up to requests which originate in national workshops.

VEP would continue and expand its intern program as it deems appropriate to provide staff assistance for elected officials in the South.

Needless to say, existing programs such as the VEP Voter Registration program, and state-wide projects and the SEDFRE information, attitude change and skill development workshops in areas such as negotiations, public relations and fund-raising would continue. SEDFRE will continue its workshops for candidates on techniques of campaigning and VEP will continue its workshops on legal requirements.

Contributions are tax deductible for income tax purposes

■ *president:* Andrew J. Norman ■ *vice presidents:* William S. Ellis, Nanette Sachs ■ *secretary:* Eric Lewis ■ *treasurer:* [illegible] Kaplan ■ [illegible] Marvin Rich ■ *leadership development director:* Ronnie M. Moore ■ *legal director:* Carl Rachlin ■ BOARD OF DIRECTORS: Nils R. Douglas, [illegible] James Baldwin ■ Natalie McCormick Barnes ■ Allan Barton ■ Jonathan Bingham ■ Canon James [illegible] ■ Charlotte [illegible] F. Drinan, S.J. ■ Mr. [illegible] O. Finkelstein ■ Doris Freedman ■ Lane T. Harris, Jr. ■ Claude Heatcher ■ Norman [illegible] ■ Arthur Kinoy ■ [illegible] ■ Jeremy Larner ■ [illegible] List Levinson ■ John Lewis ■ Leon Modeste ■ Henry Morgenthau, II. ■ Dr. William [illegible] ■ Edward N. [illegible] Schwartz ■ Elaine Slater ■ Rowland Watts

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1968

The above are some ways in which our two programs can complement each other and avoid overlapping and confusion. Problems may arise from time to time, but I believe that they can be ironed out with frequent consultation and determination to do so for the benefit of the entire movement. Please tell me if you feel that this is a fair summary of our conversation and of the situation.

Cordially,

Marvin Rich

Marvin Rich
Executive Director

FOR RELEASE WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1968

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(404) 522-7495

Three Negro experts on finance and taxation will appear on a panel before the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel in Atlanta on Friday, Dec. 13.

They will join such notable speakers as U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., at the conference sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, Dec. 11-14. More than 200 of the South's nearly 400 black elected officeholders were expected to attend.

Sitting on a panel on "Revenue and Taxation and the Elected Official" will be Theodore A. Jones, Illinois director of revenue; Gerald A. Lamb, Connecticut state treasurer, and Alfred M. Pelham, chairman of Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company in Detroit, Mich.

The Rev. John Morris, VEP conference coordinator, noted that the three men have had experience in the financial aspects of government at various levels.

"We believe that responsible management of finances is a primary concern of elected officials," Morris said.

During the four-day meeting the officeholders will attend panels and workshops designed to provide legal and technical information and to give them a chance to discuss mutual problems of their offices. Other speakers will include Congresswoman-elect Shirley Chisholm of New York and Dr. Kenneth Clark, director of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, New York.

The revenue and taxation panel will meet at 9 a.m. at the Dinkler Hotel. John S. Stewart, city councilman of Durham, N. C., will preside.

Gerald Lamb, serving his second term as treasurer of Connecticut, is a native of Elizabeth City, N.C. He served two terms as alderman of Waterbury, Conn., his home since 1946.

Mr. Lamb was appointed to the Consumer Advisory Committee by President Lyndon B. Johnson. In 1964 he was special ambassador to Venezuela at the inauguration of President Raul Leoni. As state treasurer he serves on the State Bond Commission, Banking Commission, Finance Advisory Committee and the Public Deposit Protection Committee.

Alfred Pelham, a native of Detroit, has served as director of budget and finance and on the board of supervisors of Wayne County. He is a former controller of Detroit and was assistant vice president and professor of political science at Wayne State University.

Mr. Pelham was graduated from the University of Michigan and attended Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, where he was a member of the editorial board of Harvard Business Review.

Theodore Jones is a certified public accountant and has done graduate study in business management at Northwestern University. He has served as director of several banks and insurance companies and is former director of the Office of Economic Opportunity for the Great Lakes region.

Mr. Jones is a trustee of the University of Illinois and is a member of the Economic Club of Chicago.

The conference opens with the keynote address by State Rep. Julian Bond of Atlanta, at 8 p.m. Wednesday and will end Saturday with a luncheon speech by Mrs. Chisholm, the first Negro woman elected to the U.S. Congress.

Dr. Clark is scheduled to speak at 12:30 p.m. Thursday at the Dinkler Plaza. Mayor Hatcher speaks at 8 p.m. Thursday at a public forum at Clark College's Davage Auditorium. Attorney General Clark will address a banquet Friday at 8 p.m. at the American Motor Hotel.

Workshops are scheduled for Thursday afternoon, Friday afternoon and Saturday morning. Except for the addresses by Mayor Hatcher and Attorney General Clark, all sessions of the four-day conference were set for the Dinkler Plaza Hotel.

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., supports projects of voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training in the 11 Southern states.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit, non-partisan organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

file

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

December 4, 1968

MEMO TO: Paul Anthony
FROM : Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
RE : Disbursements for the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials

In view of your observation late yesterday that VEP's use of Henderson Travel Service to handle the ticketing of persons attending the conference cost the Council some $2,000 because of yesterday's $4,566.89 cash transaction, a listing of our financial needs for the conference may be helpful to all parties concerned.

But first as to the use of Henderson Travel Service: I informed you---and Ruth too (I am reasonably certain)---at the outset that this was our plan. At that time you did not object. Nor did you raise the possibility of using the airlines so that the account could have been handled on a credit basis in order, thereby, to save money.

I fail to understand, however, how yesterday's check to Henderson Travel Service would cause us to forfeit expected income from governmental bonds when in fact $12,500 has recently arrived specifically designated for the conference. Nor did I think (and yet I failed to require) that the cash position of the VEP account was such that a $ 4,566.89 would

result in having to draw on our short-term investments prior to maturity. Is it not possible to transfer funds from the VEP grant account at Citizens Trust Company to cover the large cash expenditures?

Nonetheless, John Morris and I are pleased with the performance of Henderson Travel Service thus far. We felt initially, and still do---despite the probable loss of income, which is indeed regrettable---that to route this one transaction through Henderson is a good thing, for many obvious reasons.

Immediately following the conference, the following items will be due and payable:

1) Travel reimbursements to the conferees who made their own travel arrangements, plus reimbursements for their taxi and limousine service for those to whom we are mailing tickets.

2) Travel reimbursement and consultant fees for the workshop conveners and several of the resource persons.

3) Travel reimbursement and honorariums for the main speakers.

4) Room and board to the Dinkler Plaza for the conferees and guests at the rate of $ 51.72 per person for the three nights.

5) Cost of Friday evening banquet at the American Motor Hotel. Approximately 300 persons will attend, at $5.90 per person.

6) Miscellaneous costs, to include tape recorder rentals, signs, printed materials, refreshments, etc.

Finally, Henderson Travel Service will be billing us later this week for the last batch of tickets prepared for 30 or so conferees.

Paul, this memo is written as a result of my concern about your observation yesterday. It is also intended to facilitate the disbursement problem relative to the conference. It is written in good spirits, and I trust that it will be received likewise.

cc: Ruth Vick

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE

OF

BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

DECEMBER 11-14, 1968

DINKLER PLAZA HOTEL

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

AGENDA

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11

2:00 p.m.—REGISTRATION—Lobby

7:00 p.m.—RECEPTION—Dinkler A
COURTESY OF THE COCA-COLA COMPANY ATLANTA

8:00 p.m.—OPENING DINNER—DINKLER B

Presiding:
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

Welcome:
Q. V. Williamson
Board of Alderman, Atlanta

Leroy Johnson
State Senate, Georgia

Introduction of Speaker:
Benjamin Brown
House of Representatives, Georgia

Keynote Address:
Julian Bond
House of Representatives, Georgia

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12

7:30-8:30 a.m.
—Breakfast—Dinkler B

9:00 a.m.—GENERAL SESSION—
DINKLER ROOF

Presiding:
William H. Alexander
House of Representatives, Georgia

Welcome:
Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor of Atlanta

Address:
"From Subject and Victim to Citizen and Public Official: An Historical Overview of the Negro and the Southern Political Process."
Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook
Professor of Political Science
Duke University

Panelists:
- Lawrence T. Guyot, Jr.
  Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
- Miss Barbara Jordan
  State Senate, Texas
- Dr. C. G. Gomillion
  Board of Education
  Tuskegee, Alabama
- Joseph A. Jordan, Jr.
  City Council
  Norfolk, Virginia

12:30 p.m.—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B

Presiding:
Jesse Hill, Jr.
Actuary, Atlanta Life Insurance Company.

Address:
Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
President
Metropolitan Applied Research Center
New York City

2:00-5:00 p.m.
—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

I—School Board Members—Plaza B, Lobby Floor
Convener: Miss Jean Fairfax
NAACP Legal Defense Fund

II—City Officials—Roof, 14th Floor
Convener: John Feild
U. S. Conference of Mayors

III—County Officials—Panel Room, Mezzanine Floor
Convener: James Gibson
Potomac Institute

IV—Law Enforcement Officials—Sky Room, 14th Floor
Convener: Julius Chambers
Attorney-at-Law

V—State Legislators—Room 370
Convener: Horace T. Ward
State Senate, Georgia

6:00 p.m.—DINNER—PLAZA B

7:15 p.m.—Buses Depart

8:00 p.m.—PUBLIC FORUM
Davage Auditorium, Clark College

Presiding:
Dr. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College

Welcome:
James Mays
President
Clark College Student Government Association

Introduction:
M. Carl Holman
Vice-President
The Urban Coalition

Address:
Richard Gordon Hatcher
Mayor
Gary, Indiana

Panelists:
- Robert G. Clark
  Mississippi House of Representatives
- Henry L. Marsh, III
  City Council, Richmond, Virginia
- John McCown
  County Commissioner
  Hancock County, Georgia
- J. C. Daugherty
  Georgia House of Representatives

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13

7:30-8:30 a.m.
—Breakfast—Dinkler B

9:00 a.m.—GENERAL SESSION—
DINKLER ROOF

"Revenue and Taxation and the Elected Official"

Presiding:
John S. Stewart
City Council, Durham, North Carolina

Panelists:
- Alfred M. Pelham
  Chairman of the Board
  Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company
  Former Controller of the City of Detroit
- Gerald A. Lamb
  Treasurer
  State of Connecticut
- Theodore A. Jones
  Director
  Department of Revenue
  State of Illinois

11:30 a.m.—"Everyman's Guide to Federal Programs"
Richard Boone
Executive Director
Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty

12:30 p.m.—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B

Presiding:
Donald L. Hollowell
Regional Director
Equal Employment Opportunities Commission

12:30 p.m.—SPECIAL GUESTS:
- Charles Evers, Mississippi
- Maynard Jackson, Georgia
- A. W. Willis, Tennessee
- George A. Payton, South Carolina
- Reginald A. Hawkins, North Carolina.

2:00-5:00 p.m.
—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

7:00 p.m.—RECEPTION—AMERICAN MOTOR HOTEL
(Corner of Spring & Carnegie Way)

COURTESY OF THE ATLANTA INQUIRER AND H. J. RUSSELL & CO., ATLANTA

8:00 p.m.—BANQUET—AMERICAN MOTOR HOTEL

Presiding:
John H. Weeeler
President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Welcome:

Sam Massell, Jr.
Vice-Mayor of Atlanta

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Address:

Ramsey Clark
Attorney General of
The United States

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14

7:30-8:30 a.m.
—Breakfast—Dinkler B

9:00 a.m. —CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

12:00 Noon—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B

Presiding:

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

Introduction of Speaker:

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
House of Representatives, Georgia

Address:

Mrs. Shirley Chisholm
Congresswoman-Elect
12th Congressional District
New York

ADJOURNMENT

WORKSHOP CONSULTANTS

I. School Board Members

Mrs. Sara Mitchell, member, Atlanta Board of Education

T. E. Patterson, member, Little Rock Board of Education; Executive Secretary, Arkansas Teachers Association

Paul Rilling, Regional Civil Rights Director, Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Horace E. Tate, member, Atlanta Board of Education; Executive Secretary, Georgia Teachers Education Association

William Turner, NAACP Legal Defense Fund

II. City Officials

William Allison, Deputy Administrator, Economic Opportunity Atlanta

Earl Metzger, Assistant to Regional Administrator for Model Cities Program

William Page, Regional Director, Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Moreland Smith, Director, Urban Planning, Southern Regional Council

Robert Smith, Executive Director, Low Income Housing Corporation, Durham, North Carolina

Roger Wilkins, Director, Community Relations Service, Department of Justice

III. County Officials

Richard Boone, Executive Director, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty

Clarence Coleman, Southern Regional Director, National Urban League

George Esser, Executive Director, North Carolina Fund

Dr. Mack Jones, Department of Political Science, Atlanta University

John Lewis, Director, Community Organization, Southern Regional Council

William Suttles, Regional Director, Southeastern Regional Office, Office of Economic Opportunity

Mrs. Barbara Whittaker, Community Services Coordinator, Department of Health, Education and Welfare

IV. Law Enforcement Officials

Fred Banks, NAACP Legal Defense Fund

Mrs. Taunya Banks, Director, Tougaloo College Service Center for Elected Officials

John Boone, Director, Project on the Administration of Justice, Southern Regional Council

Niles Douglas, Attorney-at-Law

Robert Fitzpatrick, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

Charles Morgan, Director of Southern Regional Office, American Civil Liberties Union

V. State Legislators

Dr. J. David Paletz, Professor Political Science, Duke University.

Mervyn M. Dymally, State Senator, California

Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense Fund

Bill Greene, Assemblyman, California

Dr. Jewel Prestage, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Southern University

Emory Via, Director, Labor Education, Southern Regional Council

Voter Education Project
of the
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LPA
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PROPOSAL BY THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS
DECEMBER 11 - 14, 1968
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

:

:

With a number of Negro elected officials growing at every level of government in the South, the Voter Education Project believes that it is now timely to bring these elected officials together to discuss the mutual problems and opportunities they face daily in the discharge of their duties. A few white officeholders in the South with similar concerns also would be invited.

The rapid growth in the number of elected black officeholders is a result of the steady increases in Negro registration in the South, a large part of which has occurred through programs of the Voter Education Project conducted both before and after the Voting Rights Act of 1965. We feel, therefore, that it is a natural extension of VEP's role to convene these officeholders, most of them newly elected, for an exchange of views and for discussion of the future.

Prior to the 1960s, the number of Negro elected officials in the South was negligible. In 1965, just before the adoption of the Voting Rights Act, there were 72 such officials in the eleven states of the Old South. Currently, there are some 280 black elected officials in the region, with the number expected to exceed 300 after the November elections.

Where once the opportunity for public service for Negroes in the South was limited to rare appointments to committees of city government or the like, there now are black persons serving at almost all levels of city, county and state government in the South. Most are state legislators, city councilmen or school board members, but there are also Negroes serving as county commissioners, tax collectors, justices of the peace, and in more than a dozen other categories of elected public service.

From the time of its initial programs of voter registration, the Voter Education Project has sought to stay abreast of the needs for service and assistance to the previously disfranchised black minority of the South. Voter registration efforts were followed by citizenship education and leadership training programs. In cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the Voter Education Project sponsored seminars in five Deep South states for candidates seeking public offices previously believed unattainable by black people.

Now, concurrent with these other programs, the Voter Education Project has taken steps to assist and encourage black elected officials. In December of 1966, we called together the Negro members of Southern legislatures for what proved to be be a highly successful two-day seminar. The following July brought a meeting at Clark College in Atlanta of city and county elected officials from across the South. With an increasing number of Negro officeholders being elected in difficult and hostile areas, the Voter Education Project sponsored an Institute for Mississippi Negro Elected Officials in December of 1967. This was followed by a similar conference in Louisiana in March of this year.

We believe it is now both timely and desirable to convene a Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials. Accordingly, we have engaged the facilities of Atlanta's Dinkler Plaza Hotel for this purpose December 11 - 14, 1968.

Participants in this conference will be assisted in the discharge of their public duties through workshops designed expressly for their specific offices. Matters common to all elected officials will receive attention in larger sessions. Special difficulties for minority-group officeholders will be examined. Resources available from federal and private agencies will be catalogued, and relevant published materials will be provided.

In sharing experiences, and in give-and-take situations with consultants and each other, black officials can attain greater competence and confidence for effective public service. The number and wide range of officials attending will impress upon conference participants the emerging political power of the black community in the South. Leading black officials of national stature will raise the horizons of those who have had to struggle mightily to gain and hold public office. News coverage of the conference will give the public as a whole a picture of growing political power in the Negro community and its importance for future elections in the South. Finally, planning for continued and effective servicing of these public officials by the Voter Education Project will be shaped at this meeting.

To assist the staff of the Voter Education Project in preparing for this conference, we have called together a number of knowledgeable Southerners for a planning session. This committee includes:

Mr. Nils R. Douglas, New Orleans, attorney and chairman of the Louisiana Voter Education Project

Dr. Vivian Henderson, Atlanta, president of Clark College and a member of the Voter Education Project's Advisory Committee

Mrs. Taunya Lovell Banks, Jackson, Director of Tougaloo College's Service Center for Negro Elected Officials

Mr. Robert Clark, Lexington, Mississippi, member of the Mississippi House of Representatives

Mr. Henry Marsh, Richmond, attorney and member of the Richmond City Council

Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook, Durham, professor of political science at Duke University and chairman of the Voter Education Project's Advisory Committee

Mr. James Felder, Columbia, director of the South Carolina Voter Education Project

Mr. Horace Ward, Atlanta, attorney and member of the Georgia Senate

Mr. Julian Bond, Atlanta, member of the Georgia House of Representatives and former Voter Education Project research associate

Mr. Michael Chanin, Atlanta, director of Clark College's Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy

For staff work in connection with the conference, the Voter Education Project has secured the services of the Rev. John Morris of Atlanta. Mr. Morris was previously executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity and has since been a consultant with the Southern Regional Council. He will be handling arrangements for the conference. Other staff members of the Voter Education Project will be fully involved, bringing to bear their experience

in the various VEP conferences and institutes which have been preliminary to this southwide meeting.

Considering that invitations will go to some 300 elected officials, we are anticipating that approximately 225 will accept. Based on this number of participants we have projected the following budget for the conference:

$ 13,000.00	HOTEL	- Room & Meals. Three nights and nine meals. Two persons to a room at a rate of $57.62 per person.
$ 15,000.00	TRAVEL	- Round-trip tourist air travel as estimated by an Atlanta travel agency, and including travel expenses for speakers, consultants, etc.
$ 3,000.00	ADMINIS-TRATION	- Special staff assistance, advisory committee expense, telephone, mailings, etc.
$ 31,000.00	TOTAL CONFERENCE BUDGET	

The Voter Education Project is confident that this will be an expenditure well worthwhile in terms of the benefits both for the participants and for the political climate of the South, which increasingly is having to take into account the emerging power of the black community. Such a development offers one of the more hopeful signs for advancing the gains of the last decade as the South moves toward more open and integrated patterns.

Welcoming remarks at VEP Conference
December 11-14, 1968
by: Paul Anthony, Executive Director, SRC

Mr. Attorney-General, Mr. Wheeler, ladies and gentlemen:

It is with misgivings that I appear on the program this evening. ~~Lazy~~ Long dinners and the involvement of many people serve no function other than that of ~~honoring~~ honoring our guests.

However, in the next several moments, it is both a priviledge, and certainly a pleasure, to do two things.

First, ~~in~~ on behalf of the Southern Regional Council I should like to express our appreciation to Attorney-General Ramsey Clark for being with us this evening. There is good in the South and there is good in the nation. This audience, Mr. Attorney-General, represents a significant part of the good & The promise in this region. And, the Attorney-General, ladies and gentlemen of the audience, ~~being here~~ represents the good and the honorable of this nation. It is important, most important, that we meet here tonight recognizing this.

Secondly, and again ~~on~~ on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I should like, belatedly, to welcome the black elected officials of the South to this meeting and to thank you for coming. This is, as I am sure you agree, an historic occasion

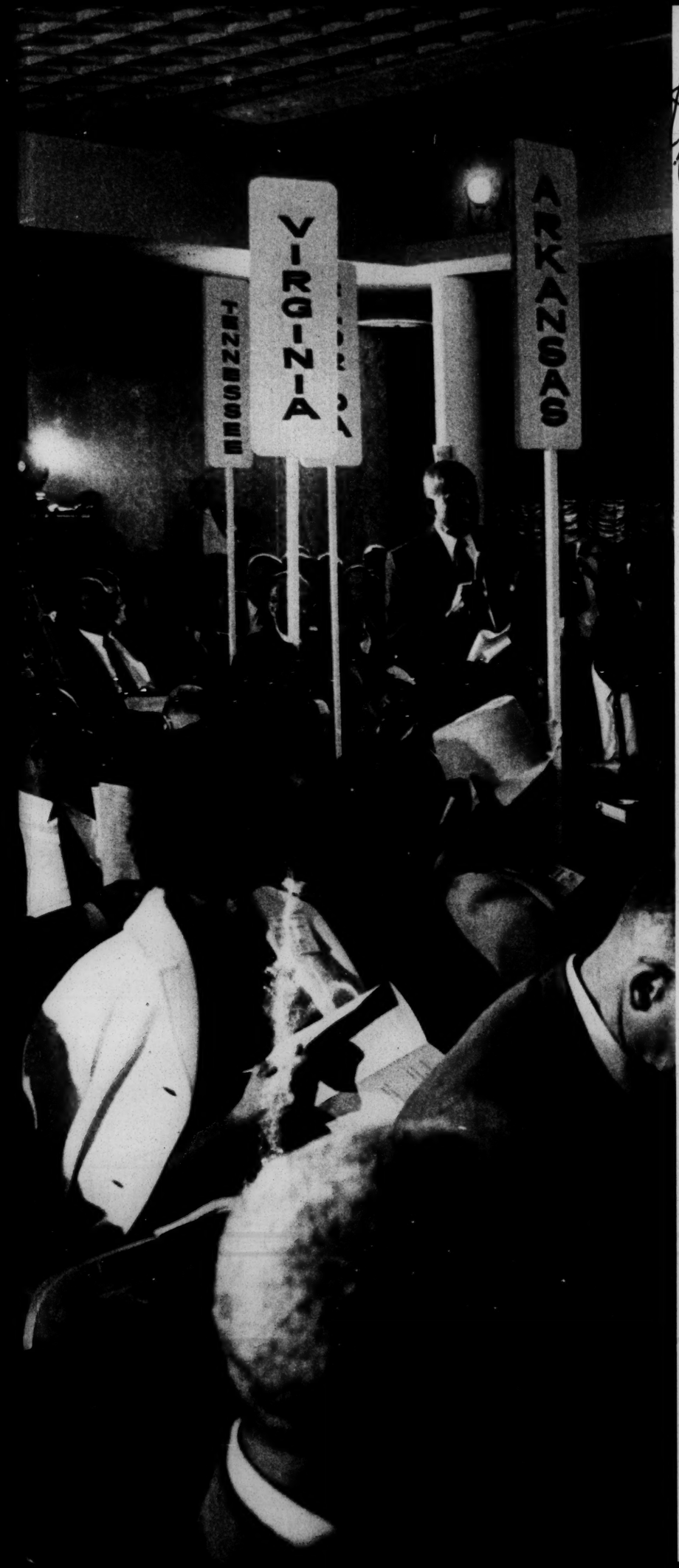
and Atlanta is the appropriate site for it. Earlier we have gone from "Gone With the Wind" to the Cotton States Exposition. At that latter event, of course, Dr. Washington attempted to make peace with the white South for "his people." I do not demean Dr. Washington, I hurt for him and the choices he faced.

The black elected officials here tonight give proof that now we are priviledged to have new choices, and I rejoice that we do. Insert Yet, for all that give us of the Southern Regional Council encouragement, pleasure, indeed honest rejoicing that this meeting, we are too sad. I am sad that in 1968 we should need a conference of black elected officials. For the Southern Regional Council to have such a conference is a confirmation that we are right, particularly in believing in the democratic society. We are gratified that this represents such a significant movement up the rungs of the ladder. But, we shall not be really gratified until we have climbed the ladder. Our real dream ~~which we shall achieve,~~ we shall achieve in cooperation with men like The Honorable Ramsey Clark, and that which he represents, and with the cooperation of the honorable black elected officials here present. This dream is to have ~~will be~~ a conference of elected officials. Then we will all be blessed, whole, and a nation of honor.

Insert

The Southern Regional Council has for over twenty years had a strong interest in access to the ballot, we have developed a sound reputation for our knowledge on this subject, and we have consistently expressed our faith in the power of the ballot.

(And, we are pleased that our current Voter Education Project is our most ambitous and successful effort to date in this area.)



CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

DEC. 11-14, 1968

DINKLER HOTEL
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Sponsored by
The Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

PREFACE

Late in 1967 and early in 1968, as it became apparent that the number of black elected officials in the South was growing rapidly and would continue to do so in the months ahead, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council conceived the idea of a southwide conference for these officials. Most—indeed, almost all—had been elected in the middle '60s as black voter registration advanced markedly.

Being closely associated with the dramatic registration increases of the '60s, VEP felt an obligation to the officials who had been elected largely as a result of these voter gains. Most of the officials had little political experience—or, indeed, previous contact with the political process—and giving assistance to these officials is an important part of VEP's broad goal of extending political participation. Moveover, it was felt that a regional meeting would be a means of bolstering the spirits of black officials, many of whom serve in extremely trying circumstances, and motivating prospective black officials throughout the South.

A number of foundations were approached with requests to supply special funds for such a conference. Almost all responded not only with approval, but also with enthusiasm. Arrangements then went forward to bring all the black elected officials to Atlanta for a four-day conference, with all expenses to be paid by VEP. The Rev. John Morris, former executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, was employed to coordinate the conference.

It was decided that a variety of workshops would be held for the elected officials, in addition to general sessions (see conference agenda, Page 2). A date subsequent to the November 5 general election was picked so that officials then elected could be invited to the conference. (It was determined that only *elected* officials would be invited, since the list of appointed black officials is even larger and more varied than the list of elected officials.)

Of approximately 385 Negroes holding elected positions in the South in late 1968, nearly 200 attended the conference, which was the first of its kind ever held in the South. The Voter Education Project is grateful to the foundations and to the individuals who contributed in countless ways to the success of the conference. The results of the program planning described above are presented in these conference proceedings.

MARVIN WALL
Director of Research
Voter Education Project

AGENDA

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

DECEMBER 11-14, 1968, DINKLER PLAZA HOTEL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11

2:00 p.m.—REGISTRATION—Lobby
7:00 p.m.—RECEPTION—Dinkler A
COURTESY OF THE COCA-COLA COMPANY ATLANTA

8:00 p.m.—OPENING DINNER—DINKLER B

Presiding:
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

Welcome:
Q. V. Williamson
Board of Aldermen, Atlanta

Leroy Johnson
State Senate, Georgia

Introduction of Speaker:
Benjamin Brown
House of Representatives, Georgia

Keynote Address:
Julian Bond
House of Representatives, Georgia

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12

7:30-8:30 a.m.—Breakfast—Dinkler B

9:00 a.m.—GENERAL SESSION—DINKLER ROOF

Presiding:
William H. Alexander
House of Representatives, Georgia

Address:
"From Subject and Victim to Citizen and Public Official: An Historical Overview of the Negro and the Southern Political Process."
Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook
Professor of Political Science
Duke University

Panelists:
- Lawrence T. Guyot, Jr.
  Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
- Dr. C. G. Gomillion
  Board of Education
  Tuskegee, Alabama
- Joseph A. Jordan, Jr.
  City Council
  Norfolk, Virginia

12:30 p.m.—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B

Presiding:
Jesse Hill, Jr.
Actuary, Atlanta Life Insurance Company

Address:
Dr. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College
Atlanta

2:00-5:00 p.m.—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

I—School Board Members—Plaza B, Lobby Floor
Convener: Miss Jean Fairfax
NAACP Legal Defense Fund
Recorder: Mrs. Susan Morgan
Southern Regional Council

II—City Officials—Roof, 14th Floor
Convener: John Feild
U. S. Conference of Mayors
Recorder: Lee J. Price
American Jewish Committee

III—County Officials—Panel Room, Mezzanine Floor
Convener: James Gibson
United Presbyterian Church
Potomac Institute
Recorder: Warren Pritchard
Southern Regional Council

IV—Law Enforcement Officials—Sky Room, 14th Floor
Convener: Julius Chambers
Attorney-at-Law
Recorder: Mrs. Taunya Banks

V—State Legislators—Room 370
Convener: Horace T. Ward
State Senate, Georgia
Recorder: Rev. J. Oscar McCloud

6:00 p.m.—DINNER—PLAZA B
7:15 p.m.—Buses Depart
8:00 p.m.—PUBLIC FORUM
Davage Auditorium, Clark College

Presiding:
Dr. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College

Welcome:
James Mays
President
Clark College Student Government Association

Address:
Richard Gordon Hatcher
Mayor
Gary, Indiana

Panelists:
- Robert G. Clark
  Mississippi House of Representatives
- Henry L. Marsh, III
  City Council, Richmond, Virginia
- John McCown
  County Commissioner
  Hancock County, Georgia

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13

7:30-8:00 a.m.—Breakfast—Dinkler B

8:00 a.m.—GENERAL SESSION—
DINKLER ROOF

"Revenue and Taxation and the Elected Official"

Presiding:

John S. Stewart
City Council, Durham, North Carolina

Panelists:

- Alfred M. Pelham
  Chairman of the Board
  Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company
  Former Controller of the City of Detroit
- Gerald A. Lamb
  Treasurer
  State of Connecticut
- Theodore A. Jones
  Director
  Department of Revenue
  State of Illinois

11:30 a.m.—"Everyman's Guide to Federal Programs"

Richard Boone
Executive Director
Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty

12:30 p.m.—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B

Presiding:

Donald L. Hollowell
Regional Director
Equal Employment Opportunities Commission

Special Guests:

- Maynard Jackson, Georgia
- A. W. Willis, Tennessee
- Reginald A. Hawkins, North Carolina
- Mrs. Eva Clayton, North Carolina

2:00-5:00 p.m.—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

7:00 p.m.—RECEPTION—AMERICAN MOTOR HOTEL

COURTESY OF THE ATLANTA INQUIRER AND H. J. RUSSELL & CO., ATLANTA

8:00 p.m.—BANQUET—AMERICAN MOTOR HOTEL

Welcome:

Sam Massell, Jr.
Vice-Mayor of Atlanta

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Address:

Ramsey Clark
Attorney General of
The United States

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14

7:30-8:30 a.m.—Breakfast—Dinkler B

9:00 a.m.—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

12:00 Noon—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B

Presiding:

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

Adoption of Conference Statement

Introduction of Speaker:

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
House of Representatives, Georgia

Address:

Mrs. Shirley Chisholm
Congresswoman
12th Congressional District
New York

ADJOURNMENT

WORKSHOP CONSULTANTS

I. School Board Members
- Mrs. Sara Mitchell, member, Atlanta Board of Education
- T. E. Patterson, member, Little Rock Board of Education; Executive Secretary, Arkansas Teachers Association
- Paul Rilling, Regional Civil Rights Director, Department of Health, Education and Welfare
- Horace E. Tate, member, Atlanta Board of Education; Executive Secretary, Georgia Teachers Education Association
- William Turner, NAACP Legal Defense Fund
- Dr. Samuel Trusty, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

II. City Officials
- William Allison, Deputy Administrator, Economic Opportunity Atlanta
- William Page, Regional Director, Department of Health, Education and Welfare
- Moreland Smith, Director, Urban Planning, Southern Regional Council
- Michael Janis, Model Cities, Department of Housing and Urban Development
- Donald Webster, Intergroup Relations Advisor, Department of Housing and Urban Development
- Robert Smith, Executive Director, Low Income Housing Corporation, Durham, North Carolina

III. County Officials
- Richard Boone, Executive Director, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
- Clarence Coleman, Southern Regional Director, National Urban League
- George Esser, Executive Director, North Carolina Fund
- Dr. Mack Jones, Department of Political Science, Atlanta University
- John Lewis, Director, Community Organization, Southern Regional Council
- Hugh Saussy
  Southeastern Regional Office, Office of Economic Opportunity

IV. Law Enforcement Officials
- Fred Banks, NAACP Legal Defense Fund
- Mrs. Taunya Banks, Director, Tougaloo College Service Center for Elected Officials
- John Boone, Director, Project on the Administration of Justice, Southern Regional Council

V. State Legislators
- Dr. J. David Paletz, Professor of Political Science, Duke University
- Mervyn M. Dymally, State Senator, California Legal Defense Fund
- Bill Greene, Assemblyman, California
- Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP
- Dr. Jewel Prestage, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Southern University
- Emory Via, Director, Labor Education, Southern Regional Council

LOUISIANA
GEORGIA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
TENNESSEE
VIRGINIA
MISSISSIPPI
ARKANSAS
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
TEXAS

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'...A More Just Society...'

The Rev. John Morris, *coordinator of the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials and an Episcopal priest, delivered the invocation at the opening dinner Dec. 11. The Rev. Mr. Morris was in charge of planning the program and making arrangements for the conference. He is a founder and former executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.*

ALMIGHTY GOD, Who hast given us this good land for our heritage and helped us to begin to turn back the forces of oppression and injustice;

BEHOLD NOW Thy people who have gathered here in the pursuit of greater service of their fellow man. Grant that these days may be both profitable in helping us build a more just society and a witness to the spirit of free men.

THOU WHO are Lord of Lords and King of Kings, hidden and yet on every side, preserve from self-serving ambition those to whom the authority of government is entrusted; but, rather, give them an untiring zeal to see that Thy will is done and all men are free before they rest.

AS WE MEET we also honor the memory of thy servant, Martin, whose vision of a beloved community still beckons, and whose death reminds us of the sacrifice of many who have gone before.

FOR his love and for Thine we are grateful; and for our fellowship here and the food of which we are about to partake.

BLESSED ART THOU, Lord of the harvest, who bringest forth bread from the wheat fields and wine from the vineyard. Keep us in Thy love for ever and ever.

AMEN.

'...A Rapidly Growing List...'

Text of opening remarks by **Vernon E. Jordan Jr.,** *director of the Voter Education Project, Dec. 11.*

Three years ago, just after passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Southern Regional Council compiled a list of elected Negro officeholders in the South. The list totaled just over 70 names.

Today, counting some 80 black candidates elected for the first time in the Nov. 5 general election, the list totals over 380 names. The roster thus is more than five times as large today as it was just three years ago.

This dramatic increase is one of the more significant developments in Southern politics today. Not even the fact that five Southern states gave George Wallace his only electoral votes can overshadow the deepening involvement of black Southerners in the region's political process.

It is true, of course, that most of these officials were elected by predominantly black voting lists and are a result of heavy increases in Negro registration. Indeed, many represent all-black districts—as do, for example, the mayors and councilmen in all-black towns. Nevertheless there are some black officeholders—notably several of the legislators—who represent districts in which large numbers of white voters live. In any event, the list of black officeholders is growing very rapidly and will continue to do so in the months ahead.

This rapid growth in the number of Negro officeholders poses a new issue for Negroes in the South—a welcome issue, but an issue nevertheless. That issue is how to make these new officeholders as effective as possible in filling their offices. Like politicians of all races, black officeholders must be able to produce in behalf of their constituents. But Negro officeholders face several additional problems.

Black voters often feel that officeholders should produce instantly, almost magically, all those benefits and services that had been denied down through the years by callous white officials. Usually—almost always—this is impossible.

In many cases the Negro officeholder finds himself serving Negroes who live outside his district but have no spokesman. Thus a Negro legislator—to use that office as an example—might find himself speaking on some issues for all the Negroes in the state.

The Negro officeholder is being observed closely by both races. Some of the watching eyes are friendly, but many are hostile. Often the new Negro officeholder will be measured by yardsticks far more exacting than those applied to his white predecessors. The difficulty that Julian Bond had in claiming his seat in the Georgia Legislature stands as an example of the sort of roadblocks that can be thrown in the way of black elected officials.

Finally, most of the newly elected black officials carry a heavy burden of political inexperience. Historically, the white political structure of the South has deliberately and systematically denied blacks the opportunity to gain experience in the political process.

This is the sort of practical problems we will be dealing with these four days at the first Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials. We will not solve all the problems at one conference. But we hope to establish, at this conference, some machinery for dealing with the problems on a continuing basis in the future, as the number of black elected officials continues to grow.

'...An Attack on All of Us...'

Rep. Julian Bond *of Atlanta opened the four-day Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials with a keynote speech Dec. 11 at a dinner. Rep. Bond, refused his seat by the Georgia House of Representatives because of his opposition to the war in Vietnam, was elected three times before he was seated by order of the U. S. Supreme Court in 1967. The 28-year-old legislator's name was placed before the 1968 Democratic National Convention as a nominee for vice president.*

It is difficult to know what to say to an audience like this one. We come from so many different backgrounds, we hold so many different jobs, we have so many different ambitions. All that we have in common is the fact that we are politicians, we are black, and we are very largely elected by black constituencies.

Those last two facts are the most important—our race and the race of people whom we represent, the people who have chosen us to make important decisions for them.

Without knowing what kinds of people have selected you, let me tell you something about the people I am proud and privileged to represent in the Georgia General Assembly—the citizens of the 111th House district of Fulton County.

They are almost all black—nearly 85 per cent of them. They are nearly all poor—their average yearly income per family is $2,500. They have trouble finding work—unemployment in my district runs between 30 and 40 per cent. They are poorly educated—on the average they completed only the sixth grade. Most of the men have trouble finding work, and so the labor force in my district is predominantly female. You all know the kind of work poorly educated black women do—day work, domestic service, cleaning someone else's kitchen, caring for someone else's children.

Incidentally, the white citizens of my district share the same condition; but unfortunately for them, most of them think that somehow the color of their skin makes their small amount of money go further, or that their whiteness makes their poor sixth grade education better than the one my black constituents have.

But the point of all these statistics is simply to demonstrate that my constituents are probably very much like yours—they are poor and black, and they depend on government, very largely—their city and county and state governments and their federal governments—to help them do the things they are unable to do themselves. That is why they have chosen you to represent them, because they still retain some faith in the power of the democratic process to solve people's problems.

I am very much afraid that for the next several years they are in for some disappointments.

If your constituents are like mine—and like most other black Americans—they voted very heavily for Vice President Humphrey. They wanted him to be President. They may have had some other first choice, but that was denied them by an assassin in Los Angeles. They may even, like I did, have had a second choice; but that was denied them by democracy in Chicago. So therefore they voted for Mr. Humphrey. He represented warmth, while one can only find coldness in the iciness we now hear described as the "new" Nixon.

So while we were voting one way, the rest of the country voted another. They chose a man who said he didn't expect to get black votes and therefore never sought them out; they chose a man who said he was publicly for open housing but privately against it, and they chose a man who says the federal government is enforcing the 1954 Supreme Court decision too swiftly.

They chose a man who has tremendous power to set a positive or a negative future for black Americans.

—He perhaps may choose five new Supreme Court justices and therefore may determine the nature of the decisions that Court makes in civil rights cases over the rest of this century.

—He will certainly choose a new attorney general and a new head of the civil rights division of the Department of Justice and will decide how vigorously—or whether at all—they enforce the legislation that affects us most vitally.

—He is going to name the staff and set the budget for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the Office of Economic Opportunity. He will determine how these agencies respond when they are asked to deal with our problems.

He will have a great deal to say about the nature of the 92nd Congress.

Now those are not the kinds of decisions one wants to leave to a man whose closest advisers include Strom Thurmond.

But we are faced, now that the election has passed, with being ruled by a man who was not the choice of 90 per cent of us, with being ruled by a man who has

yet to demonstrate that he has any concern for the poor or the black. We will be ruled by a man who says he wants to rebuild our slums with black capitalism, which can only mean exchanging the race of the people who have been exploiting us. Faced with that kind of government over the next four years, the way that all of us act from now until 1972 is going to be very important.

We face these next four years a Congress that is more conservative than the last one, and we face a nation that has grown tired of the demands of the black and the poor. We are in a position worse off, relatively speaking, than our position has been over the past several years.

You all know the statistics that show more black people working, more living in decent homes, more getting an education, more earning more money. There is another set of figures that shows we make less money now—more in comparison with what we used to make, but less in comparison with white people. We are moving out of poverty, but while white poverty in America has decreased 27 per cent, black poverty has decreased only 3 per cent.

The most frightening figure is this one. The infant mortality rate for blacks—compared with whites—in 1940, 28 years ago, was 70 per cent higher. In other words, our babies died 70 per cent faster 28 years ago than white babies did. There has been some change, however—in 1962, just six short years ago, the figure was 90 per cent.

Now in addition to these kinds of problems, we face involvement in a problem of national proportions, a problem that affects every American, black and white. That problem is America's imperial war in Vietnam. The difference, black and white, is that it affects us more.

It feeds on our community. It takes our sons and fathers and brothers and uncles to fight and die in it in greater proportion than it takes any other group of Americans. Is that because we are braver, or because we love fighting more than anyone else, or because we are greater patriots? I think not. I think it is because young black men find the Army uniform and three square meals a day more attractive than they find life in Harlem, or Watts, or the Delta of Mississippi or the bayous of Louisiana. And so the war takes them. It sends them 8,000 miles away from their homes, telling them they are defending freedom, the kind of freedom they often find lacking in the communities they leave behind.

The war places many of them in an integrated situation for the first time—a front-line foxhole, next to some white boy. America has not yet discovered how to get that kind of integration at home.

Most of us are spectators to the war. We watch the young black man and the white boy on television, often in living color, as they burn down the huts of some poor Vietnamese village, and realize the two of them could not live on the same block in most American villages. We may realize further that if the young black boy is lucky enough to survive the war without being killed, he may come home and may become so frustrated at the discrimination and racism he meets in the land of his birth that he may burn down some American village—using, of course, the skills and the techniques he learned while defending America's freedom overseas.

Now I have heard some black politicians say that the war didn't affect them, that it was a foreign policy matter, and that we ought not say anything about it, that it wasn't our business. Well, let me say that any time you live in a country that is willing to pay $500,000 for every enemy soldier it kills, and only $50.75 for every poor person in the war on poverty, then that is your business.

Every time you find yourself living in a country that tells you violence is all right when it results in death and destruction for some little brown people 8,000 miles away but not when it is done by black people here at home, then it is your business.

Every time your government tells you that the trouble in Vietnam is caused by outside agitators from the North, think back to George Wallace and Marvin Griffin telling you that you would be happy and satisfied if it wasn't for the outside agitators from the American North.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is everyone's business.

So we have to make it our business to tackle some of the evils of 20th Century Americanism—racism and militarism. We could begin to do that by making our own communities strong and by controlling the goods and services and the institutions of our communities. For a long time we've only had the church. That was the only thing that was ours and ours alone. But I hope in the future that we'll begin to widen our sights and say to ourselves that if it operates in a community of black people, black people have got to control it. That means the businesses and it means the schools and it may mean the police as well.

I was in New York City on Monday, and I went to Intermediate School No. 201, one of the Harlem schools that is controlled and run by the people of Harlem. I spoke to a class of eighth graders, and in my speech, I mentioned some great people who have come from Georgia; and with Roy Hamilton and Ray Charles and James Brown and Otis Redding and Gladys Knight and the Pips, I mentioned the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. Now you may not think that eighth graders ought to be taught about Ray Charles or James Brown, and I'd agree with you; and you might think that Elijah Muhammad might not be a proper subject for an eighth grade class either, but they knew who he was. One eighth-grader told me, "Elijah Muhammed taught racist doctrines, and that's why Malcolm X left the Muslims." Another told me, "The Honorable Elijah Muhammad is the leader of the Nation of Islam and the Messenger of Allah."

Now I submit to you, that's a wonderful thing. Not that one child agrees with Mr. Muhammad and another does not, but that both know about him, and both know he is a part of our peculiar history in the United States. That, I think, is what it means when black people control their community.

Additionally, I think we've got to be aware of and suspicious of attempts to turn us against our own interests. Take Mr. Nixon's Black Capitalism, for instance. (Now before any one of you begins to think I'm against capitalism, let me correct you. But I think we'd all admit that if it had not been for white capitalism, none of us would ever have been sold into slavery.) As Mr. Nixon explains it, Black Capitalism means that General

Motors will be given tax credits to come into my community to set up a factory that will hire and train black people. Now that is wonderful, but it's not Black Capitalism by any stretch of the imagination. That is white capitalism once again coming into the black community and taking the only thing we have to offer, which is our labor.

Instead, we ought to become interested in—now here's a terrible, dirty word—community socialism. We ought to be interested in the kind of economic development in our communities that will not only give us jobs but will give the community the profit as well. A minister in Philadelphia, the Rev. Leon Sullivan, the man who began the idea that became Operation Breadbasket, has a project like that working now. Mr. Nixon has seen it, and we ought to hope that he gets the message.

We are additionally going to have to look around us for the kinds of people we can join forces with. It would be nice if we could go it alone. I am sure there is not a single person here who hasn't said to himself, at one time or another, I wish I could just get away from all this. But we can't, and our numbers are so small nationally that we have got to find the kinds of people who can help us. Those we used to depend on have deserted us.

Organized labor used to call itself our friend, but you saw where labor was in the 1968 presidential election.

White liberals and moderates used to help us, but this terrible war has attracted nearly all their attention.

So we have got to try to find new friends, while we hope the old ones will come home. We naturally ought to look to the other colored minorities—the Mexican-Americans and the Puerto Ricans and the American Indians. If we could get some kind, any kind of response from the heavy shield of racism that blinds poor white people, they would be our natural allies too.

In the future, we will have to beware of the kinds of coalitions like the one that has existed in this city for so long. That coalition put all of us together with some of the white people—the moderates and the liberals. It worked out fine while it was intended to maintain order; but since the blacks began to demand justice, the coalition is beginning to show some signs of wear. And now they want to expand the city limits to cut our numbers down.

So we have to always be on the lookout for any other forces in American political society that can help us. We ought not to turn anyone down. If your house is on fire, and a man runs up with a bucket of water, don't ask him where he got it or who he is. Just make sure it's not gasoline and then pour it on.

Finally, although we need fast action, we have to move with care. We are living in strange times. For the first time in the last eight years, the forces of conservatism have won a national election. For the first time since 1948, we have had a presidential candidate who appealed to racism. This year the hillbilly Hitler from Alabama won nine million votes. In 1972 he will be back again, and we must be ready for him.

We live in an era in which the next Vice-President of the United States makes jokes about Polacks and Japs—you know that any man who does that will also joke about Wops and Spics and Niggers. We live in an era in which a committee of the U.S. House of Representatives has said we ought to reopen the concentration camps that the Japanese were put in during the Second World War; but this time they don't want to put the Japanese in them, they intend them for us.

In an era like that, we ought to consider that an attack on one of us is really an attack on all of us.

We ought to remember what a German minister had to say when someone asked him what he did to stop Hitler from coming to power. He said: "When they came for the Jews, I did not cry out because I was not a Jew. When they came for the Catholics, I did not cry out because I was not a Catholic. When they came for the union leaders, I did not cry out because I was not a union leader. But when they knocked on my door, then and only then did I think of screaming; but there was no one around to hear my screams."

In closing, let me say one final thing. I have believed that we are and will be a great people because we come from a great people. We have great heroes. But a people with a limited view of their own past will have a limited future. So let me close by reading to you two short pieces that come from our past. One comes from a man who was, I believe, our greatest hero, Frederick Douglass. His words of 100 years ago ought still apply to us today. One comes from a man like us, a black politician, who was thrown out of the Georgia House of Representatives 100 years ago.

Frederick Douglass:

> "He who would be free must strike the first blow. You know that liberty given is never so precious as liberty sought for and fought for. The man who is outraged is the man who must make the first outcry. Depend on it: men will not care much for a people who do not care for themselves. Men will organize to prevent cruelty to animals, for they are dumb creatures and cannot speak for themselves; but we are men, and men must speak for themselves or we shall not be spoken for at all. We hold it self-evident that no class or color should be the exclusive ruler of this country. If

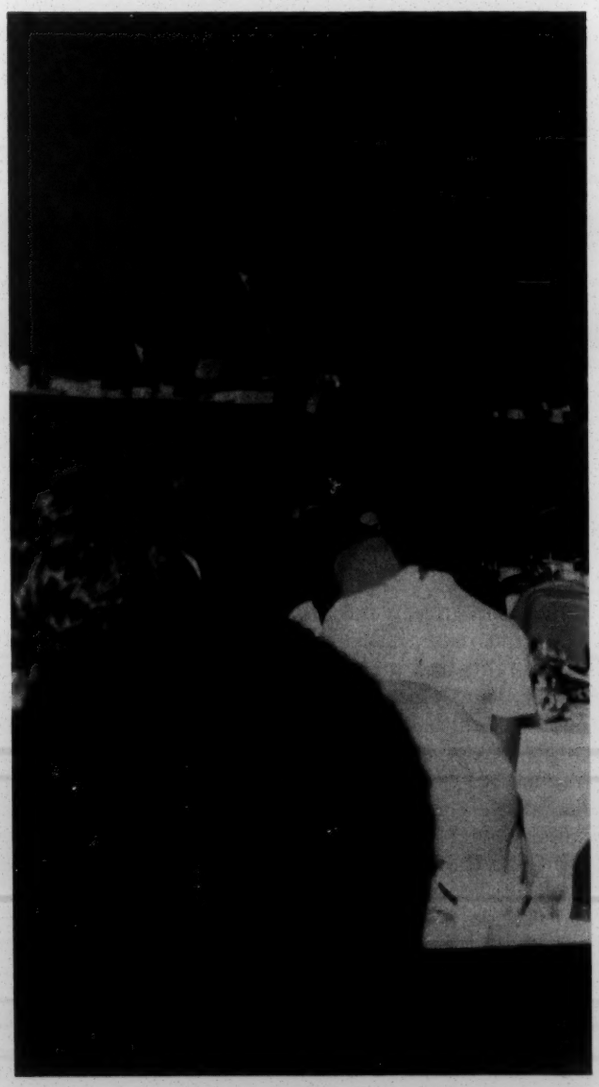
there is such a ruling class, there must, of course, be a subject class; and when that condition is established, the government of the people, by the people and for the people shall perish from the earth."

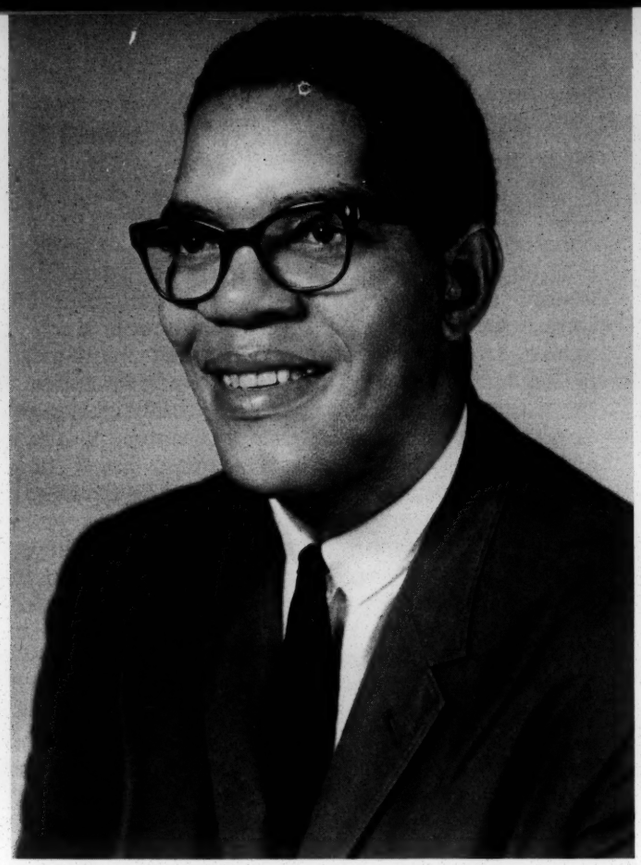
Henry McNeill Turner.

"Even though we are not white, we have accomplished much. We have pioneered a civilization. We have built up your country. We have worked in your field and have garnered your harvest for 250 years. Do we ask for compensation for the sweat our fathers bore for you—for the tears you have caused, the hearts you have broken and the blood you have spilled? Do we ask retaliation? We ask it not. We are willing to let the dead past bury the dead. But we ask you now for our rights. You have all the elements of superiority on your side—you have our money and your own, you have our education and your own. You have our land and your own. We are strangers in the land of our birth; without money, without education, without aid, without a rook to cover us while we live, nor clay to cover us when we die. It is extraordinary that a race such as yours, professing gallantry and chivalry and education and superiority, living in a land where Bibles are read and where Gospel truths are spoken and where courts of justice are presumed to exist—it is extraordinary that with all these advantages on your side, you can still make war on the defenseless black man.

"The great question is this: Am I a man? If I am such, I claim the rights of man. You may expel us, but I believe firmly that one day you will repent it. The black man cannot protect a country if the country cannot protect him, and if tomorrow, a war would arise, I would not raise a musket to defend a country where my manhood is denied. The fashionable way in Georgia is for the white man to sit at ease while the black man does the work, but I will say this much to the colored men of Georgia: never lift a finger or raise a hand in defense of Georgia unless Georgia acknowledges that you are men and invests you with the rights pertaining to manhood. You may expel us by your votes today; but while you do it, remember that there is a just God in Heaven, whose all-seeing eye beholds alike the acts of the oppressor and the oppressed, and who despite the machinations of the wicked, never fails to vindicate the cause of justice and the sanctity of his own handiwork."

Let me suggest that those two men were men, real men. Their words are 100 years old, but their thoughts and ideas are as fresh as tomorrow. If each of us can approach his job with one half the fire and fervor that those two men did, then we will have vindicated the trust our constituents put in us.





'... The Key to Southern Liberation...'

Dr. Samuel D. Cook, *professor of political science at Duke University, gave "an historical sketch of the Negro in the Southern political process" at the opening session Dec. 12. His talk was followed by a panel-audience discussion. Dr. Cook is chairman of the Voter Education Project's Advisory Committee.*

Just as politics "makes strange bedfellows," it begets baffling meanings, events, and experiences. It sometimes makes realities of illusions and illusions of realities. Politics can enslave "the high and the mighty" even as they celebrate the delights of power and privilege. There is a politics of deception, but there are also deceptions of politics, including brutal self-deceptions. The history of Southern politics is a grim reminder and prophetic warning of the perils of politics of fear, negativism, memory, separation, and brutally irrational collective egoism and pride.

The historic position of the Negro in the Southern political system is an awfully strange phenomenon, full of paradox and irony, simplicity and complexity, mystery and meaning, public injustice and poetic justice. Strange as it may seem, the black man's influence on Southern political systems, structures, events, and public policies has been profound, central, and universal. Somehow, the harsh and startling truth is that the Negro is the key to Southern politics. Take him out of the equation and the politics of Southern history does not, in substance, make sense; it is, clearly, beyond the realm of rational intelligibility. Put him in the key role and the tawdry pieces, like a symphony, fall into their proper places and perspectives.

Though, in essence, powerless, helpless, and victimized, the black man, because of the tyranny of racism over the mind of the white South, has been able, without intention or knowledge, to dominate Southern political and governmental life. Essentially outside the political arena, his presence in Dixie largely determined the content, style, rhetoric, direction, and issues inside the Southern political process. How paradoxical and ironic!

Driven by a paranoic fear of black control or "domination," the political thought and practices of the South produced by way of the back door (how symbolic!) that very "black domination" it most feared and sought so desperately to avoid. Slaves tyrannized masters; subjects tyrannized citizens; those who monopolized the structure and process of power fell victim to the very men against whom, above all, their terrible power was directed. Whites fell into the trap they had so cleverly and determinedly made for blacks: absolute dominion.

The very presence of the Negro exercised a dominating influence on the public philosophy and life of the South. The heart of Southern history has been informed and inspired by memories and anticipations, hopes and fears, beliefs and doubts, cocksure complacency and blinding restlessness issuing from the troubling and universal presence of Negroes. Unwittingly, the Negro has exercised tyrannical power over the Southern political process. Just as he was victimized by the albatross of racism, so was the white man. With all his awesome and unlimited power, the white man of the South was powerless—psychologically, emotionally, intellectually, spiritually, culturally, economically, and politically—to shake off the tyrannical influence of the black man. The black man has been the Southern white man's "hang-up." The Negro, like a fearsome ghost, has haunted and driven the white man. The white South's actions and reactions, plans and counter-plans, contemplative flights and manipulative processes were, in large measure, simply echoes and reflections of the agonized, agonizing, and fearsome presence of politically alienated and powerless black men. Deep and irrational fears can enslave even the most powerful. The Southern white man's genius—political and otherwise—has been exhausted in "the race problem." Southern politics is, at bottom, the politics of fear, and the object of fear is the black man.

The changes that have occurred on the Southern political scene—symbolized by your election to positions of power and responsibility—are indeed radical, but the most radical ones are yet to come. The key to Southern liberation is black liberation—liberation from the cancer of racism. When black men are fully free,

the South will be fully free. It will overcome its legacy of national alienation, poverty, illiteracy, economic colonialism, cultural and ideological isolation, and tragic and self-defeating enslavement to the tyranny of the past and the seething despair of a collective existence born of entrapment to the paralysis of memory. Freed from the heavy yoke of racism, the South—and, on a deeper level, the nation as well—will take wings.

I. The Nature of Politics

Politics, shorn of its non-essentials, is a struggle for power and for the values associated with, and derived from, the possession of power. Politics, said Max Weber, "means striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state."[1] Political institutions and activities are, essentially, power relations. Power is the ability to get things done, to influence others, to create the desired consequences or conditions.[2] It is the capacity to manipulate and control the world of men as well as the realm of nature in accordance with one's interests and desires.

"Political power is social power focused on the state. It involves control of other men for the purpose of influencing the behavior of the state, its legislative, administrative and judicial activities."[3] Political power determines the authoritative allocation or distribution of public benefits. It involves public decision-making in terms of form and substance, personnel and policy, input and output, privileges and privations, punishment and reward, protection and exploitation, enrichment and impoverishment. Accordingly, the stakes of politics are indeed high and precious. The political system determines who gets what, when, and how. The fruits of political power are many and varied. Public services—from physical protection to street lighting, sewage and garbage disposal—taxation, opportunities for education, enjoyment, employment and other life chances, and related bread-and-butter decisions are largely political matters. Ultimately, politics has profound bearing on the quality and destiny of human life and culture.

Politics is, therefore, a high and honorable calling. It is no better and no worse than other honorable professions. Because of the nature of their office and responsibilities, what political leaders do, in terms of virtues and defects, successes and failures, devotion to public good and pursuit of self-serving ends, is more glaring, visible, and dramatic than that of most men and women. The public properly expects high standards from politicians. After all, they are supposed to be the servants and guardians of the public interest.

The political system and the people who manage its operations have great responsibilities and opportunities for public service. Conflict and disagreement, owing both to human nature and to the scarcity of goods or objects of satisfaction, are an inherent part of the human scene. Politics is peculiarly the arena of conflict, tension, clash, and competitive pursuit for the satisfaction of desires and the achievement of advantage and privilege. It is an eternal battleground of pressure and counter-pressure, demand and counter-demand, pushing and shoving.

As Miller asserts,

> Politics . . . is about disagreement or conflict; and political activity is that which is intended to bring about or resist change, in the face of possible resistance . . . . Political activity . . . arises out of disagreement, and it is concerned with the use of government to resolve conflict in the direction of change or in the prevention of change. It is about policy and position.[4]

Conflict is at the heart of politics. Herein lies perhaps the most creative power and responsibility of political life. Politics is concerned with the adjustment, regulation, accommodation, management, and resolution of conflict growing out of competitive desires, needs, interests, and preferences. It has been well said that "politics is the most inclusive process by which social conflict is regulated in a community."[5] The quality of the political system and the character of political leaders are best determined by how they deal with conflict. The response of the political system to the stubborn reality, power, and persistence of conflict discloses its viability, character, and worth. A political system is creative or destructive in accordance with the pattern and quality of its response to the basic problems and dimensions of human conflict.

Race, in its many manifestations, has been the chief source and expression of conflict and tension in Southern political life. The response of the political system has been destructive and sterile rather than creative and imaginative. Radically absent were creative encounters and responsible responses. The fundamental dimensions and human realities of the situation were never faced; indeed, a premium was placed on not facing them. Methods of political sidestepping were endlessly elaborated and faithfully implemented. Exclusion, oppression, suppression, and victimization of blacks were the chief methods and techniques of the South in dealing with racial conflict and tension. They prevailed.

Regulation, adjustment, accommodation, and resolution of conflicting interest were accomplished by the ruthless mobilization and brutal application of "White Power." The idea of shared power and mutuality of political respect was totally lacking. Conflict communication, participation, and representation were not only irrelevant; they were viewed as dangerous subversion of law, order, justice, and the common good. Issues, therefore, were never confronted, and hence their resolution was made an obvious impossibility. The system not only fostered but celebrated and glorified collective hypocrisy, conceit, egoism, and dishonesty. Majestic principles were invoked to justify the reduction of black men to the status of subject and victim of the political process. Lip-service was dutifully paid to democracy even as Negroes were systematically excluded from the experience of every element of citizenship.

II. Southern Politics and the Tyranny of Racism

A. Black Men As Subject, Issue, and Victim

To understand the depth and power of racism over the Southern political process, it first is necessary to grasp what politics has meant to the South. In a way unique to America, politics has been dear to the heart of Southerners; they have loved it with a passion. It has been a source of profound meaning, attachment, value and fulfillment. If racism was the South's first love, politics was its second. The Southern love of

politics, Cash insisted, is inseparable from its love of rhetoric and oratory.[6]

He went on to say that,

> Thus the politics of the Old South was a theater for the play of the purely personal, the purely romantic, and the purely hedonistic. It was an arena wherein one great champion confronted another or a dozen, and sought to outdo them in rhetoric and splendid gesturing. It swept back the loneliness of the land, it brought men together under torches, it filled them with the contagious power of the crowd, it unleashed emotion and set it leaping and dancing, it caught the very meanest man up out of his own tiny legend into the gorgeous fabric of the legend of this or that great hero.[7]

Besides, politics in the South has been a form of entertainment, relaxation, and escape from the painful burdens of life. All this must be understood in terms of the region's legacy of poverty, misery, illiteracy, disease, national alienation, and tragedy. Politics has been precious to the Southern collective experience.

Politics provided a psychological and emotional outlet from the soil, which was both a prison and a shrine, a curse and a blessing.

Atlanta Constitution columnist Celestine Sibley perceived the heart of matter:

> If there had been anywhere else to go, any other form of public entertainment, it's possible the rural Southerner wouldn't have developed such a marked taste for oratory and barbecue. Having little enough to divert them, however, at 'lay-by time,' when there was nothing to do in the fields except let the crops grow, and the summer protracted meeting had run its course, a political rally at the county seat was a welcome event. Men of all ages from bearded grandpas to shirt-tail boys saddled up horses, hitched the mule to the wagon or set out afoot to hear such spellbinders as fiery Bob Toombs, Little Alec Stephens, Tom Watson and, in later years, Ol' Gene Talmadge . . . . You have but to read some of the old speeches to realize that politics . . . was better than any road show.[8]

No wonder the South produced so many colorful political figures. One thinks of "Kingfish" Huey Long—"Every Man a King"; "Ma" Ferguson—elected governor to serve as proxy for her husband, barred from office by an earlier impeachment and indictment; Ol' Gene Talmadge—displaying his red galluses, appealing to the "wool-hat" boys, and insisting that he didn't want any votes from any county big enough to have street car tracks; "Kissing Big Jim" Folsom; Georgia's two or three governors at the same time; Cotton Ed Smith discoursing with great eloquence on the virtues of Southern womanhood; Lester Maddox, in the early days of his campaign for the governorship, proclaiming his opposition to school consolidation on the ground that it would prevent some nice little girl from being chosen school queen; George Wallace standing in the "schoolhouse door" in symbolic defiance of the whole majesty and power of the United States government. Behind all the comedy was a serious commitment to political life. It satisfied deep needs.

"The South has always been a great land for politicians. This isn't mere happen-so. It results from the character of the people and the nature of their life."[9] Politics in the Old South was something sacred, some-

thing of a religion, perhaps a substitute for, or an extension of, religious experience, rituals, and symbols. The South, according to Dabbs, "tended to replace religion with politics, and to make politics, religion, and the moral life one."[10] He goes on to speak of the "Southern tendency to keep questions in the political realm and to prevent them from becoming moral and religious."[11]

Accordingly, the oppressed status of the Negro in Southern political life represented his victimization and exploitation by something precious and sacred to white Southerners. Deep beliefs and commitments were involved. The region's first and second loves were united in political and governmental institutions and processes to the detriment of black humanity. Politics was, "so to speak," said Cash, "the temple wherein men entered to participate in the mysteries of the common brotherhood of white men, to partake of the holy sacrament of Southern loyalty and hate."[12] Thus racist demagogues, with all their oratory and manipulative skill and power, provided to whites not only enjoyment and entertainment but enrichment, satisfaction, meaning, and fulfillment at the heavy expense of black men. Negroes were excluded from, and victimized by, the Southern political process with a passion that partook of the "sacred."

The raping of Negroes by the Southern political process was, therefore, born of and nurtured by the search for meaning as well as the will-to-power. There was, in fact, a marriage of the will-to-meaning and the will-to-power. Psychological and spiritual components combined. The domination and control of black men satisfied not only the egoistic ambitions, imperialistic aims, and aggressive inclinations of whites; they also satisfied certain spiritual and moral impulses as well. It may sound strange, but the white South gave the political process a moral, spiritual, and religious interpretation. It was also viewed as a commanding agency of organic social cohesion and unity. The Negro was caught up in the throes of a variety of convergent forces and values. A racist public order issued from, and pointed to, more fundamental concerns of the moral, social and religious sphere. The intensity, persistence, and evangelical character of the political persecution of black Southerners is beyond rational comprehension unless linked to perception of certain ultimate concerns.

A broad perspective is essential in order to understand the constant preoccupation with the presence of the Negro and the expenditure of endless energy as well as moral, rational, and political resources to keep him in a state of oppression. The South felt it necessary to make the alienation and domination of Negroes ab-

solute and total—and even that did not produce satisfaction. The desire for security against a weak and black minority was insatiable; the hunger and thirst were beyond satisfaction. It was not enough to make black men powerless; they had to be humiliated and consistently and brutally reminded, in the public forum and in the boondocks, of the contempt and scorn in which they were held. They were easy targets and victims of political evangelism, and the peril of their presence had to be denounced with fervor and earnest dedication.

What's more, the white South could never shake off the feeling of the mysterious and perilous presence of the Negro. Serious threat of "black domination" was always lurking in the background. Negro strength would, according to the perceptions and fears of whites, somehow break through the stone walls and steel barriers of oppressive laws, caste, and custom. Danger was omnipresent; black invasion of sacred white temples was always an immediate possibility. Watching had to be constant; new walls of protection had to be built; new devices for the detection of rebellion had to be invented.

There was, on the ultimate level, a feeling of the powerlessness of power to prevent attempts at social and political change. Prevalent was the paranoic syndrome of a secret but powerful conspiracy against the Southern "way of life." The white man never felt secure. He was haunted by an inner doubt and fear that he had not done enough to maintain the political enslavement of the black man. Complete disfranchisement of blacks did not bring serenity and confidence to whites. Doubt still lurked. Black men were still viewed as a threat, a problem, a nightmare.

Perhaps subconsciously, the feeling that the Negro would rise was substituted for the sorry myth that the Confederate South would rise again. It is strange, but power does not necessarily produce security, and absolute power, if it were possible, would not inevitably bring about absolute security. Ironically, black men, in their powerlessness, exercised tremendous power over whites, who monopolized the process and substance of power; relegated to subjects, black men informed and inspired the basic political philosophy and practices of white citizens. There is an element of mystery in all this, but there is also a core of meaning.

Southern politics has been primarily the politics of race. Racism has presided over perhaps every major aspect of the political life of the region, if the situation is viewed in large terms—in the pre-Civil War era, the Civil War itself, the Confederacy, the Democratic split in 1860, Reconstruction, the Redemption, the establishment of various restrictive voting laws, the Black Codes, the rise and perpetuation of the one-party system,[13] the birth and death of Populism,[14] the Dixiecrat movement, the numerous independent electors exercises, the Wallace movement, and so forth. Alexander Heard asserts, "Southern concern over the Negro is the most deeply rooted source of political contention in American politics."[15]

In his classic study, *Southern Politics,* V. O. Key observed:

> In its grand outlines the politics of the South revolves around the position of the Negro. It is at times interpreted as a politics of cotton, a politics of free trade, as a politics of agrarian poverty, or as a politics of planter, and plutocrat. Although such interpretations have a superficial validity, in the last analysis the major peculiarities of Southern politics go back to the Negro. Whatever phase of the Southern political process one seeks to understand, sooner or later the trail of inquiry leads to the Negro.[16]

The "Southern bloc" in the Congress exists only in reference to the race issue. After analyzing Southern voting behavior in the Senate, Key concluded that "on the race question, and on that question alone, does a genuine Southern solidarity exist. On other questions Southern Democrats split and Southern solidarity becomes a matter of degree." [17] After examining Southern voting behavior in the House, Key concluded: "Thus the inference to be drawn from House behavior is similar to that deductible from Senate voting: Southern attitude toward the Negro provides the bedrock of Southern sectionalism."[18] The celebrated Southern doctrine of states' rights—from its initial formulation to the present—is, at bottom, an ideological weapon, political imperative, and respectable camouflage for a free hand in the management of race relations. It has no consistent and meaningful application elsewhere. The South "has not stood consistently for states-rights, except on issues associated with slavery and the Negro question."[19]

Somehow, then, the Negro has, unwittingly, exercised a curious tyranny over the mind of the white South. Of the centrality and universality of Negro influence, it has been well said that the

> fundamental determinant of Southernism has been the presence of the Negro in large numbers relative to the whites, and resulting white supremacy doctrines and patterns of behavior. A South divorced from the problem of race would not have been a Solid South; a South preoccupied with race problems became a Solid South.[20]

It is of timely relevance to note that racism, fearing that, in a system of competitive party politics Negroes would hold the balance of power, is chiefly responsible for the historic one-party system in the South. "The South is a one-party area," commented Rossiter nearly a decade ago, "primarily because of the Negro."[21] Perhaps the crowning irony of Southern political history and process is that the party of Lincoln—which, owing to its image of association with the rights and aspirations of Negroes, was for nearly a century reduced to impotence in the South—must attribute a large part, though, of course, not all, of its modern rebirth and success to racism.[22]

Significantly, the pervasive influence of the Negro on the political process of the South has not been as a political agent and participant but as a political issue and object.[23] It has been, in other words, his function as a subject, not citizen. Essentially outside the political process and system, the Negro has been the chief source of animation, dynamism, inspiration, strategy, style, issues, and direction.[24] Southern politicization and political socialization issued from, in large measure, the very presence of the black man. The heart of Southern political socialization is the proposition that the governing process is the business of whites only. The Negro, in this view, is only subject—not citizen; a tool to be manipulated, not a political agent to be reckoned with and whose demands are to be responded to. "A democratic citizen," it has been well said, "speaks the language of demands."[25]

B. Consequences of the Tyranny of Racism on Southern Politics

Owing to the tyranny of racism, the Southern political system and process have been built on exclusivist rather than inclusivist principles and ideals. Interpretations of democracy, equality, justice, progress, and other moral ideals that inspire and inform the Southern political process were provincial and made in a manner to deny that very exclusiveness. The principles of democracy, in this framework, were not violated but, on the contrary, affirmed and institutionalized with religious fidelity. As Louis Hartz observed, "One of the crucial factors in the solidarity of the South was a democratic spirit enhanced by the slavery on which it rested."[26]

Some spokesmen of the Old South saw in Greek democracy their model and inspiration. Democracy for whites only was idealized. "The dominance of all white men over the Negro created a sense of brotherhood not unlike the Greek concept of democracy."[27] But even as Athens was invoked, fidelity to the American Creed was proclaimed. "The proslavery argument was so cleverly combined with American ideals that servitude appeared the very condition of democracy."[28] The very slavery of blacks was viewed as a basis of the freedom, equality , citizenship, culture, civilization, and humanity of whites.[29]

Ante-bellum political philosophy, attitudes, public policy, and vision have been continuous and productive of some awesome fruits. The Old South mothered the legacy that whites are born to rule and Negroes to obey, that the governing process is the business alone of whites. Because of slavery, said Tocqueville, "the citizen of the Southern states becomes a sort of domestic dictator from infancy; the first notion he acquires in life is that he is born to command, and the first habit which he contracts is that of ruling without resistance."[30] The operation of the particularistic version of democracy spawned an institutionalized negation of the ideal of the universality of participation inherent in the democratic process. It has meant not only the total alienation of Negroes from, but, even worse, their victimization and exploitation by, the Southern political process.

Down through the years, Southern public life has adhered to the principle of racist exclusivity. Even progressive and reform movements, weak at best, have espoused the ideology of racism. In his monumental *Origins of the New South,* C. Vann Woodward has a chapter whose title is: "Progressivism—For Whites Only." He maintains, "Southern progressivism generally was progressivism for white men only," and notes the "paradoxical combination of white supremacy and pregressivism."[31]

Self-defeating for whites have been the consequences of the centrality of racism in the total political culture. If it emasculated blacks, it produced the sterility of whites. Low electoral and other forms of citizen participation, a one-party system, (or, rather, a no-party system), a primitive political culture, diversion of energies and imagination from the real and vital issues of regional growth and development, alienation from the mainstream of the public life of the nation, vast restrictions on freedom of choice, archaic political, governmental, and constitutional structures, fertile soil for demagogues, tragic illusions, romance with negativism, and wild-eyed and futile adventures, and an inability to perceive the ultimate dignity, vitality and creative and higher possibilities of political life are all, in great measure, the product of racist-dominated politics. Great visions have been vitiated and buried because of racism. There is deep pathos here. The "tragedy of the South," says Dean Acheson, "has been that racism has corrupted an otherwise respectable strain of protest and experimentation in the search for economic equality, dating back to Jefferson, Mason, Randolph, and Jackson."[32]

Worthy of emphasis is the low level of electoral participation. Voting is only one aspect of political consciousness and involvement, but it is crucial. The record of the whole country is a terrible commentary on our public life,[33] but the South's record is the most depressing.[34] "By any standard," said Key, "precious few Southerners exercise the rights of citizens in a democracy."[35] Many reasons may be adduced, but they are all related, in the end, perhaps, to the "Negro problem."[36] Restrictions on Negro suffrage were vast and constituted "the most impressive systems of obstacles between the voter and the ballot box known to the democratic world."[37]

But restrictions on Negro suffrage took their toll on whites as well, both directly and indirectly, resulting in a small segment of the white population monopolizing the governing process. Indirect limitations on white voters flowed from the quality of the whole political system—the lack of competitive politics, the absence of issues and choices beyond personalities and self-serving factions, the hegemony of routine, and the sheer weight of the cumbersome mechanics of registration and voting. Direct restrictions on whites proceeded from laws aimed at Negroes but also militated against whites of low socio-economic and educational background and status. Laws directed against Negroes almost invariably affected some white voters.[38] The poll tax, for example, Key held, "insofar as it has deterred voting, has operated primarily to keep whites away from the polls,"[39] because Negroes could be kept from the polls by other means. Besides, the landed aristocrats and Bourbons held no special love for "poor whites." Thus, ironically, in the Southern political system certain whites have been victimized by the mythology and practice of the politics of white supremacy. In fact, "in sheer quantity nonvoting whites outnumber the voteless Negroes of the South as a whole."[40] In terms of substantive pub-

lic policy, the region's legacy of poverty, low per capita income, disease, illiteracy, and undevelopment of resources—human and natural—is a pathetic reminder of the depth and persistence of human folly. In every major crisis of the South, its leadership has defaulted. It has misled.

III. The Day and Night of Reconstruction

With legal emancipation and ratification of the Civil War amendments, the hope and expectation prevailed that former slaves would become, in reality as well as in theory, citizens and therefore full and equal participants in the Southern political process. Hopes, among the four million freedmen and their friends and allies, soared. Expectations and aspirations took wing. Reconstruction got under way.

Obviously, the new freedmen had no political experience or civic education. What is less well-known—and this tells us much about the character of the whole American political tradition as regards black men—is that even free Negroes, before the Civil War, had been, on the whole systematically excluded from the processes of politics. "Prior to the Civil War, Negroes had the right to vote in only four Northern states—Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, and Vermont. One Southern state, North Carolina, for a period allowed freed slaves to vote."[40] The voting laws of New York had discriminated against free Negroes.[41] When the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified in 1870, Negroes could vote in only seven Northern states.[42] "During the period between the Philadelphia conventions of 1787 and 1865, only Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts permitted Negroes to vote on equal terms with whites. All others, at some time, have barred Negro Americans from the suffrage."[43]

Despite the tragically scarred legacy of slavery, Southern resentment and hostility, political chaos, and partisan wrangling for the advantages of power and privilege, Negroes plunged deeply into the muddy waters of Southern politics. They registered and voted in large numbers. They filled significant elective and appointive offices. They were familiar figures at state constitutional conventions, in state legislatures, and in local positions of responsibility. Between 1869 and 1880, 16 black men served in Congress from the South—two of whom, Hiram R. Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, represented Mississippi in the Senate. By 1895, 21 Negroes, representing eight states, had served in the House of Representatives.

Many myths have been created and perpetuated about "Negro domination" during Reconstruction—powerful myths that have been used to justify the political oppression and degradation of black men. The facts, however, are quite different. As John Hope Franklin observed,

> No group has attracted more attention or has had its role more misrepresented by contemporaries and by posterity than Southern Negroes during Radical Reconstruction. The period has been described as one of Negro rule, as one of gross perfidy with the Negro as the central figure, since the reins of misgovernment were supposedly held by black militiamen. Negroes were not in control of the state governments at any time anywhere in the South. They held public office and, at times, played important parts in the public life of their respective states. But it would be stretching a point to say that their roles were dominant, and it would be hopelessly distorting the picture to suggest that they ruled the South. It was in South Carolina that they had the greatest numerical strength. In the first legislature there were eighty-seven Negroes and forty whites. From the outset, however, whites controlled the state senate and in 1874 the lower house as well. At all times the governor was white. There were two Negro lieutenant governors. . . .[44]

Negro public officials, during Reconstruction, were neither better nor worse than their white counterparts. Both virtues and defects, both successes and failures were shared. Black men made real contributions.[45] A major contribution was to the establishment of public education for both races. "It is fair to say," asserted DuBois, "that the Negro carpetbag governments established the public schools of the South."[46]

The hopes of Reconstruction were dashed for a variety of reasons. The failure of the national government to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, partisan calculations, Southern determination to make the political process the exclusive prerogative of whites, the low economic, social, and educational status of blacks and other forces conspired to end the experiment in shared power and responsibility. With the withdrawal of federal troops, the Negro was abandoned to his enemies. White power was restored with vengeance. Force, violence, economic pressure, psychological coercion, and various "legal" devices were employed to reduce black men, once more, to the status of subject and victim. Virtual slavery returned.

IV. Conclusion: Citizen at Last?

"The citizen, unlike the subject, is an active partici-

pant in the political input process—the process by which political decisions are made."[47] Is the Negro, at long last, a free, equal participant in the Southern political process? The answer is clearly in the negative. The input must be increased; the output even more so. Changes in public philosophy and policy must come.

While it is true that the Negro still is part subject, it is also true that, because of numerous changes in the political landscape, he is much nearer the shore of political equality than at any previous time. He now has a toehold in the Southern political process. He can, on the whole, vote. Negroes are, in increasing numbers, elected to public office. A handful hold appointive positions in state and local governments. Black men are beginning to participate in the conduct of party affairs. A new day has dawned in the political and governmental life of the region. Because of pressure, barriers continue to fall. Because of increased participation, black men are developing a fund of public experience and increasing their political confidence and skill.

Negroes can help redeem the past of the Southern political process. They can be liberating and redemptive agents. Just as the Negro was the key to Southern political enslavement, he is the key to Southern political emancipation. The Southern genius has been exhausted in the "race problem." Black men, working with whites of reason, good will, and a sense of justice, can largely free the South from the chains and illusions of the past. The chief problem is racism.

Freed from the prison of racism, the South will be freed from the heavy yoke of deceit, hypocrisy, negativism, obstructionism, and provincialism. It will be freed from the vain illusion of the possibility of the restoration of a public order "gone with the wind." It will be freed of the exhausting and painful efforts to maintain a closed corporation. It will be freed from enslavement to the past and to memory. Freed of the Atlas burden of racism, the Southern political process will be able to say, ironically, with Martin Luther King: "Free at last."

FOOTNOTES

1. "Politics as a Vocation," in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1946), p. 78.
2. See Bertrand Russell, *Power: A New Social Analysis* (London, 1938), p. 35.
3. Franz Neumann, *The Democratic and the Authoritarian State* (Glencoe, 1957), p. 3.
4. J. B. D. Miller, *The Nature of Politics* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 14, 16.
5. Dan Nimmo and Thomas D. Ungs, *American Political Patterns* (Boston, 1967), p. 11.
6. W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South*, Vintage ed. (New York, 1941), pp. 53-54.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.
8. *Peachtree Street, U.S.A.* (Garden City, New York, 1963), pp. 75-76.
9. James M. Dabbs, *Who Speaks for the South?* (New York, 1964), p. 189.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-99.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
12. *Cash, op. cit.*, p. 81.
13. Alexander Heard, *A Two-Party South?* (Chapel Hill, 1952), pp. 9, 145-46; J. B. Shannon, *Toward a New Politics in the South* (Knoxville, 1949). pp. 8-9, and Harry Ashmore, *An Epitaph for Dixie* (New York, 1957), p. 15.
14. See, for example, Tom Watson's tragic and bitter comment in T. Harry Williams. *Romance and Realism in Southern Politics* (Athens, Georgia, 1960), p. 55.
15. Heard, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
16. *Southern Politics* (New York, 1949), p. 5. Also see ch. 31.
17. *Ibid.*. pp. 359-60. For additional evidence, see Key's *Public Opinion and American Democracy* (New York, 1961), pp. 100-04.
18. *Southern Politics*, op. cit., p. 372.
19. Francis M. Coker. "Are There Distinctive Political Traditions for the South?" *Journal of Politics*, II (1940), 15.
20. Allan P. Sindler, "The Unsolid South: A Challenge to the Democratic Party," in Alan F. Westin, ed., *The Uses of Power* (New York, 1962), pp. 236-37.
21. Clinton Rossiter, *Parties and Politics in America* (Ithica, 1960), p. 139.
22. Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President*, 1960 (New York, 1962), p. 360, and Samuel Lubbell, *Revolt of the Moderates* (New York, 1956), pp. 179-81. In Lubell's more recent books, however, the racial element in modern Southern Republicanism is not emphasized.
23. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York, 1944), pp. 429-32, 1310.
24. The literature on the subject is vast. See, for example, Frank E. Smith, *Congressman From Mississippi* (New York, 1964), and his *Look Away From Dixie* (Baton Rouge, 1965); Marian D. Irish, "The Southern One-Party System and National Politics," *Journal of Politics* IV (1942), 80-94; William G. Carleton, "The Southern Politician," *Journal of Politics*, XIII (1951), 215-31, and James W. Silver, *Mississippi: The Closed Society*, (New York, 1964).
25. Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Boston, 1965), p. 138.
26. Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York, 1955), p. 168.
27. Francis B. Simkins, *The Everlasting South* (Baton Rouge, 1963), p. 39.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
29. Cf. Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 442-43.
30. Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Henry Reeve text as revised by Francis Bowen and corrected and edited with an Introduction by Phillips Bradley and Foreword by Harold J. Laski (New York, 1945), I, 394.
31. *Origins of the New South: 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951), p. 373.
32. *A Democrat Looks at His Party* (New York, 1955), p. 44.
33. Kay Lawson, *Political Parties and Democracy in the United States* (New York, 1968), p. 81; report of *President's Commission on Registration and Voting* (Washington, 1963), esp. ch. 1, and pp. 66-67; Robert E. Lane, *Political Life* (New York, 1959), pp. 45-52; Semour Lipset, *Political Man* (Garden City, 1960), ch. 11, and Nimmo and Ungs, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17.
34. Key, *Southern Politics*, chs. 23-30, and his *Public Opinion and American Democracy*, p. 104; Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 455-56, 474-75, 483; report of *President's Commission on Registration and Voting, op. cit.*, pp. 7, 66-67; Lester M. Milbrath, *Political Participation* (Chicago, 1965), pp. 58, 63, and Frank J. Sorauf, *Political Parties in the American System* (Boston, 1964), pp. 23-25, 36.
35. Key, *Southern Politics, op. cit.*, p. 491.
36. Myrdal, *op. cit*, pp. 475-76.
37. Key, *Southern Politics, op. cit.*, p. 555.
38. *Ibid*, pp. 542, 550.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 598; also see p. 618.
40. Howard Penniman, *The American Political Process* (New York, 1962), p. 14. Myrdal and Green, however, say that Negroes could vote in five Northern states. Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 430, and Fletcher M. Green, "Democracy in the Old South," in George B. Tindall, ed., *The Pursuit of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1964), p. 187.
41. Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 430.
42. Penniman, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
43. G. James Fleming, "The Negro in American Politics: The Past," in John P. Davis, ed., *The American Negro Reference Book* (Englewood Cliffs, 1966), p. 418.
44. *Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1961), p. 133.
45. See, for example, Fleming, *op. cit.*, pp. 421-22.
46. W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1888*, Meredian ed. (New York, 1964), p. 664.
47. Almond and Verba, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

'...Real Kind of Revolution...'

Dr. Vivian Henderson, *president of Clark College in Atlanta, was luncheon speaker Dec. 12th. Dr. Henderson is author of a Southern Regional Council study on "The Economic Status of Negroes" and is co-author of several books, including "The Advancing South: Manpower Prospects and Problems" and "Jobs and Color: Negro Employment in Tennessee State Government." He is a member of the VEP Advisory Committee and the SRC executive committee.*

I am interested in discussing with you what I believe to be a very important set of background phenomena in terms of the South. This audience, by virtue of its structure and the structure of its agenda and its program, obviously is interested in the South. Subsequently I'd like to try to pinpoint some kind of strategy for black elected officials.

Now I won't be too successful here, because I'm not a political scientist and I'm not a political figure. But I've had some experience in the practical field of trying to arouse a community and particularly to help organize Negro political groups for the purpose of effecting a sophisticated kind of strategy (I use the word sophistication without apology here.)—a sophisticated kind of strategy that would enable us to know something about what we ought to do under a variety of conditions involving political participation.

We hear a lot of talk about the revolutions of today. And, of course, to me, when we talk in terms of revolution, we think in terms of violence, physical upheaval—and of course there is some of that. But I think the politics of the South and certainly the representation here today manifests the real kind of revolution that is going on in this country and particularly in the South.

Any person with minimum intelligence would sense the fact that what is here today would not have been here three years ago. Any person with minimum intelligence would recognize the fact that what we have here is a conglomeration of personalities from varying black groups representing different kinds of interests but all currently having one thing in common—and that is, being black and, at the same time, trying to pursue, like a people, the best life and the good life within the framework of a democratic society. It is this kind of a revolution that doesn't get enough attention in the public press and in the media. It is usually the soapbox orator who gets the attention.

The issues facing the South today emerged from traditional and persistent problems. This is so with regard to race relations, and it is also the case with regard to the broader of politics—of economics, education and leadership. On the other hand, I do think that the forces which condition and shape these issues are of recent vintage. The forces of urbanization, the forces of technological change, mobility of labor and capital and the swiftness with which such forces play havoc with the lives of many people—this is certainly of a new origin.

As Southerners and as people interested in working in Southern politics, it is important for us to recognize the two faces of the South. The concept of the old order—the only face the South exhibited—was that of a rural and backward South. Now I see that there are at least two faces today. One is the face of Southern cities and metropolitan areas, smaller towns with an urban mentality—plagued, to be sure, with the systems and traditional problems and images, but trying to carry the South into the mainstream of American and rural life, and yet encumbered with problems ushered in by the forces of urbanization and technological change. This is the face that we recognize. This is the face that is represented here in this conference—a face of black men and women struggling to emancipate the region from its traditional backwardness and its traditional images. One gentleman from Portsmouth, Va., last night said to me that the South will rise again, but it will be rising with the leadership of black people and rising with a new kind of image and not in terms of the old kind of image.

But we can not suggest that with all the progress that apparently is being made that there is a continuance of that second face. And that is of the old order—the face of racism, segregation, discrimination, anti-unionism, down with the federal government, preservation of the status quo, agrarianism, and a Communist under every rock and stone. It is the face of rural-dominated legislatures, ultra-conservative representatives in the U. S. Congress, low-wage industry, the faces of George Wallace and Lester Maddox, and the faces of hungry children and poverty as established by recent reports. These are the forces or the issues that black elected officials must recognize.

At the same time I recognize the fact that many of America's problems today are not regional in character.

Certainly they do not carry the regional thrust of a few years ago.

We know, for example, that the South's problems, like the nation's problems, are basically urban problems. Only a few years ago the South's problems were mostly rural, and those of the rest of the nation were basically urban. Race relations problems were a few years ago confined to the South because overwhelming proportions of black Americans lived in the South. But today the problems of Southern job-seekers, income recipients, housing tenants, school children, the problems of those who pursue welfare rights and quality education, the problems of those who seek health improvement and relief from hunger and malnutrition—they have only limited differences in the South than those Americans in other regions.

The solutions certainly have lost some of their regional character. Since World War II Southern progress economically, politically and socially and in race relations has been directly tied to national programs, national policy and national trends. It is for this reason that I question the whole concept of grants to states and the whole concept of the reversal to states' rights. Recent economic gains in the South and improvements in employment and so forth, these have been directly tied to the national force of economic and political power.

It may appear irrelevant for a conference of this sort to deal with problems of people in the South in a regional context at this point in our history. But the South does have problems peculiar to the region. Its politics, its economics, its race relations and its history—these are all peculiar to the region.

One of the great differences between the South and other regions today is what I believe to be a realistic kind of opportunity—an opportunity for the South, even at this late hour, to avoid the mistakes of the North in favor of building up in its society a generating force of participation by all its citizens. To me this is the great significance of the conference here today. One of the great challenges to black elected officials is recognition of a role that the Negro elected official must play in building up a society capitalizing upon the fact that there may be an opportunity here for the South not to make the mistake of the North and build into rigidity a housing segregation, etc. that the North is plagued with today.

While the South's history is laden with scars of demogogic politics—agrarianism, demeaning race relations and a history of the severest kinds of racial dualism and hate—it is also a history of black and white poverty existing side-by-side and a peculiarity of less-than-rigid distribution of population by race, within cities and within rural areas. Strange as it may seem, the data will suggest that urbanization, for example, has not developed in the South as it has in other regions. In spite of the farm mechanization and the displacement of many people from farms by farm mechanization, the technology is still relatively novel in its impact on Southern non-agricultural industry.

We began by talking about the region, the place that's being represented here. It has made several strides in the areas of unemployment, per capita income and the like. It has made great strides in the area of politics. (As I understand, there are 385 black elected officials in the states that represented the Old Confederacy, the highest degree of concentration of legally elected public officials than anywhere else in the nation. I would say we need more. The most important thing is for the black elected officials who are in office today to recognize this goal and help to get others to be a part of this participation.) There are several things that have influenced this kind of progress. One has been the development of national policy to promote full employment to combat poverty, and so forth. Two, the part of national policy to combat racial discrimination and segregation through schools and hospitals and employment and voter registration and voting.

It's on this second point that I am concerned. I have yet to see in the South, in spite of the positions of our black elected officials, the kind of initiation of public policy legislation which really brings the problem and the solution from the national level to some of our local and state levels. It seems to me that we have just about gotten what we are going to get from national policy; and if the Cabinet that was appointed last night is any criteria, then I'm quite sure that we have gotten just about all we are going to get for the next few years. It means, in other words, that rather than being passive as elected officials and responding and reacting to legislation introduced by others, the great challenge we have for the black elected officials today is to take the initiative and introduce this legislation formulating the public policy, pushing it, riding it, and making these policies known to their constituents.

Number three is the forces of the redistribution of the Negro population. Now these and other kinds of things and work will continue to influence public change and they will continue to influence public employment.

Now let me just mention one thing here which I think is extraordinarily important and which I think we live with every day and which I think is the kind of a thing which we can get our hands on pretty quickly in terms of effecting public policy for ourselves. I mentioned population redistribution. I also mentioned that the South has had what I call less-than-rigid distribution of the population by race, particularly when it comes to housing. Now I didn't say there was no segregation in housing—I didn't say that. I simply said it was less than rigid. This is a very serious problem. Local, regional political leadership must deal with it. Now cities like Houston with its third ward and fifth ward, Atlanta with its Southwest section—these have long had rather rigid housing segregation. But most Southern rural towns and rural areas and urban areas have not been rigid in this respect.

Through urban renewal and construction of new expressways, more and more citizens now in the South have built—have in fact planned and engineered development of—racial ghettos and race lines in terms of housing and citizenry. The negative aspects of this passage, in my judgment, will far outweigh any positive impact that has been proved. Consequently, whereas school desegregation could have been dealt with as easy to come by in many areas of the South, insofar as residential patterns were concerned, it is more and more repeated by concentration of public housing, housing developments and single-family dwellings in racial enclaves and racial ghettos. Any elected official who sits

up and watches this go by without trying to do something relative to it has missed the boat, and I believe this is only one example of the kind of problem we face in urban circles and in smaller rural farms. And to it black elected officials must address themselves.

Negroes are going to continue to move to the urban areas. It is projected that by 1975, 72 per cent of the Southern brothers and sisters will be in urban cities and towns.

The rise of racial ghettos in the Southern region should be a matter of concern to all of us. And yet I recognize that two parts of this most of us have been able to capitalize on on one hand—and how it hurts us on the other hand. For example, many of you here would not have been elected to public office had it not been for the racial ghetto. And I recognize the power of politics within the racial ghetto. This is an educated kind of opportunity. It presents a greater kind of opportunity for greater political participation. And indeed it represents perhaps a new kind of opportunity for political leadership in our cities, including mayors of cities and towns. But it also means on the positive side the things that black elected officials recognize as the cities become more concentrated with the brothers and sisters: that the problems of poverty and progress are mounting. We must understand that issues will become more important to the brothers and sisters than personality. This will become more important then to the black constituency as they feel the pressures that must accompany the higher degree of concentration of people in a small area.

In sum, at this point what I'm trying to say is that we in this region know the South has made a lot of gains, and they've made them on all sides. Then we know that civil rights gains have benefitted all black Americans one way or another. But despite these gains in the South and despite the gains and improvements among Negro Americans, there are several things I want to cite just to keep you reminded of the fact that we've got a long way to go before we reach the kind of parity with the larger part of the population that we ought to have.

The South continues to be the most depressed area in the economy. Per capita income, for example, in the region is less than three-fourths that of the rest of the nation. Eighty-five per cent of the 200 most poverty-stricken counties in the United States are located in the South. And I don't have to add that these are heavily populated by black people.

A recent report by the Citizens Board of Inquiry indicated that 242 of the 256 counties in the country which were in the hunger count were located in 13 Southern states. And these are the very states and counties, I might add, where congressmen and senators work most effectively to block policies designed to feed the hungry and to alleviate the poverty—while they also promote agriculture and other policies to lower the amount of production and drive people off the farms and out of rural areas to the cities so they can fill their pockets with $13,000 worth of payments from the taxpayers' pockets in Soil Bank and other kinds of payments designed to promote agricultural development. You know who I am talking about from the state of Mississippi, Sunflower County, who gets $13,000 a month not to produce while people are going starving right there in his county.

I'm saying here that these issues cannot be dealt with just on the basis of personality. We must come to grips with the hard issues that affect the people's stomachs, their lives, their schooling, their health and their liberties of life. The kind of thing I've just described, incidentally, is what some people call free enterprise for the poor and socialism for the rich. It was what was said about Mr. Nixon's Black Capitalism.

Negroes in the South—in Atlanta, Birmingham, places like Sunflower County, Issaquena County—on the average only earn 43 per cent of what Negroes in the North earn. Whites in the South, on the other hand, earn about 75 per cent of what whites in the North earn. The region continues to lag in education, and Negroes bear the brunt of that lag. Negroes in the South still constitute the largest and most depressed group of the nation's population.

Finally, many elements of traditional race relations persist in the South. And there are many industries and plants with all-white work forces, and these are the rule rather than the exception. We find it in our banks and our insurance companies and in communications and in radio, television and newspapers.

We've heard a great deal about the urban crisis—the crisis of our cities. One of the most obvious consequences of the concentration of black Americans in central cities is the increased difficulty in taking them out of poverty.

I would argue at this point that the thing that black elected officials must take seriously is the development of a carefully conceived body of political strategy for the Negro electorate in the South. Colleges and universities have failed miserably in providing that body of strategy, the framework of the strategy for black elected officials. But somebody is going to have to do that.

Political fortunes that have come to Negroes up to this point have come in spite of themselves more than because of political astuteness. Now, I don't mean to be indicting people—I am indicting myself as well. But I suspect that it is because of the terror of the racial ghetto, more than political astuteness, that we have been able to come by some of the political fortunes that are manifested by the group assembled here today. And while most of this strategy is applicable to all races, strategy in different situations can evolve from general principles.

For example, politics among Negroes in Atlanta is almost wholly—and I would say about 99.9 per cent—oriented toward personality. Now, a certain amount of politics is always going to play a role. In my view, Atlanta desperately needs issue-oriented politics. Anybody who knows the city of Atlanta knows what personalities do here.

The issues are clear. They are found in the poverty of our black people. They are found in our manpower inadequacies. They are found in the quality of our ghetto schools. They are found in the related services to the poor. The issues are found in the inadequacy of the grievance procedures, in the inability of people to reach certain aspects of the city government. The issues are found in the lack of consumer protection and programs. They are found in the nth degree. The issues are found in the destitution of families and children.

That brings us to the future.

We must re-examine the strategy of racial blocs. I'm not too sure but that in the near future we can rely upon racial solidarity. Now we may have a slight difference of view here, but we can rely on racial solidarity as a vehicle to accomplish our goals. This is particularly true as the two-party system in the South gains strength. That doesn't mean for a moment that I'm saying tomorrow we're going to come together when it comes to a political issue involving race. I don't think we can. But how about someone to enlighten us to the possibilities of the two-party structure and legitimate two-party structures to provide settings for the ways to proceed on racial issues? I think this strategy will have to work. I feel that the question of issues, personality politics and coalition politics also must deal with the question of the role of racial blocs. I'm simply citing this as a matter that has to be dealt with.

I was very interested in the Cabinet and the appointments made by President-elect Richard Nixon as I was visiting last night in Washington. It was said earlier that if these appointments are any criteria of what is to come, then Negroes really must come to grips with the question of strategy, because we may be in for a period of standstill in politics, insofar as national leadership is concerned. Mr. Nixon appointed a Cabinet with no Negroes, no members of the Jewish faith, no ethnic representation, and obviously pretty close to the white Anglo-Saxon principle.

The only appeal that I heard regarding the brothers and sisters by the incoming administration has been the call for black capitalism. I have studied Black Capitalism. I'm not really too sure what Mr. Nixon is asking with his Black Capitalism, but I can assure him and I can assure you and I can assure everybody else that even Black Capitalism would be of little use to the masses of New York who need help. For we want and I want all the black businesses, everybody I can get. I want all the black entrepreneurs. I want them in Harlem and I want them on Fifth Avenue in New York City, not just on Hunter and Auburn Streets in Atlanta, but at Five Points. It is an illusion to think that this approach (Black Capitalism) will transform the lives of the millions of black brothers and sisters whose lives need transforming and restitution to a reasonably normal standard of living.

I was very interested in the new representative from Mississippi, Mr. Robert Clark. He said what has happened is that Mr. Nixon did not go into the Negro community, he did not campaign, he did not seek the Negro vote, he made no effort to get it; he made it by his attitude. He said what this meant to him, if I read it correctly, is that Negroes are left out and they will be left out of what's going to happen.

Now I hope we're all wrong on this—and obviously we are not trying to prejudge completely. But the fact is that we're going to talk about political strategy on the national scene. The brothers and sisters have had to depend upon the national scene to effect the policies and the things by which we could get things done at the local scene. If we lose a hold on the national scene, if they sort of look at us as being on the periphery and not an integral part of the pursuit of the mainstream, then we've got to really re-think the strategy. And I don't think this can be done on an ad hoc basis. I don't think this can be done with people going in so many different ways. Perhaps it becomes incumbent on those who are assembled here to try to come up with the kind of things that might have meaning in this respect.

It seems to me that most political strategy—and the strategy that has caused the dynamics in urban and rural life contrary to where we thought we were just about five years ago—must continue to recognize the dynamics of race relations as a continuing and central factor in the life and order and growth and development of our people. Racial attitudes and practices continue to be factors conditioning one-third to one-half the population. Now, I say that because of the second point I want to make about this strategy: It seems to me that we must keep in mind that we are not at the point where we can abandon racial and color consciousness under the facade of color blindness. Even some of the black brothers and sisters who got elected to office right here say, I'm going to represent all of the people. That's fine. You just keep in mind that those who elected you 99 per cent of the time were black.

Secondly, you must keep in mind the fact that you must be responsive to and responsible to a color-conscious society. And it seems to me that for any black elected official to go around and say "I'm elected by all the people" without also adding "I'm going to give some special attention to the black brothers and sisters," he's going on the wrong track. I say this hoping at the same time we continue to pursue with all dignity a color-blind society.

Even the white elected officials now are always talking about, "I want to pursue this without regard to race, creed or color." Now you know that too many injustices have been heaped upon the black brothers and sisters under a color-conscious institution of racial segregation for us to expect the consequences of those injustices to be erased under a scheme of color blindness. And I've been so careful of telling you of color consciousness as a political strategy, and it must necessarily underride the strategy of Negro elected officials.

Now, I'm not a black nationalist. I'm not a Black Power advocate according to the rhetoric and slogans that you hear now. I want to be sure to be clear on that. But I am arguing here that for the forseeable future color consciousness must be part of our political strategy and our urban strategy.

What we have found in the last few years in the lives of black people appears to be a conflict in goals in race relations. And that conflict revolves around survival of racial separatism as a goal, as a philosophy and as a strategy vis-à-vis racial integration. Objectives concentrating on the development of economic and political power among black people are objectives that aren't new.

We started a group in Madison some years ago called Eagleton County Independent Political Party, and one of the first things we did back there was say it would be all Negro. That was in 1961. And we said to our white friends, we've got a role for you but not right now. The point is, there was nothing new about the building of economic and political power for the Negro. We developed a high sense of black self-respect. These were all verbal objectives.

But this does not mean building black racism. This does not mean that we have got to build hate. This does

not mean that we have got to go off trying to build, as a matter of strategy, separate societies. What it does say to me is that Negro life and institutions need to be strengthened, not for separatism but for the purpose of achieving intelligent integration and maximizing contributions to the total of our pluralistic and multi-racial and democratic society. Indeed, as W. E. B. DuBois said many years ago, only when black people and white people, and black institutions and white institutions, can accept one another and interact with one another and be interwoven as part of each other's operation, respecting each other for his worth as an individual and not on the basis of color, will democracy in this country be subjected to a true test and have its opportunity to be achieved.

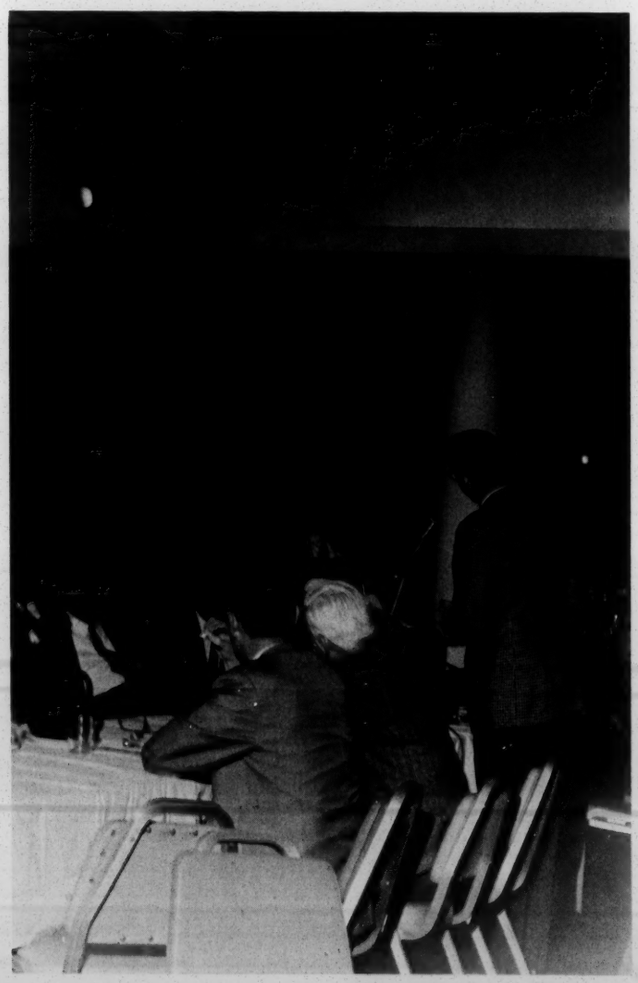
It is desirable that black institutions be strengthened, but not for the purpose of establishing some mystique called Black Power or for the purpose of creating black racism. They should be strengthened for the purpose of achieving a rightful place in a pluralistic society, a rightful place in a multi-racial society. You see, I'm going to have my cake and eat it too. Not only am I unwilling to abandon the goals associated with racial integration—at the same time, I reject the idea of apartheid. I also am not in favor of abandoning Negro institutions; because I believe pursuit of a democratic and interracial society is the only one that counts, and it will not be achieved without strong Negro institutions as part of that society.

I would caution those who call for even a limited separatism that this is a dangerous course. Yet somehow this still has a relevance in pursuit.

I am deeply disturbed as a president of a college over our failure to work effectively in servicing black elected officials. I have received in my office on several occasions requests from elected officials throughout the South asking for help in developing policy positions, examining the literature, examining bills, trying to help them get through to commissioners; and I have been at a loss as to how I could effectively do this within the amount of time that I have had. And yet for some reason or other I have been able to stay up at night and do some of these things to help the brothers and sisters.

We've started at Clark College what we call the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy. We received a grant the other day for almost $200,000 to develop this center, and it has several projects. The idea is to provide some services to the brothers and sisters. Hopefully that service center and the others that are going to be established in various places in the South will be able to provide a resource whereby the black elected officials and others might call to get the kind of help they need in order to be effective in the kinds of things I've been trying to describe.

I'm going to close by simply repeating a prayer Dr. Martin Luther King used to offer on many occasions, because I think it says much about what I've tried to say here. He said: "Lord, we ain't what we've got to be, we ain't what we want to be, we ain't what we are going to be; but thank God, we ain't what we used to be."



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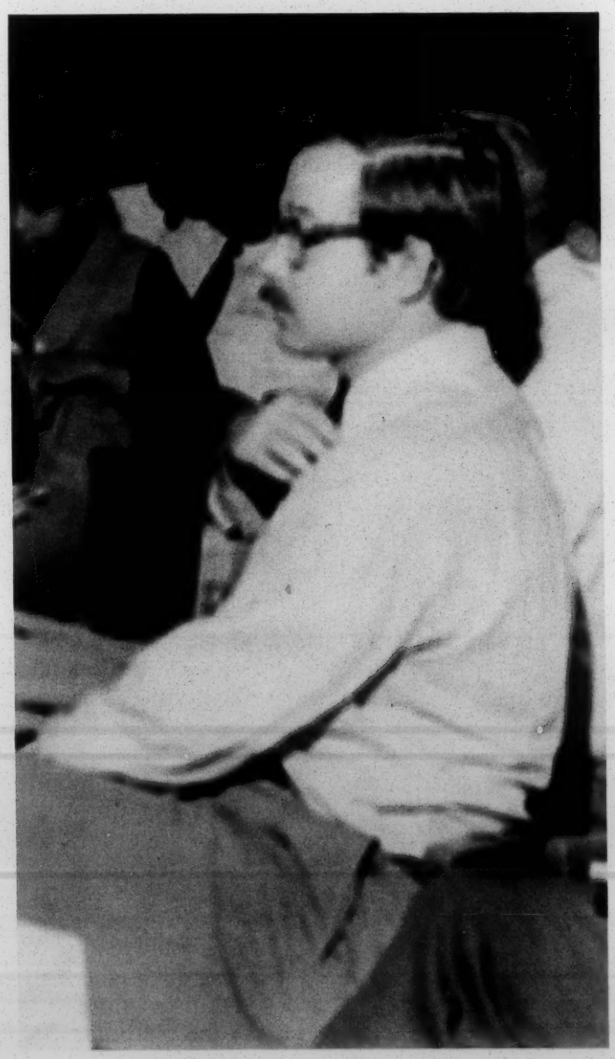
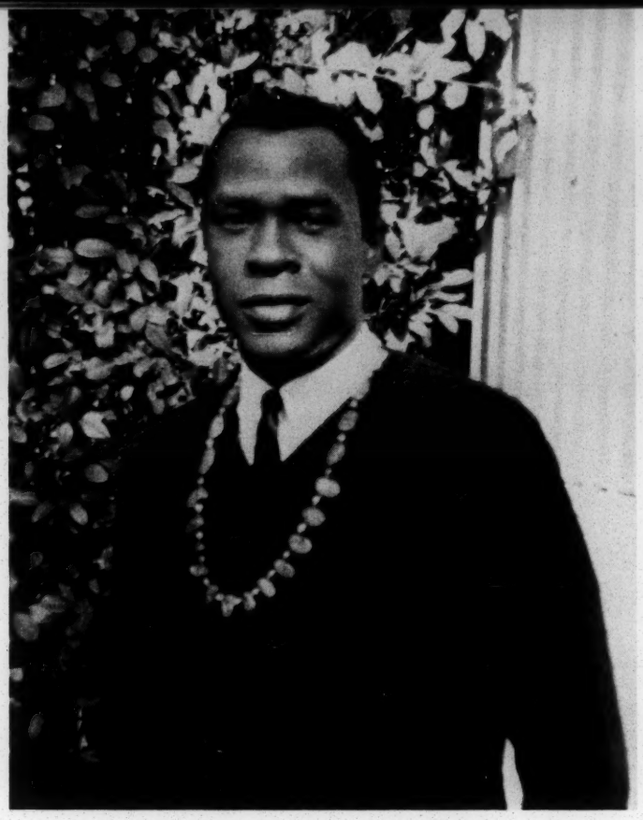




'... America's Last Hope ...'

James Mays, *president of the student body at Clark College, welcomed Mayor Richard Hatcher to the college campus when he spoke at a public forum there Dec. 12. Hatcher is mayor of Mays' hometown, Gary, Ind.*

Perhaps one of the tragedies of the masses of black people in the United States today is the lack of information concerning the history of their black leaders. Going through a Negro history book recently, I was amazed at the things about black politicians during the Reconstruction following the Civil War that I had never heard of. For instance, how many of us knew that at one time a black man was governor of the state of Louisiana or that from 1870 to 1901, 22 Negroes served in the Congress of the United States or of the many, many black people who served in their respective state legislatures?

All of this occurred during what we call the "old" Reconstruction, but now we speak of the "new" Reconstruction in which we are currently involved. But the sad fact is that even though we are involved in a type of political reconstruction, some of us as black students (perhaps because we so seldom see the face of a black politician in the news) still do not seem to want to become involved in the world of politics. In fact, it now seems fashionable to be as anti-government as possible. If there is a new political reconstruction going on among black people, most black students don't seem to be aware of it, or if they are aware of it, they appear to want no part of it.

Being interested in law and politics myself, I have often tried to analyze this disinterest manifested by students I associate with. After a little discussion, the answer is quite apparent. The first question a student wants to ask when you ask him if he is aware of the "new" political reconstruction is: "What happened to the old one?" And when you answer this question for him, you begin to realize from where the roots of this political disenchantment have stemmed.

Checking the Negro history book again, we read:

> The downfall of the Negro-white governments of the South was inevitable since Negroes had few guns, little land, and less government protection. Organized violence was the main weapon of those who sought to restore the old order. Masked night riders such as the Ku Klux Klan sprang up everywhere to terrorize Negro voters and their white supporters. The main Klan targets were Negro officials, teachers, and successful farmers. In 1875, a tall, muscular Negro farmer had stood before Senator George Boutwell of Massachusetts and demanded that something be done about the continued murder of his people. He was considering killing the Klan leaders responsible, saying, "We could do it in a night." "No," answered the Senator, "We intend to protect you." The promise was never kept. For the black man and for the South the result was tragedy. The torch of democracy that had burned brightly for a short while was extinguished. And Southerners would live from that day until this in the darkness of tyranny, poverty, and ignorance.

This information was taken from a book called *Eyewitness: The Negro in American History.*

This little passage only tells part of the story of why, as I have learned, black students are disenchanted with the political system, per se.

Some of you are probably thinking: "Why don't you remind them that the Ku Klux Klan no longer carries on its reign of terror?" If I did, they would answer: "Maybe not, but there are so many more subtle ways of keeping the black man in his place that we still see politics executed from the black frame of reference as being futile." Then they would go on: "Witness what Georgia tried to do to Julian Bond, and look at what Congress did to Adam Clayton Powell—and to take it even closer to home, notice what they tried to do to your own Mayor Hatcher during his campaign."

The question, gentlemen, is this: Is this really a "new" reconstruction or is this the same *old* reconstruction with the same *old* ending, but with different variations? My fellow students have their doubts; and I don't blame them as I, too, to some degree, have my own doubts.

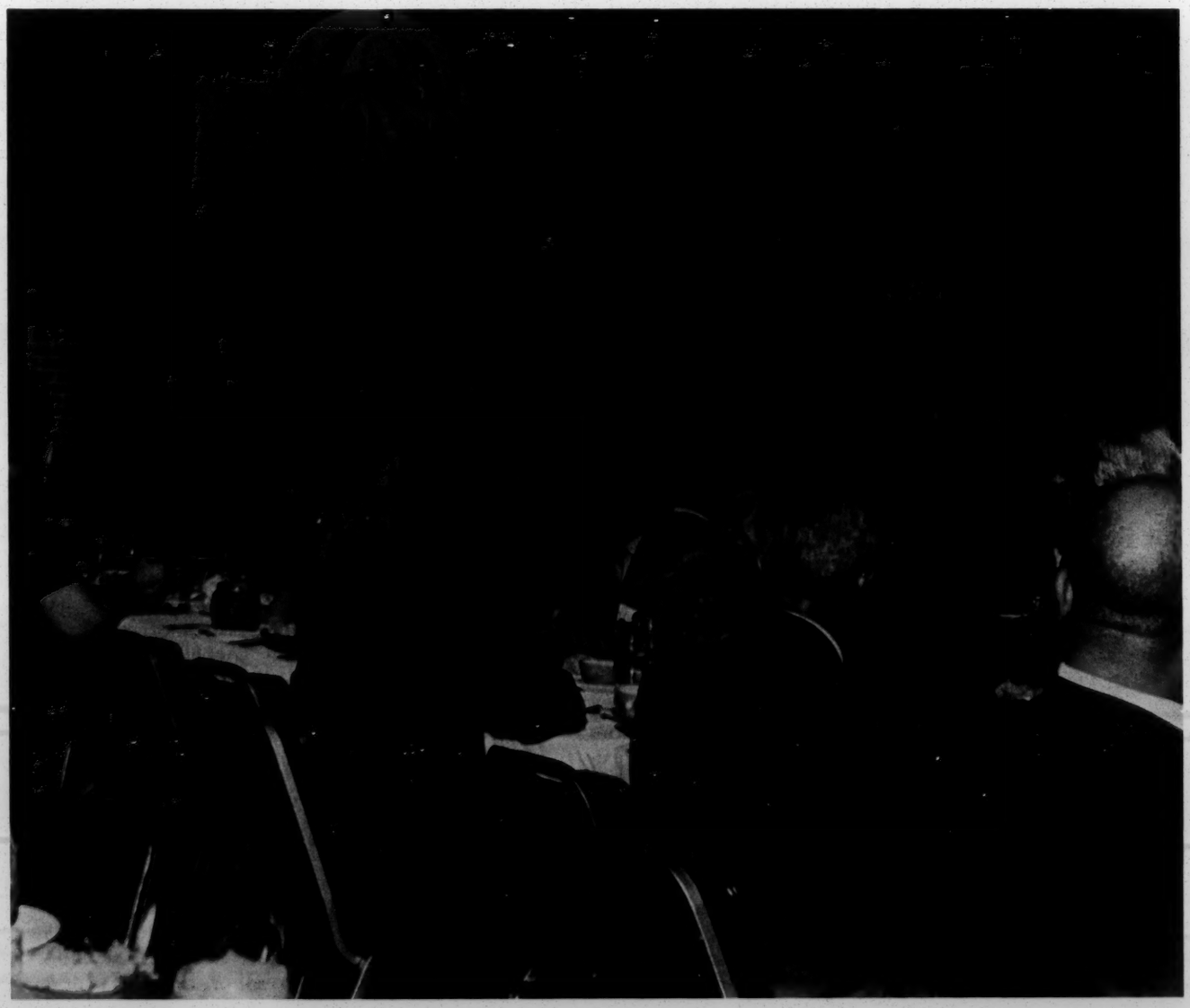
But if what is happening in the realm of politics for

black people today is not a fraud, then it is up to you as our spokesmen and leaders to make this crystal clear. There is no one, I repeat, no one, who can do this for you.

When Stokely Carmichael stood here where I'm standing yesterday and told an auditorium-packed audience that the only answer to our problem in this country is for us to get our guns, I wondered if it was already too late. For many students, it is. For others of us, we're saying: "O.K., America, we're willing to give you one last chance. We're foolish enough to believe that this time you may possibly allow us to grow into and of your political system." For almost all of us, this is America's last and final chance.

As we go into our new presidential administration, I can already feel the wheels of the "new" reconstruction grinding to a halt. No black man was appointed to the new Cabinet. Maybe this is nothing to become alarmed about, but many of us seem to hear Stokely's words more and more clearly each time we face this type of setback.

What this means, gentlemen, is that you have your hands full. From a student's point of view, you are America's last hope. I do not believe that I can overemphasize that point. What you accomplish while you are in office will inevitably determine the destiny of this country.



'... Power of the People ...'

Richard Gordon Hatcher, *completing his first year as mayor of Gary, Ind., spoke Dec. 12 at a public forum at Clark College. The 34-year-old attorney and former city councilman is one of two black mayors of major U.S. cities. A native of Indiana and one of 13 children of a Michigan City factory worker, Hatcher was graduated from Indiana University and Valparaiso University School of Law.*

When Stokely Carmichael shouted "Black Power, Black Power" in that Mississippi schoolyard, he performed the mythic function that some poet must always perform at the proper moment in history. He gave voice, he gave a name to a development in the life of Black America which was happening anyway and which needed naming so we could talk about it and think about it. I say he named it, rather than created it, because the movement towards Black Power, under other names, has had a long and honorable past. If it has become the dominant tone of our emotions and thoughts in the last two or three years, that is only because, like the proverbial snowball, the accretion of time and frustration has turned incipience into actuality, has made of the snowball an avalanche. I want, today, to look at these two words, "black" and "power," from the vantage point of a man who has had some connection with both words.

It is beyond dispute that I am black—I am too abashed to add "and beautiful," though it is tempting —and it is also a fact that I have held, for a year now, a position of at least a modicum of power. It is a good time, then, as the first year of my administration as mayor of Gary draws to a close, to examine what black power has meant to me.

My blackness has been the dominant fact of life's experience, as it is the dominant fact of the life of every black man in America, and perhaps in the world. James Baldwin, with his usual brilliance and cogency, describes the condition in his famous essay, "Stranger in the Village," in which he discusses his experience as a black man in a little Swiss village:

> For this village, even were it incomparably more remote and incredibly more primitive, is the West, the West onto which I have been so strangely grafted. These people cannot be, from the point of view of power, strangers anywhere in the world; they have made the modern world, in effect, even if they do not know it. The most illiterate among them is related, in a way that I am not, to Dante, Shakespeare, Michelangelo, Aeschylus, Da Vinci, Rembrandt, and Racine; the Cathedral at Chartres says something to them which it cannot say to me, as indeed would the Empire State Building, should anyone here ever see it. Out of their hymns and dances come Beethoven and Bach. Go back a few centuries and they are in their full glory—but I am in Africa, watching the conquerors arrive.

Because of the white man's rape of Africa, because of the ignominy of slavery, because of the long and barbarous history of segregation and discrimination, I am a stranger in this, the American village. Because white Americans have developed the ideology of racism to justify the sociological and historical experiences I have mentioned, I am a stranger in this country, in this village. But from another point of view, because I am a man, because I have been reared on the words, though not the facts, of Christianity and democracy, I am also an inhabitant, and in a strange sort of way a citizen, of the village.

Much of the history of Black America is dominated precisely by this contradiction. We have been *told* one thing—democracy, freedom, "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal." We have *lived* quite another—slavery, the Ku Klux Klan, white liberals so concerned with black people that they will tell them exactly what they ought to want, schools that don't teach us, promises from the Supreme Court which turn to ashes in strikes against Ocean Hill-Brownsville in New York. That is why we have been forced to fall back on our own resources. For you cannot be a stranger always. To be continuously strange is to pay a psychological price so great that no people can endure it forever. When Black America, then, turns to blackness, to what in Africa has for a long time been called "negritude," we have no apologies to make.

From the time I was a little child, before I ever heard of Othello, or, for that matter, Shakespeare—I knew I was black. No wonder, then, that as a grown man I must turn to the words of Leopold Senghor, the black African poet from Senegal, or to those of Langston Hughes or Arna Bontemps or Leroi Jones or Gwendolyn Brooks. From the time I was a little child—before I ever heard of Beethoven or Bach—I knew I was

black. No wonder, then, that I turn to Jimi Hendrix and Aretha Franklin, and that I recall with anger the black American symphony conductor Dean Dixon, who had to go abroad to practice his art. From the time I was a child—before I ever heard of Paul Bunyan or George Washington or Jaques Danton—I knew I was black. No wonder then, that as a grown man I turn to John Henry, Jomo Kenyatta and W. E. B. DuBois.

I will stop being a stranger, because I will recall that, though a stranger in this village, I have lived there nonetheless, and I have a history there, and elsewhere, as in Africa, and that history will make me less the stranger. We assert what we are, and we may wear a dashiky and look with favor on a "natural." Being ourselves will make us less the stranger. We tried being like the so-called natives, and were not allowed to be like them, and so we must turn to our own resources. Baldwin says,

> The black man insists, by whatever means he finds at his disposal, that the white man cease to regard him as an exotic rarity and recognize him as a human being.

So my experience with the word black is that of all black people. Being black has made me a stranger; being black has dominated my life. I cannot, nor would I wish to reject my blackness, and so I turn what the white world has attempted make a handicap precisely into its opposite. Black America is fortunate in that our history and culture are more than rich enough so we can find in blackness an advantage, a source of pride, a way to end our estrangement.

But there is another side to this. Even though I may find in negritude and in black culture a way not to be so strange any longer, especially strange to myself, that is not enough. For my estrangement has also included my powerlessness. I have not only been a stranger in the village, but I have also been a stranger without power. There are times in history when strangers have had sufficient power to keep themselves at least supplied with the necessaries for decent living. This has been true of many who came as strangers to American shores, as, after a generation or so, the Irish, the Italians, what have you. It has not been the case with black Americans. We have been kept strangers, in part at least, because our strangeness has provided the others, white Americans, I mean, with a cheap source for the sawing of wood and the drawing of water. Because black people have had no power, because the ideology of racism has permitted white Americans to think it natural, we have been exploited and used, deprived of the minimum wherewithal for a decent life, have provided the nation with back-breaking and menial labor, and sometimes with its best brains, all for the aggrandizement and enrichment of others.

That is why pride in being black is not enough for our survival. That is why we have increasingly had to turn our attention to a means of wresting from the majority not only a new perception of our humanity, but also a new place in the nation, so that we can enforce our demands for the satisfacion of our needs.

This is nothing new. The African chief Cinque sought power when he led a mutiny on the slave ship *Amisted* in 1839. Nat Turner is quite explicit when he says that the reason for his revolt is so that he can strike terror into the hearts of the planters and thus have the power to establish a black community in the Dismal Swamp. Toussaint L'Ouverture knew about the need for power, and so did, in more recent history, such often unheeded thinkers as W. E. B. DuBois and Paul Robeson, or, for that matter, Marcus Garvey. There is nothing new in the search for power by black Americans. What is new, perhaps, is that our search has been intensified because we have combined pride in being black with that search for power, and that we have found, in various stages of our experience, that power shared with the white majority doesn't seem to work.

Power means, quite simply, a force strong enough so you can get whatever it is you need. Let me recall that in the last two decades or so we have tried all sorts of ways of achieving power.

The Brown decision by the U.S. Supreme Court concerning equal education represented an effort to use the power of the courts to win needed improvements in the lives of black children. We won that skirmish, but we have discovered, almost 15 years later, that there was not enough strength in the power of the courts to guarantee any fundamental change in the education of black children. Legal power, which helped a little, did not help enough.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. tried another form of power. Beginning with the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955, Dr. King tried with all of his skill and dedication—indeed, he gave his life for it—to use the nonviolent power of black masses to achieve their needs. An eloquent man, he said it much better than I can hope to do. Writing in *Liberation* in 1959, Dr. King said:

> There is more power in socially organized masses on the march than there is in guns in the hands of a few desperate men. . . . All American history teaches us that like a turbulent ocean beating great cliffs into fragments of rock, the determined movement of people incessantly demanding their rights always disintegrates the old order. . . . This is the social lever which will force open the door to freedom. Our powerful weapons are the voices, the feet, and the bodies of dedicated, united people, moving without rest toward a just goal.

This, too, was a form of black power, though we did not then call it such. But this form of power, in and of itself, we also found not adequate to our needs. Nine years after he had written those words, Dr. King had fallen to the white assassin's bullet. Nine years after he had written those words, though segregation was a little less blatant in the South, though more black people had found their way to the voting booth in the South, the bulk of Black America, living in the horror of the crowded, fire trap-haunted ghettos of the North, had not advanced two inches. This society, it would appear, was not prepared to yield easily to the needs of Black America, and so the search for a lever, for an effective means of achieving power, had to go on.

We learned something else at this point, taught by Malcolm X and Leroi Jones and H. Rap Brown and Eldridge Cleaver. We learned that when the stranger allies himself with the so-called natives, to return to Baldwin's metaphor, it is very hard for the stranger to play anything but a secondary role. In the many struggles black Americans carried on together with white

people, we found all too often that well-meaning whites nevertheless conceived of us as strangers, assigned to us the role of strangers in our own struggle. Thus, well-meaning white people knew what was good for us—better than we did. They knew what our feelings about things ought to be—better than we did. I say that many of these men and women were well-meaning white people, because history records that they worked very hard and often sacrificed a good deal for our causes. I cannot forget that it was a white Goodman and Schwerner who died along with black James Chaney in the red dirt of Mississippi. But it takes nothing away from their heroism or dedication to say that they were always, willingly or not, the natives, and we were always the strangers.

To stop being strangers, we had to find the road to power ourselves. Whether or not one fully accepts other aspects of the thought of Franz Fanon, it is clear that rising black consciousness requires that we be led by our own, determine our own destiny, recognize our own needs, and that white Americans have quite another task to perform—perhaps an impossible one—which is to work to cure the sickness of racism among their own people, to work on changes needed in the total society, which affect everyone who lives within it.

Efforts at achieving power in various forms, combined with the rising tide of black self-confidence, then, bring us to the heart of the problem faced by Black America today, and to the heart of the problem about which this conference is deliberating, and to the heart of my own problems as a man who has achieved some modicum, as I have said, of power. It is clear that pride in blackness, and all that this implies, from a revival of black history and other Afro-American studies, to a new appreciation of the beauty of our women, to being led on the road to a better life by black leaders, is an absolute necessity if we are to end our status as strangers. This we are beginning to do. We have not yet, however, solved the riddle as to what lever or levers can provide the power we need to wrest a better way of life from the power structure within the total society. We have a number of options, and I would like to discuss a few of these now, including the one about which I am most knowedgeable.

One option is, of course, to leave, to return not only spiritually but physically to the lands of our African heritage.

No doubt some will choose that solution, but it cannot be a solution for most of us. There are physical problems as to where such a massive migration would go, and cultural ones stemming from our distance from African cultures. But there are also other aspects. We own a good part of these United States—not physically, but morally. Our sweat has gone to make the railroads run and to make cotton king. Our brains helped building Washington, D.C., and made heart transplants possible. Our talents have helped enrich the music, the stage, the poetry of the nation. Our blood has been shed in too many wars—including the fiasco in which we are now engaged. So we have a great investment in this nation, one we ought not to be forced to give up. Our power ought to give us our rightful share in what we have wrought. Therefore, I for one choose not to leave.

There is another approach. We can demand a piece of the nation for ourselves. We can demand five or six states as the territory for a black nation, or we can carve out the old ghetto in each city as our own turf. This has possibilities, and it has been explored by many thinkers both black and white, including so thoughtful a man as W. H. Ferry, the vice-president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Ferry writes, in the Saurday Review of June 15, 1968:

> But what Blacktown *most* wants, Whitetown cannot confer. Blacktown wants independence and the authority to run its own affairs. It wants to recover its manhood, its self-love, and to develop its ability to conduct a self-reliant community. . . . A successful plan for coexistence (that is, between Blacktown and Whitetown, to use Ferry's terms —I continue to quote) will not bring Utopia into being in Blacktown. Autonomous, interdependent Blacktown will be no better and no worse than other parts of the urban scene. Blacks can be expected to exploit blacks, even as whites exploit whites. There will be quarrels and walkouts and demonstrations and the inevitable ambiguities about leaders and leadership. . . . Whitetown will be accused of parsimony and trying to control things even if it enters into the scheme of coexistence with the best possible intent. . . . So the vision of coexistence is not that of the New Jerusalem, nor is it that of a national community struggling with the untenable doctrines of integration. It is a vision of a new federalism that will give 10 per cent of our citizens the chance they are seeking to make whatever they want to make of themselves, their culture, and their community.

I do not reject this form of power either on moral grounds, or on grounds of feasibility. But I have not seen any evidence within this society that Black America can get such communities without first achieving the tremendous power necessary to force them into existence. The white power structure which pinches pennies from Model Cities plans and Headstart programs will not readily give up control of major sections of New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. The slumlords who live in pretty suburbs on the profits they make from hellholes in the ghetto will not turn their hovels over to other owners for the asking. Blacktowns are intriguing, but they beg the question; for we must, should we decide we want them, first find the power to get them.

There is also the power of violence, in direct opposition to the kind of power Dr. King sought to use. I do not wish here to discuss this form of power—and that it certainly is—from an ethical point of view, though that is surely a matter for consideration. Rather I want to ask about the efficacy of the use of street violence, about its ability to achieve results.

Like it or not, violence cannot readily be dismissed as a source of power. It is true beyond dispute that the white section of the nation sat up and listened hard when it heard the fire engines race to Hough and Watts and Harlem and Chicago's West Side. But I am afraid that, to date, this form of power has also not paid off very much. White America *talks* better about what it ought to do, in the wake of one of these insurrections—but such talk has been around for a long time, and is hardly new. In fact, all that street violence has pro-

vided so far is more white talk and burned-over ghettos. The Kerner Report is a nice piece of rhetoric, which has not fed one black mouth. I do not reject violence out of hand then, but I have yet to see how it becomes a useful lever for power.

Let me turn finally to the kind of power I know the most about, that is, political power in cities of large black populations. I think it clear, in the first place, that my election as mayor of Gary has done something for Gary's black community in so far as its pride and sense of self is concerned. While we may still be strangers in our village, it surely makes us feel less strange that one of us has been chosen to head the village government. Furthermore, this fact guarantees that local efforts will be made so that we will not be exploited quite so mercilessly, that our people will get their share of whatever they have coming, to the extent that anything is available.

But right there is the rub. I may be mayor of Gary, but I cannot, by that token, guarantee that black people will share in the unbelievable profits of the U.S. Steel Corporation which dominates our city's economic life. I am mayor of Gary, but I cannot stop a war in Vietnam which drains the national treasury to such an extent that only very limited programs are available to the city for the reconstruction of its black community. I am mayor of Gary, and I was elected as a Democrat, but I am not able to sway the white Democratic Party so that it will reverse the present trend of national priorities and make the needs of black communities first on the list. I am mayor of Gary, but I cannot change the fact that our schools are too poorly funded, from state or nation or even local sources of revenue, to provide the catch-up educational process that the city needs in order to bring our black youngsters up to educational standards.

I want to confide a further problem to you. I am mayor of Gary, and thus I am mayor of all the people of the city, and I would like to do my best for all of them, black or white. But you know, what I cannot do for my black brothers, I cannot do for white people either, try as I might. Though the black community's needs are infinitely greater, the white community in our city is not without problems. But for the same reasons which prevent me from solving many black problems, I cannot solve many white ones, either—and neither could my white predecessors. Though I have some local political power, it becomes clearer to me that this is not enough, and that the power structure of this society is not prepared to give up enough of its profits to solve the problems of city living—for whites or blacks. Though black kids in Gary are badly educated, white ones are not getting nearly what they should, either. Though black communities are devoid of parks and play spaces, white communities do not have adequate park facilities either.

There are, rumor has it, a few white people in Gary who wish to disaffiliate from the municipality a predominantly white section of the city because they "don't like what's going on in City Hall." It seems that, while they were able to stomach the jailing of several earlier mayors for one form or another of municipal corruption, they just can't abide whatever it is that a black mayor is doing, though not one has accused him of appropriating for himself one dishonest penny. But I would warn these white citizens that disaffiliation will not solve one single problem for them—except perhaps their hurt racial pride. For the fact of the matter is that the local political lever for power, black or white, can only do very limited things, that it cannot really solve the problems faced by the American city until the entire power structure is in some way forced to yield up to the people—first to black people, but eventually to all the people—what the people need and deserve.

The question of power, it becomes more and more apparent, cannot be left at the level of parochial power. Black Power, whatever its form—political, non-violent confrontation, street riots or terror—may help us to feel less the stranger; but it will not eliminate poverty, or inadequate educational facilities, or slum housing, or provide us even a portion of the economic control of the life of the nation. Even if it were possible to establish the blacktowns that Ferry talks about, black people would not have control over the basic economic, foreign policy or social welfare priority decisions which will determine the welfare of black people as well as whites. Blacktowns might make us feel better—and that is terribly important and so I do not reject such ideas —but they will not make us live better.

And what is true of Black Power is also true of other forms of group power. Our campuses, for example, have seen a demand for student power which has a great deal of legitimacy.

Surely students ought to play a much larger role in the life of the university, which is their community for four or more years. But student power will not, by itself, change the national system of priorities in which education runs far behind spending for super-weapons of destruction, in which drafting young men for war is more important than letting them continue their studies beyond a bachelor's degree so that they can apply their knowledge to the alleviation of human suffering. Student power, like Black Power, like youth power, like other parochial forms of power, can only achieve very limited gains.

Where does this leave us? Am I rejecting the drive for Black Power? Am I hopelessly saying that nothing we may do can be of use? The answer is a clear and decisive No! The drive for Black Power is an essential, it seems to me a no longer debatable need; for it will

help to end our strangeness in the village, and that is absolutely necessary. So I support all forms of Black Power which will help Black America to define itself, to recapture its heritage, to assert its abilities, to realize its most immediate demands.

It is not immodest on my part to say that Gary's black children will be richer and stronger human beings for the knowledge that one of their own can govern the city, for the knowledge that their mothers and fathers were able to get themselves together enough to elect one of their own and thus assert their dignity. Nor is it immodest to say that Gary's black community is being given, for the first time in its history, some of the attention and concern which it so richly deserves, and that the lives of black men and women will be somewhat the better for it. These are among the things which Black Power can and ought to and must do.

But beyond that, if I look to the alleviation of our poverty and the improvement of our standard of life, logic compels me to place hope in the eventual coming-together of the demands for power by people of many sorts. I see hope in the rising tide of student militancy, if that militancy is carried, in time, from the campuses into the communities of the entire nation. I see hope in the demands of Spanish-speaking Americans for their share of power. I see hope in the growing radicalism of the young, who demand youth power and are no longer content to accept a dehumanized *status quo*. I see our only hope for a decent society in the coming together sometime in the future, of all these demands for partial and parochial power into a total demand for people power.

I do not pretend to be very hopeful. The experiences of Black America with other segments of our society have most often been disappointing. Perhaps they will be again. But I am certain that the only way to rescue our lives from the poverty for some, the alienation for all which are its hallmarks, is by the combination of the kinds of people power I have been talking about. Should that fail, what lies before us is chaos and dark nights of despair and destruction. The leaven in such a rising power cake must be, and already is to some extent, Black Power, for Black America has the least to lose, and the most to gain, by its assertion of power.

In the essay I have already quoted, Baldwin concludes with the following:

> No road whatever will lead Americans back to the simplicity of this European village where white men still have the luxury of looking on me as a stranger. I am not, really, a stranger any longer for any American alive. One of the things that distinguishes Americans from other people is that no other people has ever been so deeply involved in the lives of black men, and vice versa. . . . It is precisely this black-white experience which may prove of indispensable value to us in the world we face today. This world is white no longer, and it will never be white again.

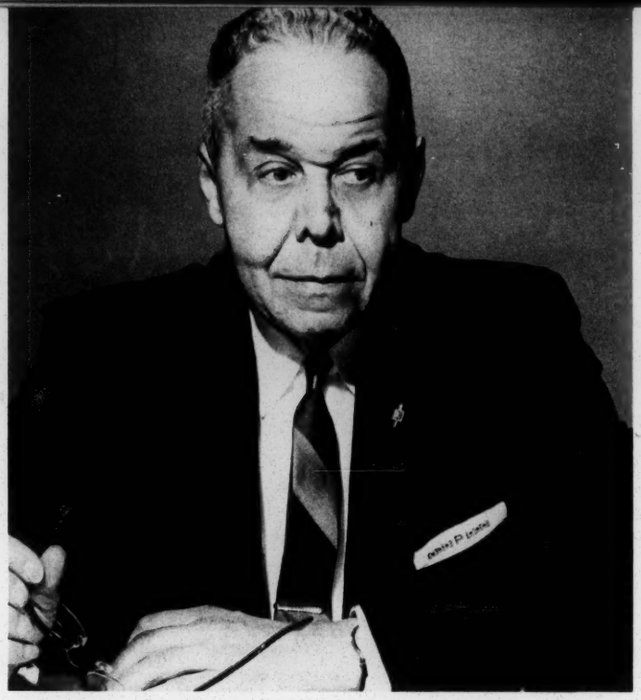
That is what we hope America will realize as we achieve more and more the power which our blackness demands. If we try to save ourselves, if we achieve the full potential of what Black Power can do, then it will be up to the rest of America, white, Spanish-speaking, student, youth, and so on and on, to join us in the establishment of the power of the people in a world in which none are strangers. If they fail, or if we fail, we may have no way left to live in this country. If they can succeed, and if we can succeed, if the people can wrest control from the hands of the economic overlords and the political self-servers, the rich and the powerful, then and only then do we have some hope that the good society can be ours.

One of the finest of our black poets, Margaret Walker, ends her poem "For My People," with a kind of incantation to the future. Let me cite it here, for her vision, the vision of a black woman who wrote these words more than a quarter of a century ago, still holds true:

> Let a new earth rise. Let another world be born. Let a bloody peace be written in the sky. Let a second generation full of courage issue forth; let a people loving freedom come to growth. Let a beauty full of healing, a strength of final clenching be the pulsing and the spirit in our blood. Let the martial song be written, let dirges disappear. Let a race of men now rise and take control.

A race of *men,* Margaret Walker says! For God's sake, for America's sake, let's get ourselves together!

Dubler Plaza



'... Difficult Decisions Must Be Made...'

Alfred M. Pelham, *chairman of Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company in Detroit, appeared on a panel on "Revenue and Taxation and the Elected Official" Dec. 13. He is a former controller of the city of Detroit.*

Before proceeding to any discussion of revenue and taxation, I believe it to be of utmost importance to emphasize the fact that the levy and collection of taxes and the collection of other forms of revenue and other income from whatever source constitute only one aspect of the responsibility and the problems which confront elected officials at every level of government. Of even greater importance are the judicious determination of the purposes for which available resources are to be expended, the selection of programs best calculated to accomplish these purposes, the best possible allocation of available resources to carry out these programs, and appropriate systems to assure that such resources are expended as effectively as possible for authorized and intended purposes.

In order to attain these ends, difficult decisions must be made and orderly operational programs must be carried out on the basis of carefully developed plans. It is obvious, therefore, that financial resources, while absolutely indispensable, constitute only one of the ingredients required for the effective and efficient conduct of government.

Another vital ingredient is a sound budgetary process. The word budget means different things to different people. In the simplest terms, a budget is a projected and reasonably flexible plan for the effective use of available resources for the accomplishment of one or more carefully defined future objectives. As a matter of fact, all of us, whether consciously or unconsciously, are almost constantly involved in the process of budgeting: budgeting of time, budgeting of space, budgeting of energy, and budgeting of money and other material resources.

In any case where available resources exceed the cost of all needed and desired services, formal budgeting might seem to be of less importance; but even in such a case effectual results would almost certainly depend upon carefully planned usage of such resources. Whenever, on the other hand, there are many demands on limited resources, the processes of priority establishment and resource allocation must be utilized if anything approaching optimum resources is to be attained. Where the unit of government is small and the demands for service are few, the process of budgeting is not likely to prove too difficult even in the face of limited resources. For those charged with the responsibility of conducting the affairs of larger and more complex governmental units, an adequate budgetary system is absolutely essential. In every case, it is important to maintain complete accounting records in order to assure proper accountability for the expenditure of public funds.

The brief reference that I have made in the foregoing to program planning, evaluation, and selection and to the budgetary process has been included only in order to put the fiscal responsibility of elected officials in proper perspective. In-depth coverage of these other important aspects of financial management should be given consideration as the subject matter for future meetings of this group, since our attention today is to be focused primarily on revenue and taxation.

Before proceeding to the discussion of any specific taxes or other sources of revenue, certain general observations seem to be in order. In considering the levy of any new tax, or even in reviewing an existing tax structure, attention should be given to certain basic criteria, chief among which are: equitableness, productivity, flexibility, collectibility, and administrative feasibility.

Since the primary purpose of taxation is to provide essential revenue, it is obvious that the productivity of any tax is of great importance. When the extent of need for revenue has been established, the potential productivity of any tax or combination of taxes should be estimated as accurately as possible in order to predetermine whether the projected goal can be attained by the levy of such tax or taxes. It is further desirable that such tax or taxes be subject to upward or downward revision within reasonable limits in order to provide a degree of flexibility which may avoid the subsequent necessity for the levy of some new or additional tax.

Careful consideration should also be given to the factors of collectibility and administrative feasibility. Some apparently proper subjects for taxation pose problems of collectibility because of indicated difficulties in enforcement. In other cases, estimated costs of levy and collection constitute such a high percentage of

potential yield as to make such taxes impracticable. In this area of concern, every effort should be made to avoid a multiplicity of different taxes, not only because of administrative problems and higher costs of collection, but also because too many different taxes are a nuisance to the tax-paying public.

The most important criterion in determining the use of any tax or combination of taxes should, in my judgment, be that of equitableness. An equitable tax structure might well be defined as one in which each person bore his or her fair share of the tax burden, or as one in which taxes were levied in accordance with ability to pay. It is obviously easier to define such a tax system than it is to attain it. There are wide differences of opinion as to what constitutes a fair share, and neither economists nor political scientists have been successful in satisfactorily measuring the limits of ability to pay.

However, despite the fact that there is no pat formula for attaining tax equity in designing a tax structure, in modifying an existing one, or in levying a new and additional tax, the best possible judgment should be used in attempting to make equitableness a primary consideration. This consideration, of course, should be extended to all, but with particular attention to those least able to pay and also to business and industry lest a too heavy tax burden result in a loss of potential job opportunities and a weakening of the economic base upon which the community depends for its existence. It should, perhaps, be mentioned at this point that certain types of taxes can be made more equitable by the appropriate use of exemptions.

Unfortunately, our present-day tax systems at every level of government have tended to grow by a series of patchwork additions from time to time as additional revenue was needed, with the result that by and large they are not equitable. In an article entitled "Who Really Gets Hurt by Taxes," which appeared in the December 9, 1968 issue of U. S. News and World Report, it is stated that the widely held idea that taxes in the U.S. "soak the rich and spare the poor" is erroneous, but rather that families with the lowest incomes tend to bear the heaviest tax burden in terms of ability to pay. While it is true that the graduated federal income tax takes a greater percentage of the income of those in the upper brackets, many other taxes make a bigger dent in the pocketbooks of lower income families.

The latter is particularly true of the payroll tax (Social Security), the property tax, and the sales tax. As an example, on Jan. 1, 1969 the payroll deduction for Social Security will be 4.8 per cent on earnings up to $7,800. Obviously everybody earning $7,800 or less will be paying 4.8 per cent of their earnings for this purpose; but because of the limit, those earning $12,000 will pay only 3.12 per cent of their total earnings, those earning $18,000 only 2.08 per cent, those earning $24,000 only 1.56 per cent, and so on down the line.

In the case of property taxes, according to the article referred to above, those making less than $7,000 a year pay six to eight cents out of each dollar of income, on average, whereas those in brackets above $25,000 average only 2 per cent of income for property taxes. It was further indicated that sales taxes take nearly a nickel out of every dollar earned by families in the lowest income brackets, as against a penny or two at the upper end of the income scale. It should be remembered that the above figures are based on nationwide averages and, therefore, that they may vary significantly between states and communities. In any event, the property tax and the sales tax tend to fall with heavier impact on those in the lower income brackets with relation to ability to pay, and yet state and local governments lean most heavily on those two taxes as major sources of tax revenue.

At the federal level, at least, increasing concern is currently being expressed relative to the heavy burden of taxation on low-income taxpayers; and many forms of possible relief are being tentatively proposed, such as increasing the income below which no federal income tax would have to be paid, reducing rates in the lowest income tax brackets, increasing the minimum standard deduction for expenses, increasing personal exemptions, giving tax credits for each personal exemption claimed by a low-income family, refunding Social Security taxes paid by low-income families, payment of "negative income taxes," etc. From time to time, studies have been conducted at both the state and local levels of government aimed at tax reform; but few, if any, of these have thus far resulted in any significant improvement of tax structures. Hopefully some of this good intent will soon be translated into action.

Although taxation provides the largest source of governmental revenue, there are many other potential sources of income including license fees; other fines, fees, and permits; income from sales of services; reimbursements for services performed; grants-in-aid; shared taxes, and other miscellaneous sources. These non-tax sources are utilized for a number of different reasons and, in some cases, a combination of reasons, such as:

1. To provide added revenue
2. To exercise control in the protection of health, public safety, property, etc.
3. To protect other public interests
4. To serve as a punitive measure
5. To secure total or partial reimbursement for certain services
6. To provide for intergovernmental cost sharing
7. To stimulate activity and improvement in respect to specified public services

In order that some of you who have had only limited experience in the field of public finance may get a better idea of the large number and great variety of potential tax and other revenue sources that are currently being utilized by state and local governments, you have or will be furnished with an outline of such sources. While fairly complete, it is not professed that it is inclusive of all such tax and revenue sources in use throughout the country. In some cases, comparable taxes may be levied in different governmental jurisdictions bearing entirely different names. I wish to make it very clear that, in presenting this outline, there is absolutely no intent on my part to suggest the use of any particular tax or combination of taxes. Local conditions, economic factors, and legal restrictions vary significantly between geographic areas and must, or should, be taken into consideration in the structuring or restructuring of any tax and revenue system.

At this point in time, practically all governmental

units at every level are being confronted by the same dilemma-increasing demands for public services, sharply increasing costs, and an inadequate tax and revenue potential. In many cases, therefore, unless there is to be a sharp curtailment in these public services or a lessening in their quality and effectiveness, it seems (even after every reasonable effort has been made to improve efficiency) that increases in existing taxes, or the levy of some new and additional tax or taxes, or the seeking out of some alternate source of revenue is inevitable. Wherever and whenever this proves to be the case, it is of the utmost importance that the five basic criteria mentioned earlier in this discussion be given most careful consideration before any decision is made to change the tax structure.

Quite obviously time does not permit any attempt on my part to discuss each of the different tax sources that are listed on the outline to which I have made previous reference. In the question and answer period which I understand is to follow the presentation of your panelists, there will be an opportunity for you to ask about any of these in which you may have a particular interest. Two of them, however, the property tax and the sales tax—which are heavily depended upon by both state and local governments—deserve at least brief mention. Both of these taxes are productive and reasonably flexible, but both tend to place a disproportionate burden on taxpayers in the lowest income brackets, as has been previously pointed out.

The property tax is one of the oldest and most used among all taxes currently being levied. It does not pose any serious problem of collectibility, for, if there is a failure to pay, the tax becomes a lien upon the property in question. It is not a particularly easy tax to administer, for there is involved the necessity of separately assessing each individual parcel of property, of maintaining extensive tax and assessment rolls, of keeping property assessments accurate and up-to-date, of developing uniform assessment procedures, and of equalizing assessed valuations on a state or county-wide basis. The use of the property tax is further complicated in many jurisdictions by statutory and constitutional restrictions and by a large number of different provisions for complete or partial exemption. In some jurisdictions the property tax is also extended to personal property; and, in these cases, administration becomes even more difficult and problems of enforcement are introduced. Nonetheless, the property tax is apparently here to stay for at least the foreseeable future, and it is therefore important that it be administered as effectively and as equitably as possible.

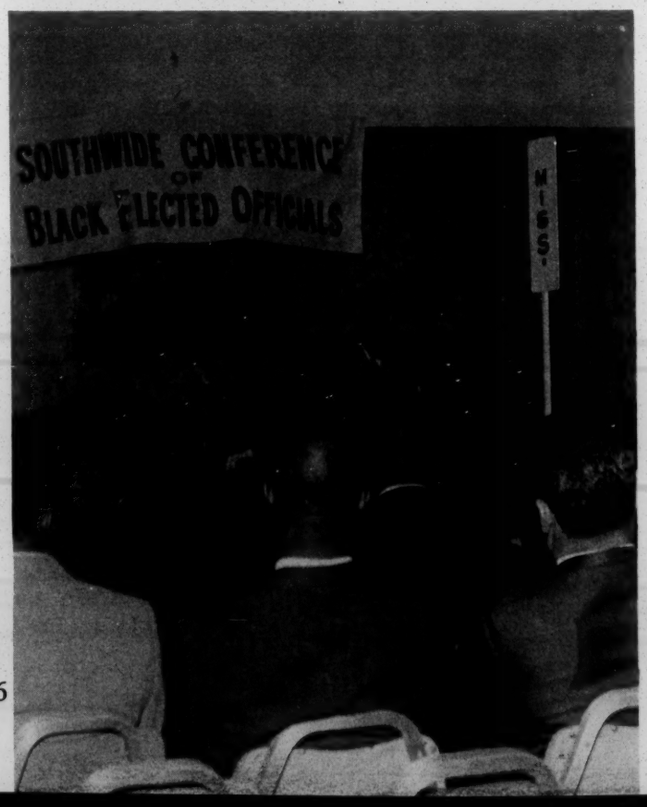
There is considerable variation in the manner in which the sales tax is used by governmental agencies across the country. It can be made applicable to the sales of services, as well as the sales of commodities. It can be made applicable to all sales, or provision can be made for exemption on the sales of such commodities as fool, drugs and/or certain basic clothing items. In the latter case the administration of the tax, which normally poses few problems, becomes more difficult and complicated, particularly for those who collect the tax at the original source.

In conclusion, I wish to make brief reference to the financing of major capital projects such as the construction of public buildings, highways, water and sewer facilities, etc. In some cases and to a certain extent, capital improvements may be financed out of current revenue, which method is generally referred to as financing on a "pay-as-you-go" basis. This method has considerable merit and may prove desirable in the case of long-term capital programs which provide for large annual expenditures over a considerable number of years, as might be the case in an extended highway construction program.

More frequently, however, major capital projects which are expected to have a relatively long life are financed by the issuance of bonds. This method of financing is justified by the fact that, at least to some degree, it tends to spread the costs over the period of years during which the capital project will continue in use. In no case is it desirable that the payment of a bond issue extend for a period in excess of the estimated useful life of the capital improvement. It is, of course, possible to finance capital improvement programs by an appropriate combination of "pay-as-you go" and bond financing.

Bonds issued by states and local units of government fall into two general categories—full faith and credit bonds and revenue bonds. The former category, which involves a pledge of the full faith and credit of the particular governmental unit, is normally used in cases where the capital project will not generate any revenue or insufficient revenue to cover the debt service of the bond issue. In the case of capital projects in respect to which it can be demonstrated that sufficient revenue will be generated to cover the debt service by an adequate margin, revenue bonds are generally used.

At the local level of government, a third category of bonds may be used which are known as special assessment bonds or special district bonds. The legal establishment of a special assessment district is a prerequisite to the issuance of such bonds. These bonds are issued to cover the costs of such projects as drains, sewers, water facilities, roads, etc., and require that the debt service be adequately covered by the levy of special property tax assessments against the benefitted property within the district over a long enough period to pay off the bond issue.



The ability of any unit of government to issue bonds and to issue them at a favorable interest rate is directly related to the financial stability of that unit of government. If such financial stability is questionable, it frequently becomes either impossible or prohibitively expensive to issue bonds. For this and many other reasons, I urge upon all of you most serious concern for the sound and effective management of the financial affairs of your respective units of government.

REVENUE AND TAXATION

An Outline of Potential Sources
Prepared for Use at Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials
By **Alfred M. Pelham**
December 13, 1968

TAX SOURCES

Taxes used primarily by state government:
- Corporate Franchise Taxes (organizational and annual)
- Business Activities Tax
- Motor Vehicles Taxes:
  - a. Weight
  - b. Horsepower
  - c. Motor Carriers' Privilege
  - d. Gasoline
  - e. Diesel Fuel
- Inheritance Tax
- Intangibles Tax
- Utility Property Tax
- Liquor, Beer and Wine Taxes
- Horse and Dog Wagering Taxes
- Chain Store Tax
- Unemployment Compensation Tax
- Domestic Building and Loan and Savings and Loan Association Franchise and Privilege Taxes
- Foreign Building and Loan and Savings and Loan Association Privilege Tax
- Federal Savings and Loan Privilege Tax
- Insurance Company Privilege Tax (domestic and foreign)
- Oil, Gas and Minerals Severance Tax
- Stumpage Tax
- Other (aircraft, vessel tonnage, watercraft, etc.)

Taxes used by both state and local government:
- Property Tax (real and/or personal)
- Income Tax (flat or graduated)
- Sales Tax (on commodities)
- Sales Tax (on services)
- Cigaret Tax
- Amusement Tax

Taxes used primarily by local governments:
- Property Tax-Special Assessments
- Payroll Tax
- Utilities Tax (on customer billings)
- Hotel-Motel Occupancy Tax
- Motor Vehicle Operation Tax
- Property Transfer Tax

SOURCES OF REVENUE OTHER THAN TAXES

Licenses:
- Motor Vehicles (automobiles, trucks, trailers, motorcycles, etc.)
- Motor Vehicle Operators
- Liquor Dealers
- Liquor Establishments (bars, clubs, cabarets, etc.)
- Restaurants
- Other Business Establishments
- Street Vendors
- Marriage
- Dog
- Other

Fines, Fees and Permits:
- Traffic and other Court Fines and Fees
- Registration Fees:
  - a. Deeds, Mortgages, Chattel Mortgages, etc.
  - b. Births and Deaths
  - c. Assumed Name
  - d. Annual Reports
  - e. Professional
  - f. Other
- Inspection Fees:
  - a. Safety (building, elevator, etc.)
  - b. Fire
  - c. Food
  - d. Other
- Parking Meter and other Automobile Parking Fees.
- Other Fees and Charges (zoo, golf course, marina, etc.)
  - a. Building
  - b. Food Handlers
  - c. Sidewalk
  - d. Other

Sales of Service and Reimbursement for Services Performed:
- Hospital and Health Services
- Other Institutional Services
- Water and Sewer Services
- Welfare Services
- Rubbish and Garbage Collection (commercial)
- Other

Grants in Aid (from state and federal government)
- Welfare
- Health
- Education
- Urban and Community Renewal
- Highway Construction
- Office of Economic Opportunity
- Water and Air Pollution Control
- Civil Defense
- Other

Shared Taxes (from state government)
- Varies between states

Miscellaneous Sources:
- Income from Investments
- Rentals and Concessions
- Gifts and Bequests
- Proceeds from Sale of Bonds
- Other

'... Know Your Authority ...'

Gerald A. Lamb, *a native of Elizabeth City, N.C., is treasurer of the state of Connecticut. He has also served as president pro tem of the board of aldermen and as acting mayor of his present home, Waterbury, Conn. He was one of three Negro financial experts on a panel on revenue and taxation.*

I am indeed most honored to serve on this distinguished panel of financial experts, but of equal honor is this opportunity to share with you some of my experiences that may offer to you an expressway of financial genius and expertise in your transactions rather than a dirt road of bumpy pitfalls, frustrations and despair.

It is always gratifying for me to return to the South, for after all I am a product of a proud but poor family of the South. In fact, last evening when I flew over the eastern shores of North Carolina where I was born, I found myself in a rather nostalgic mood. Reflecting back over the years, I could remember vividly the day more than 26 years ago I marched off to defend this nation, and how paradoxical it was that I should want to defend this nation, for I had just spent more than two months searching for a job behind doors that remained closed to us. I reconciled my concern for this nation or this system at that time by saying that "things will be better some day." How prophetic, for I returned to the South last night, not as a frustrated, disillusioned and angry young man, but as an individual somewhat older, yes, somewhat balder, but also the treasurer of one of the 50 states. Let no one deceive you, this is progress, and the number of elected officials present today suggests to me that you in the South are also enjoying progress.

Our topic or theme, as has been stated, is "Revenue and Taxation." If we, as panelists, are to complement but not duplicate each other, perhaps each of us can touch generally on the broad implications of the topic but zero in on the areas that touch our present responsibilities. As treasurer of a state, I would like to at least discuss one area that perhaps the other panelists may overlook.

My remarks to you as elected or potential public financial officials will stress two general themes: the necessity of having a clear definition of one's authority and responsibility, and the necessity of utilizing *competent* advice.

Let us review carefully the first question for a moment—What is your authority and responsibility? May I first caution you against asking your predecessor or any other elected or appointed official in your locale. All too often their advice is both inconsistent and incomplete. My advice is simple—review, analyze and thoroughly familiarize yourself with your city or town charter, state or county statutes, ordinances, rules, and regulations pertaining to the office you hold.

The obvious reason to know your authority and responsibility is to perform and execute your duties properly, but of equal importance is to always be on guard that someone else does not perform your job for you by usurpation of authority. Your authority and jurisdiction may be much broader in scope and dimension than you anticipated or realized. It is no secret in Connecticut that my election as treasurer of Connecticut has made everyone aware of that constitutional office and its vast jurisdiction. And, I might add, for those few who were not aware of it, I have a way of reminding them—and this includes other state officials frequently.

It is not unusual for me to quote my powers enumerated in chapter 32 of the general statutes. It says: "The treasurer is responsible for receiving, depositing, and disbursing all state funds; collecting and distributing certain taxes and fees; servicing all state bond issues, investing surplus money; borrowing of funds when required, administering the financing of all state-owned public housing."

The treasurer is custodian of all securities pledged by insurance companies, all pension funds, and deeds to properties owned or controlled by our state. He is the escheat or abandoned property administrator and serves on the Banking Commission, Bond Commission, and Finance Advisory Commission.

I have listed these responsibilities to illustrate to you the necessity for knowing your authority. The position of treasurer had gone unnoticed because my predecessors either did not know the scope of their authority or did not elect to use it.

It has been suggested by some that the true impact of my job was not known until it was too late. With your indulgence, I would like to add a bit of humor. Those of you whose wives are the keepers of the family purse realize the influence of the mate with the money. I am certain you can almost agree that if you have the money, you have almost everything, because at least you have some influence.

Moving quickly to my second theme (utilizing competent advice), I cannot overstress the importance of seeking advice in this complex society because it is impossible to be an expert on all facets of finance. Public officials are and must be especially dependent on both legal and financial advice. Any man who thinks he knows all is destined to ruin himself and his state, county, or town.

I have used these two central themes with emphasis, because as we proceed through five important areas of special interest to local finance officers, you will realize their importance.

Using some personal experience and observations in these five areas, I will not attempt to give a technical discourse on each because the technicalities differ by state and area; but instead I want to offer some helpful hints.

The five areas of concern to public financial officials that I will comment on are:

I Administrative practices

II Public relations responsibilities

III Handling deposits

IV Investment of money

V Borrowing money

If I were giving a lecture on administration, I would discuss the practices of setting goals, selecting personnel, and coordinating and guiding their efforts with sophistication toward these goals. But today, rather than misguide or deceive you about our genius, I would rather talk about a very simple but helpful everyday tool I use for accomplishing these rather lofty goals, i.e., a "calendar of events." A simple, accurately maintained calendar goes a long way toward making a good administrator. In addition to maintaining a prompt and efficient personal calendar, this also enables you to coordinate your many diverse office functions and carefully program and project duties. As a public financial official this is especially important, because your responsibilities are very often defined in terms of legal dates and it would be disastrous to miss timely execution. Maturing dates of notes or bonds or restrictions specifying dates, often written into the authorizing legislation, are prime examples of important dates to be listed on calendars of events.

I cannot stress too strongly the continuing aspects of your public relations responsibilities. If you are an elected official, you must always remember the first requirement is to get re-elected. This means consideration of public relations factors every day and not just during election year.

It goes without saying that the basis of good public relations is a sound and efficient operation. After all, one cannot cover over inefficiencies for long. Granting this, you still have to communicate the soundness of your operation day in and day out to the public. Overlooking public relations has increased the casualties of some extremely expert and efficient finance officials.

One of the most basic rules for good public relations is to do everything within reason to "avoid inconveniencing the people."

Let me give some concrete examples of the public relations considerations that affect a finance officer's responsibilities in just one area, the issuance of bonds.

First, to the voters, here I can point out:

(A) A need for stressing the positive benefits of a proposed bond issue and the merits and benefits to be derived from this capital expenditure. This is particularly important if the authorization is by public referendum.

(B) The necessity for *not* confusing the voter with side questions or complicating his understanding by combining projects into large, incomprehensible, omnibus packages.

(C) Above all, when possible, time the referendum away from vacations and holidays. The support of the more affluent citizen, who could possibly be away, may mean the difference between success or defeat.

Second, to the bond rating agencies:

It is extremely important that the rating agencies of Moody's, Standard and Poor's and Dun and Bradstreet be continually informed about the financial and economic condition of your community. In essence, you should make full disclosure on a continuous basis. All positive attributes of community should be stressed. A credit rating of AAA or A or BA can mean hundreds of dollars in interest cost savings to the tax payer.

Third, to the underwriters and investors:

Again I repeat the importance of keeping this group completely informed about the community's financial and economic condition. If you desire a good sale, schedule the sale for a convenient day (not a holiday) and at a convenient time (11 a.m. rather than 9 a.m. or 7 in the evening).

These examples of public relations considerations at all levels of contact when issuing bonds is cited to stress the continuing aspects of your public relations responsibilities. Careful attention here not only helps the community (a lower borrowing cost) but also helps you (a requirement for re-election).

Leaving these more general administrative and public relations responsibilities, we can now discuss the more specific functional areas of concern to a finance official —handling deposits, investments, and borrowings.

As a finance officer, your core duties usually center around this important public trust. There are several recommendations that I deem important. You must not delegate the responsibility for determining the bank depositories or the cash level of each account. It is your neck if a bank fails or defaults, and it is also your responsibility to determine your cash requirements based on projected expenditures and experiences of prior years. A good system of checks and balances along with accounting controls are mandatory. We in Connecticut believe in the honor and integrity of our state employees, and this is the reason for bonding all individuals who handle money (smile). We bond them as a precaution in the event that we have misjudged their character. I would suggest that you do likewise. I repeat, accounting controls are absolutely necessary.

As a financial official you will have monies on hand above needed working balances, monies upon which you want to earn a return!

Again, the legal question—What authority do you have to invest? For example, in Connecticut, most local communities can utilize only treasury obligations or bank certificates of deposit. Some states have broader authority which often includes commercial paper or other government agencies. Once you have ascertained

the legal authority or requirements, you still have the need for determining the amounts, maturities or the type of investments.

Here, competent financial advice must be sought. The rationale for investing is simple—define your needs, select investments to meet your needs—but the execution demands specialized knowledge of the characteristics of many different but legal investments as well as up-to-date knowledge of markets.

One source of investment help can be your local banker. Select those bankers with competence in the investment area. It may be beneficial to seek out a larger institution with trained specialists in another community if your local banker has only a limited knowledge of this area of work, especially the mechanics of buying and selling securities, an important consideration when selecting your investment advisor.

Pension funds and other custodial and trust accounts in most instances, because of their long term investment features, require other types of consultants such as investment brokers, actuarial scientists, or those with insurance expertise.

I must repeat once again, competent legal and financial advice is mandatory.

Under legal advice—the field of law surrounding borrowing money by government units is highly specialized. You should:

—Select a bond attorney experienced in your state whose legal opinion is marketable, or in other words, whose legal opinion has proved acceptable to bidders of previous issues. Your close friend who happens to practice law or your town attorney *cannot* be used if you want to sell your bonds;

—Consult bond counsel early since he must approve all proceedings relative to the bond issue including all notices, resolutions, adoptions and/or approvals by boards and offering circulars. In fact, I virtually hire bond counsel many times in advance of drafting of bond proposals. Their assistance is invaluable. May I repeat, a legal opinion concerning public financing is a very specialized field of law and should not be undertaken by a firm inexperienced in this area.

Financial advice—Here again, the same theme prevails. Select competent advisors to help guide you through the maze of considerations surrounding the issuance of bonds or notes.

Let us look at some of the considerations:

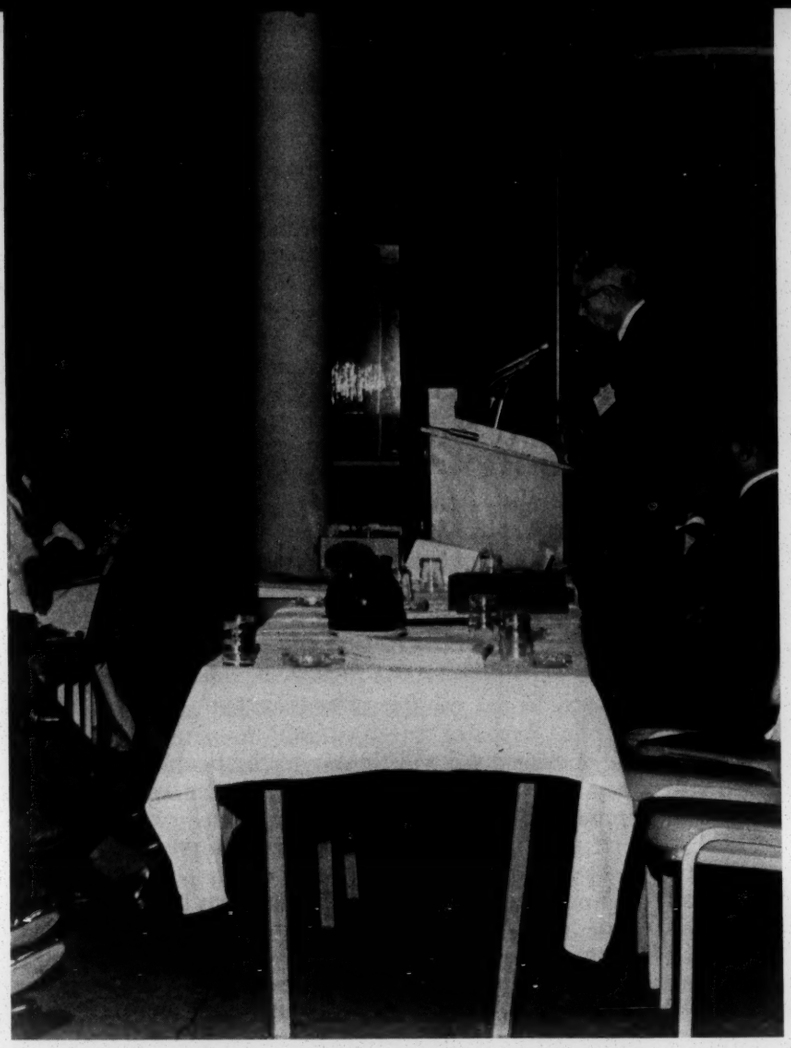
1. The timing of the sale—Is it a favorable market?
2. The date of sale—Is it a holiday or does it conflict with a major national sale or sales (100 million of California and 50 or 60 million of Connecticut)?
3. Presentation to the rating agencies—What kind of information do they require?
4. Preparing the prospectus—Is it clear and concise?
5. Setting the maturity schedule—Are the dates convenient for investors? Is the schedule reconcilable with the flow of cash or resources?
6. Details of handling the sale—Is it a place convenient for bidders and is there a local proxy agent that can submit bids telephoned from the money centers (New York, Chicago, San Francisco, etc?)

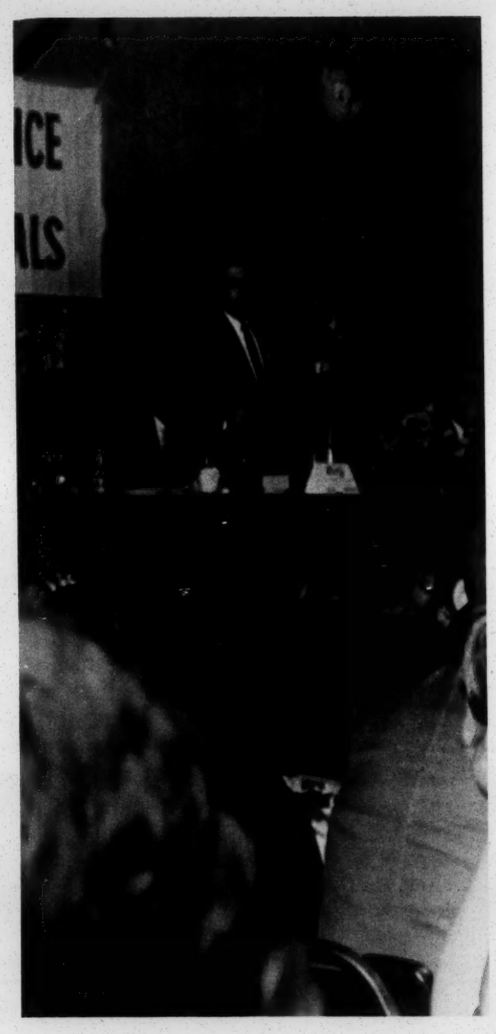
I could go on at length, but instead I would highly recommend the reference booklet covering this area, "Pitfalls in Issuing Public Bonds" published by Moody's Investors Service, Inc.

In conclusion, I hope my message is clear enough—As you operate in the five principle areas of concern to public finance officials, you should carefully (A) consider the scope and limit of your responsibility and authority, and (B) seek competent advice, both legal and financial.

I am cognizant that I have not created many financial wizards in 15 minutes, but if any one of you is elected or appointed in a financial responsibility, I would be most happy to offer you several weeks of training in my office.

I purposely have avoided the topic of taxation, for we are indeed fortunate to have two experts in that field on the panel. I trust that I have aroused some curiosity and stimulated some interest, for questions will be most welcomed.

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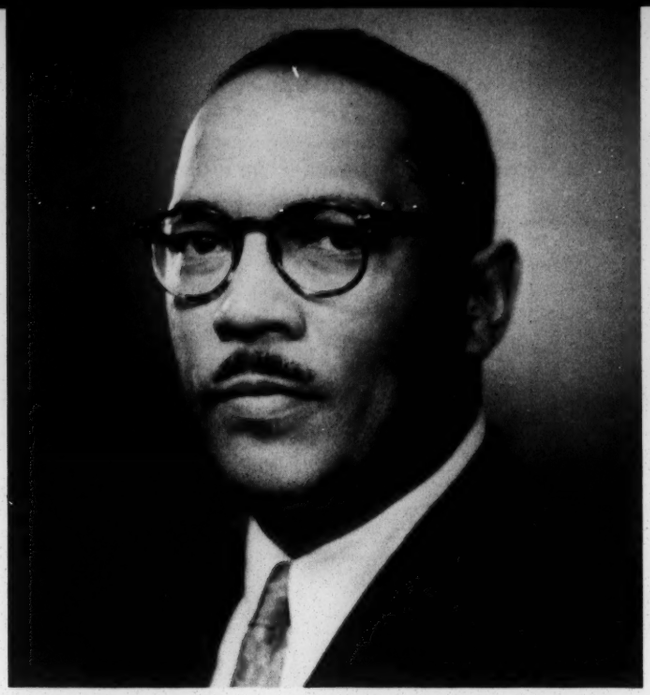


'...Services and Benefits...'

Theodore A. Jones, *director of revenue of Illinois, spoke on "Problems of Revenue Administration" on the revenue and taxation panel Dec. 13. He is former regional director of the Office of Economic Opportunity for the Great Lakes Region and is a director of several financial institutions in Chicago.*

I am deeply honored by your invitation. I am here, of course, as the representative of my state government's *most popular agency*—the tax-collecting Department of Revenue.

I am particulary grateful for this opportunity of speaking to you because of your particular professional interest in public administration. You are in a position to provide heavy influence upon some of the enormously complex decisions which lie immediately ahead of us.

I believe that it is time to make a decision as to whether state government will continue as a responsive and responsible instrument of the public will—whether it will continue to meet its responsibilities, or whether it will, by default, shift those responsibilities onto the federal government and itself assume a somewhat passive and ceremonial role in solving the people's problems and in some instances, the role of a spoiler, denying service to disadvantaged citizens. Every state faces decisions on this order.

Mere words will not answer that question. We must answer it with actions, and unless we do answer it satisfactorily, history will supply answers we do not relish. Are state governments going to respond realistically to local needs while the federal government waxes ever stronger and all-pervading?

Our ability to carry out the responsibilities of government is measured in what Abraham Lincoln called "the legitimate object of government" and defined as "to do for the people what needs to be done, but which they cannot, by individual effort, do at all, or do so well, for themselves."

If we are to do these things, it seems to me that we will have to do some rearranging of our opinions—to rid ourselves of some of the folklore that has grown up around the acts of government and the collection of taxes.

Too often we hear government discussed as if it were a business, as if it should be expected to make a profit and pay a dividend. This is utterly false. Government has no purpose as an institution other than the services and benefits it can provide for the people, better than they can do it for themselves.

Too often we forget that our democratic representative government was set up by inspired non-conformists expressly to provide services and benefits which they believed were justly due to the people, and which they had despaired of securing under colonial government.

If government is not created to "serve," what then is its purpose?

You cannot divorce state taxes from the federal and local taxes in preparing a program. They all come out of the same pocket, including your pocket and mine. In dealing with revenues, we must consider the total impact of all taxes, federal, state, and local, including those new ones which may be proposed.

In and of themselves, taxes are sterile. They have no real meaning except in terms of the payments of past debts or the purchase of services—paying workmen for their labor, and contractors for their work, materials for industry and goods bought and used by the state.

When Chief Justice John Marshall, in McCulloch vs. Maryland, said that "the power of tax involves the power to destroy," he laid the groundwork of a mischievous folklore that all taxes are, *per se,* bad because they will be abused. Had he said "the power to tax, carried to the extreme," he would have been much more precise.

The power of tax involves much more than John Marshall said: It involves the power to maintain responsible government, to provide police protection, health and education, highways and transportation facilities, schools and airports and sewage systems, hospitals and medical services—the things that Abraham Lincoln had in mind, and the things that the people, who own the government, want and are determined that they shall have.

Levying, collecting and expending taxes is not an exercise of futility and self-destruction. It is a function of maintaining those very services which ensure the permanence of democratic government and which are closest to the people and their needs.

It is in this area of services that the states are shifting the responsibility over to the federal government.

I should like to say parenthetically here that there is a very good reason why the federal government has been able to assume responsibilities that belong to the states, and that the states haven't been able to meet. The federal Constitution, liberally construed over the

years, confers vast, indeed almost unlimited powers in its clauses on the general welfare, commerce, and taxing power. State governments, Illinois being a prime example, operate under constitutions that for the most part are narrowly drafted, unduly restrictive, and narrowly construed. Hence you have the paradox of the remote government being given virtually unlimited powers while those governments closest to the people are handcuffed and rendered incapable of meeting their historic responsibilities; or providing cover for state inefficiencies and for state administrators to deny equal treatment for disadvantaged citizens.

The "tax climate," which we hear so much about, cannot be divorced from the total business climate. I assume that everyone wants to maintain a business climate that is healthy and vigorous and full of opportunity.

Andrew Mellon, when he was Secretary of the Treasury, gave us a guideline that is still relevant. He said:

> "A sound tax policy must lessen, so far as possible, the burden of those least able to bear it; and it must remove those influences which might retard the continued steady development of business and industry on which, in the last analysis, so much of our prosperity depends."

It seems clear to me that at certain strategic points, many state tax systems fail utterly to measure up to those standards. We can agree that good taxes should, then, have certain characteristics: They should hold reasonable promise of being stable sources of revenue; they should be uniformly levied so that everyone shares in supporting the government; they should be easy to collect and hard to evade; they should be levied according to ability to pay.

And, above all, they should be levied on the other fellow!!

I think we can agree, too, that if every man could build his own hospital, his own school, his own highway and transport system, clean his own river, dispose of his garbage and sewage, act as his own policeman, install his own street lights and pave his own street—we then wouldn't need taxes at all!

Let us consider briefly what is occurring in some areas of historic state and federal responsibility.

Increasingly, in some states, the federal government has been called upon to restore law and order and here and there to provide some justice. Here, we must move as rapidly as possible with every resource available, to erase the social and economic conditions which produce mass disorders. Maintenance of respect for law is a primary and historic state responsibility which all too often has not been exercised well, if at all. All government has responsibility here.

No responsibility rests more squarely upon the state than that of providing for education, and our plight is desperate. It is desperate statewide and most critical in cities. School administrators everywhere are faced with the urgent need to find money to carry out programs that must be undertaken.

I would like to note an example of the wide variation in the quality of education contained in the report of the Illinois Scholarship Commission last year. Of the high school students enrolled in City of Chicago senior classes, 22.4 per cent of those eligible to compete for scholarships did so. But only 5.5 per cent of the total eligible were actually qualified for scholarships. For the state as a whole 23.4 per cent of senior classmen entered the competition, and 7.1 per cent qualified for scholarships. For Cook County suburban schools, 29.3 per cent of senior classmen competed, and 10.1 per cent qualified for scholarships.

What does this mean? It means that City of Chicago seniors fall significantly behind the state level and very far behind the suburban level of education, as indicated in the grading for scholarships. Educators will tell you that other factors (environment, economic pressures, family and community disturbances) may affect the student's performance. But the conclusion that a gigantic educational effort must be made in the city and the state is inescapable.

We may congratulate ourselves in Illinois that we have unexcelled prosperity and an unemployment rate of only 3 per cent, which is far below the level of other industrial states. But do not be misled by generalizations on this theme. Averages are tricky.

In the Lawndale area of Chicago, 17 per cent of adult males are without jobs, and 12 per cent in the Woodlawn area are unemployed. In some sections unemployment among Negro youth is 30 per cent or higher. It is dangerously high in many of the poorer white sections. These are the drop-outs, the aged, the uneducated and untrained who are unemployable in a highly technological economy. They are the elements of what Dr. James Conant called a "time bomb" in our midst.

Dr. Phillip Hauser, sociologist at the University of Chicago Center for Urban Studies, has said, "All of the welfare and educational provisions today are only a band-aid on a gaping, massive wound." (Time Magazine, July 28, 1967).

Gunnar Myrdal, the eminent Swedish economist, in his recent study of our economy, says: "In society at large there is more equality of opportunity today than there ever was. But for the bottom layer there is less or none."

These people, and many others, are telling us that despite our booming economy, our good intentions and our efforts thus far, we must find ways to give great numbers of sorely disadvantaged persons—some one-sixth of our population—a chance to learn, an opportunity to gain skills, a way to find some gainful work. We must find ways to help them break the chains in which they but barely exist—the cycle of unemployment, the relief roll, the broken family, the loss of faith, the loss of motivation, adult and juvenile crime.

Training and education and new approaches and methods of training are the major factors in accomplishing this goal. It is—I would like to point out—the only means by which we shall insure that in the future, business and industry and government will be able to find men and women with the technological (or scientific) skills that are needed to maintain our competitive advantages. Before the world, I doubt that there is a person present here today who could not add at least a score of other major problems of our states and cities that call for emergency measures.

There are social and economic costs attached to any policy of "too little, too late" carried on in the name of "economy in government." What are some of the costs?

Tax values are destroyed on a massive scale as whole vast areas of property decay into slums.

Clients for the relief rolls are manufactured at an expanding rate, and the tax burdens thereby increase.

Families are destroyed, by the hundreds and thousands, as social units.

Crime and juvenile delinquency and police and court costs fall into a vicious spiral of inflation.

Relationships between the individual and the surrounding society, and between the individual and his government, are eroded.

Human dignity is emasculated.

When I see these things, I ask myself if we can afford not to undertake that which is needed. Will not the eventual cost of inaction be far the greater?

58.6 per cent of Illinois' general revenue fund in the last biennium came from the so-called sales tax. 27 per cent of our total revenue came from the federal government. The 1967 increase in the sales tax—to 5 per cent—undoubtedly makes it one of the most regressive levies in the nation.

Our tax excludes a very wide range of proper objects of taxation: Our combined state-local rate is among the highest in the nation, and it rests most heavily on the food and clothing necessities purchased by those with the larger families—namely the poor.

It is clear that if federal grants and other payments were withdrawn, Illinois, as would all states, overnight would be in a colossal financial crisis. You cannot pull 27 per cent out of any revenue system without producing chaos.

A word about Federal Domestic Assistance. Shift is one major characteristic, most notable from federal to local city direct relationships rather than through state control and reallocation. OEO was the leader here followed by HUD, the Department of Labor and now some HEW programs.

U.S. Aid as Percentage of State Budgets 28 per cent in 1966.

Ala.	36%	Miss.	32%
Alaska	52%	N.C.	23%
Arkansas	36%	S.C.	23%
Fla.	22%	Tenn.	31%
Ga.	29%	Texas	28%
Ky.	31%	Va.	28%
La.	28%		

Ninety-three per cent of the Governors believe that federal aid has stimulated state activity; 70 per cent believe it has improved state standards, and 35 per cent believe it has produced interference with state affairs. (This was in 1948).

With the partial shift from state control mentioned earlier, I believe many more will now claim interference—witness the new drive for block, unrestricted grants to states, sharing of income tax, etc.

With this shift has come a massive increase in federal grant programs:

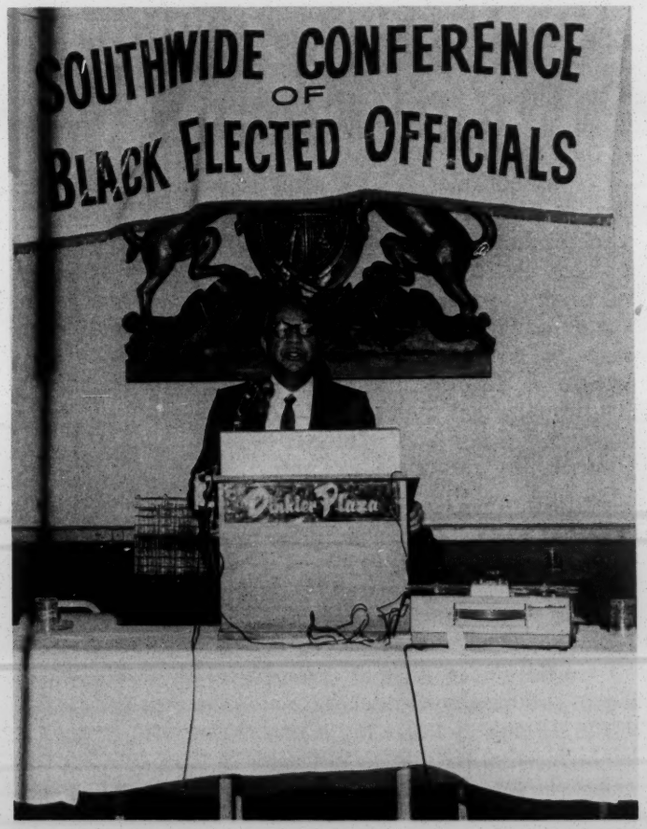
1. War on Poverty—heavy local participation
2. Twenty-one basic education measures by Congress—1964-68
3. Fifteen vocational education and manpower bills
4. Four mass transit programs
5. Twenty major health statutes
6. Thirteen housing and urban development bills

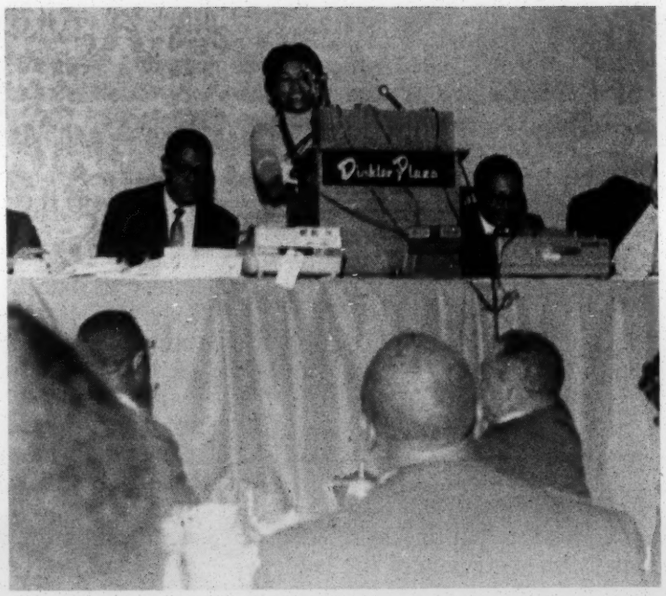
In all about 219 new grant-in-aid programs with cost are going from $3 billion in 1960 to $20 billion in 1968-69.

With some imagination and firm resolutions we could do a much better and much fairer job of raising the revenues needed for schools, roads, welfare, training, housing and other purposes.

The more you involve yourselves in these matters, the more likely we are to devise a tax system that is fair and just and sufficient to our needs. Give leadership and participate.

President Roosevelt, who had to wrestle with unprecedented domestic problems and a depression of calamitous severity, proved to us that new thinking and new methods are required in meeting new challenges. I recall that he once said that, "Taxes are the price of breathing the free air of a free country, the price of a living and not a dead world."

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'...Our Real Dream...'

Paul Anthony, *executive director of the Southern Regional Council, greeted U. S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and the black elected officials at the banquet Dec. 13.*

It is with misgivings that I appear on the program this evening. Long dinners and the involvement of many people serve no function other than that of boring our guests.

However, in the next several moments, it is both a privilege, and certainly a pleasure, to do two things.

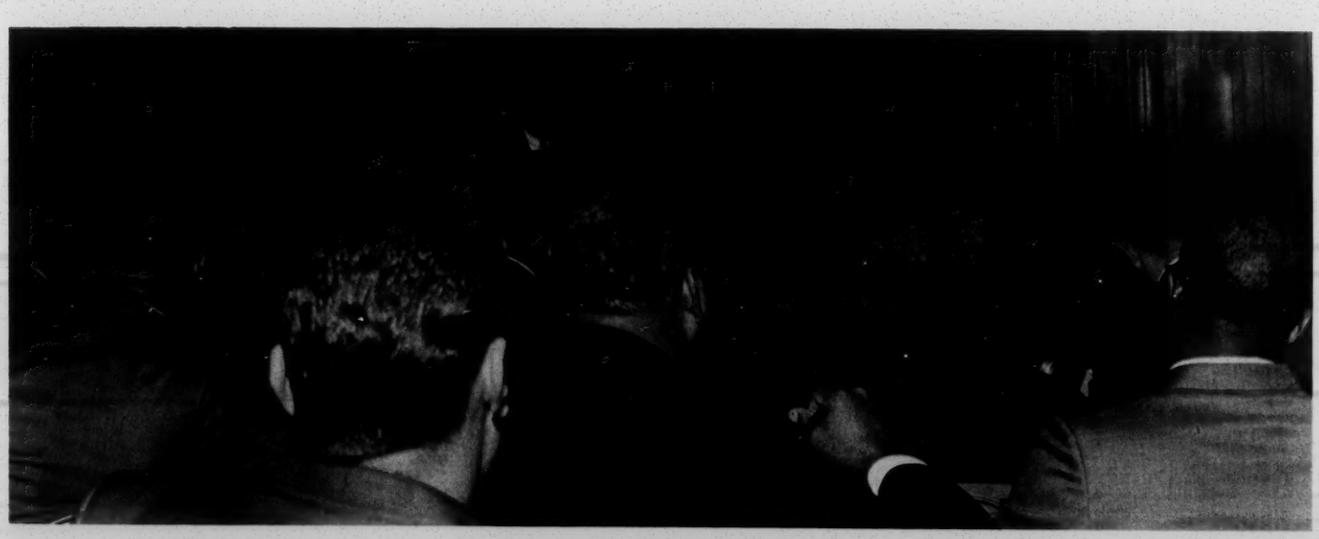
First, on behalf of the Southern Regional Council I should like to express our appreciation to Attorney General Ramsey Clark for being with us this evening. There is good in the South and there is good in the nation. This audience, Mr. Attorney General, represents a significant part of the good and the promise in this region. And the Attorney General, ladies and gentlemen of the audience, represents the good and the honorable of this nation. It is important, most important, that we meet here tonight recognizing this.

Secondly, and again on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I should like, belatedly, to welcome the black elected officials of the South to this meeting and to thank you for coming. This is, as I am sure you agree, an historic occasion, and Atlanta is the appropriate site for it. Earlier, we have gone from "Gone with the Wind" to the Cotton States Exposition. At that latter event, of course, Dr. Washington attempted to make peace with the white South for "his people." I do not demean Dr. Washington, I hurt for him and the choices he faced.

The black elected officials here tonight give proof that now we are privileged to have new choices, and I rejoice that we do. The Southern Regional Council has for 20 years had a strong interest in access to the ballot, we have developed a sound reputation for our knowledge on this subject, and we have consistently expressed our faith in the power of the ballot. (And we are pleased that our current Voter Education Project is our most ambitious and successful effort to date in this area.)

Yet, for all the encouragement, pleasure and, indeed, honest rejoicing that this gives us of the Southern Regional Council, we, too, are sad. I am sad that in 1968 we should need a conference of black elected officials. For the Southern Regional Council to have such a conference is a confirmation that we are right, particularly in believing in the democratic society. We are gratified that this represents such a significant movement up the rungs of the ladder. But, we shall not be really gratified until we have climbed the ladder. We shall achieve our real dream in cooperation with men like the Honorable Ramsey Clark and that which he represents, and with the cooperation of the honorable black elected officials here present. This dream is to have a conference of *elected* officials.

Then we will all be blessed, whole, and a nation of honor.



ACK ELECTED

'... Equal Justice To All of Its People...'

Ramsey Clark, *retiring Attorney General of the United States, was speaker Dec. 13 at a banquet at the American Motor Hotel. He is a native of Texas and the son of former U.S. Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark. He came to the Justice Department in March, 1961 after his appointment by President John F. Kennedy as assistant attorney general.*

I wish there were some way that I could tell you how deeply pleased I am to be with you tonight. My reasons fall into three groups: One is personal. I am Southern and white, and I know how very desperately we need black elected officials here.

Second is official. I have been awfully fortunate through all my life, but during no time have I been so fortunate as these last years that I have had the opportunity to serve justice. There are many, many men and women who have been in the Department of Justice these years who should be here tonight; and they would be, as am I, deeply pleased to be here and to know what you represent for this nation.

We are here tonight because we are a democracy and a democracy that will ultimately extend equal justice to all of its people. We are here tonight because we are making progress toward that end. We are making progress because we care. I well remember the long nights in the Department of Justice in the winter of 1964 when we were trying to find the legal techniques for a voting rights act. I well remember President Johnson's deep personal commitment to liberating the Negro, the minority in America; to bring the vote to all Americans.

As the principal federal officer in charge of the enforcement of the federal court order under which the march from Selma to Montgomery took place in the spring of '65, I had the privilege to see great men—brave men, men who believed in America—march that we might be here tonight. Dr. Martin Luther King was in the front rank. Bob Kennedy, who had been Attorney General, contributed there in the early days toward the Voting Rights Act. Men like Nick Katzenbach, Burke Marshall and John Doar were there and did what they could with their might.

Then there was that moment, Aug. 6, 1965, when the rotunda of the nation's Capitol was filled with the nation's great, and the President of the United States signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and it became the law of the land. It was less than a week later that the first deep rumbles from South-Central Los Angeles in an area called Watts—originally a bus depot, the first stop in Los Angeles County from the Southern states—were felt throughout the world; and we were reminded how imperative it is that we persevere.

I am deeply honored to be here for a third reason: to be with black elected officials of the South because I am a concerned American; because I know there are thousands and thousands of people in these United States who have come to doubt and some who do not believe, that this nation has either the purpose or the capability to bring equal justice to all of its citizens (and you demonstrate, better than anything perhaps, that this is not so); that the system, however awkward, however slow, can work; that our purpose as a people and the purpose of our laws is equality and justice for all.

The Voting Rights Act is a bold experiment in democracy. It has made a difference. Four years ago we could have held this meeting in the telephone booth in the lobby and not interfered with anybody who wanted to make a phone call. Two years ago in Washington, the leadership—as I recall, Louis Martin, primarily—met with what was comparatively a handful of black elected officials from all over the nation. What a difference you can make! What a difference that law has made and must make further, because we are only beginning. We have miles to go before we sleep.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965, like every contested piece of legislation, has compromises. One compromise was the expiration of many of the most important sanctions and controls—in what then seemed a long time and now seems no time. After five years, on Aug. 8, 1970, there will be the opportunity for jurisdictions to reinstate qualifications to vote through subjective tests, such as literacy. Then, unless something is done, the power of the Department of Justice to place examiners and observers in places where they are needed to protect the fundamental right of a democratic people will also expire. Then state legislatures will be empowered to prescribe new standards, new procedures for voting throughout this land.

It seems imperative to me that we redouble our efforts today to enlist in the support of democracy, under the auspices of the Voting Rights Act and this great Voter Education Project, all of our people and that we provide for the future by extending these sanctions of the Voting Rights Act of '65 for yet years to come. Their necessity, to me, seems clear.

I would not be fair if I said that voting, the right to vote, the exercise of that right, is the entire solution. Far, far from it. It is terribly important, it vests power. You now have new power; you must cherish it and nourish it, and build it, and increase it, and exercise it for justice. But if it were the entire solution, then how would we explain the conditions of Central City America, of our great metropolitan areas—of a New York and a Chicago and a Los Angeles?

We must go forward, seriously, on many fronts and with rare courage—the rare courage that you black elected officials have shown us and of which I am grateful. We know the areas. We sometimes think because the struggle is so difficult that, perhaps, the road isn't clear; but it is.

Separate, but equal, was never so; could not be; will never be. There can be no equality with separation in any society, least of all in a highly urban and complex nation of two hundred million such as ours. Separation must be ended, and all of its manifestations, to bring equality. The task is terribly difficult.

An area is education. Start with the children. Education is America's greatest industry. One in three in this country is engaged, full time, in education as student, teacher or administrator. In 1954, May 17—a time had begun so much, so late—the Supreme Court said, as to public schooling, there can be no separation. For nine years, through litigation in the courts of the South, the constitutional rights of our citizens were litigated. In September, 1963, those who knew saw one per cent of the Negro children in the public schools of the 11 states of the Confederacy in schools that were desegregated. All deliberate speed meant nine centuries.

People with vision saw this. People of determination changed it, in large measure, because of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, because of Title VI, because of the much-maligned guidelines of the Office of Education promulgated in conformity with law thereunder. One per cent in '63 became 16 per cent in '67. When the returns are in, it will surely be over 20 per cent in '68. This, a law that has had barely three years to work its way, has made a major difference and has shown that the constitutional rights of our citizens in the South can be fulfilled.

Because of the immensity of this nation, and while we concentrated here where the need was so great, we barely noticed the new segregation building up steadily and swiftly in urban America.

In five short years, from 1950-1955, the percentage of Negro children in the public schools of Baltimore increased from 50 to 61. In St. Louis, it was from 49 to 60. In Chicago, from 42 to 50. A profound change reflecting patterns of living meant a new segregation in Central City America unless we awoke. The 25 largest school districts in the United States saw a shift in five short years in the percentage of Negro children in public schools of nearly 10 per cent—10 per cent more Negro children and 10 per cent fewer white. America cannot stand that.

Slowly the resources of the law are brought to bear; and now four suits, outside the South, are brought to desegregate our schools there. And soon, soon we must recognize, among other things, that the litigations that take so long and the guideline techniques that can work so well must be brought to bear elsewhere. And soon, we must recognize that segregation in schooling is incompatible with our principles and, alas, I believe, with the Constitution, whatever the cause.

On the forefront today, we are moving in the area of employment, and only beginning. There is vast discrimination in employment—the opportunity to get a job, to keep a job, to improve in your job, to get a better job. The '64 Act, Title VII promised to remedy this. It's essential that we enlist all of our energies, as a people, to do it. Today, we have brought finally 34 suits. When you think of the immense industry of the United States, you see how very slow the beginning is. Twenty-four this year, with so far to go.

One reason you must understand. For all the might of the federal government, the resources that we, as a people, have provided there are terribly inadequate. The Civil Rights Division—as devoted a group of people to the principles of this country as has ever been collected in one place, with one mission, in my judgment—is fewer than a hundred lawyers. Their average age is under 30. Their burden is to enforce the Voting Rights Act, to litigate school desegregation in perhaps 30,000 school districts over the U. S., to bring Title II of the Act, promising open accommodation, to a reality; to enforce all of our Civil Rights Laws. This small resource would be inadequate for one state. It would be inadequate for one single law throughout the United States. We must look to you, in your local community, to generate commitment and action to bring equality.

The reasons that black and white in America must show the world that they can live together with respect, with stability and with love are many. One is human dignity—my dignity, your dignity. Another is to remove this gross imperfection from our national character, to show that we can be what we say we are.

But there is another. It is survival. It really is, you know. We will add on this planet, in the next decade, one billion souls, and most will be blacks and browns and yellows. And we are impelled by change so vast that, in a few short years, the fundamental way we live is more greatly altered than in history to this moment. And change means that millions will starve, and millions will live in more than affluence, amidst surfeit, more than they can use. It means that science and technology, with 90 per cent of the scientists who ever lived working today, accelerating change and population explosions, compel now equality. And if we do not demonstrate that it is possible, that it can be, that it is, here in America, black and white together with love and strength, then this poor, tired world has more ahead than it can handle.

In the Gospel according to St. Mark, it is said, "And if a house be divided against itself, then that house cannot stand." America is a house divided. Not yet irreconcilably, but that remains possible. The divisions are many. Never forget that. It may be hard for black America to realize that our divisions are many—the young and the old, a real division.

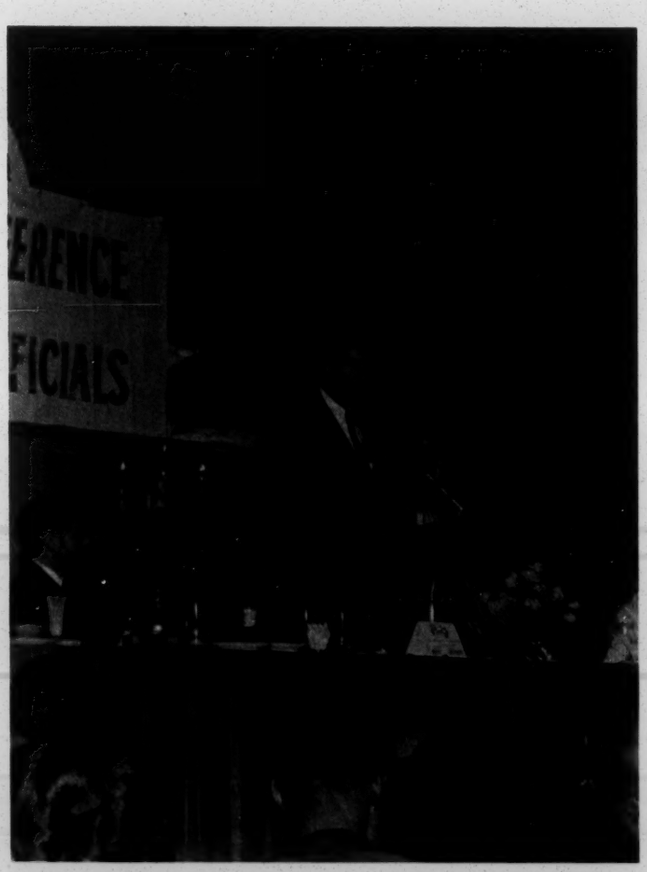
Of course every generation has had a gap. But the gap today is greater than ever before and for clearly ascertainable reasons—because change is so vast; because in a few short years, there is such a difference that a generation today exceeds the millenium in times gone by. Half the buildings in the world have been built in the last 30 years; half the buildings in Harlem were built before 1900, and there's a moral there.

There is a division today between the educated and the uneducated. It's a very profound division. Education means more to the individual today than ever before. My father and his brothers could come to be lawyers without going to college, without going to law school. The demands of our terribly complex, technologically advanced society compel constant increase in education. Forty-five percent of the college-age people today are in college. When I started college after World War II, there were a million and a half students; today there are over seven. The difference between the policemen endeavoring to control college students—the policemen five to 10 years older, who dropped out before completing the eighth grade—is immense. We have to recognize that division. We have to seek to bridge it.

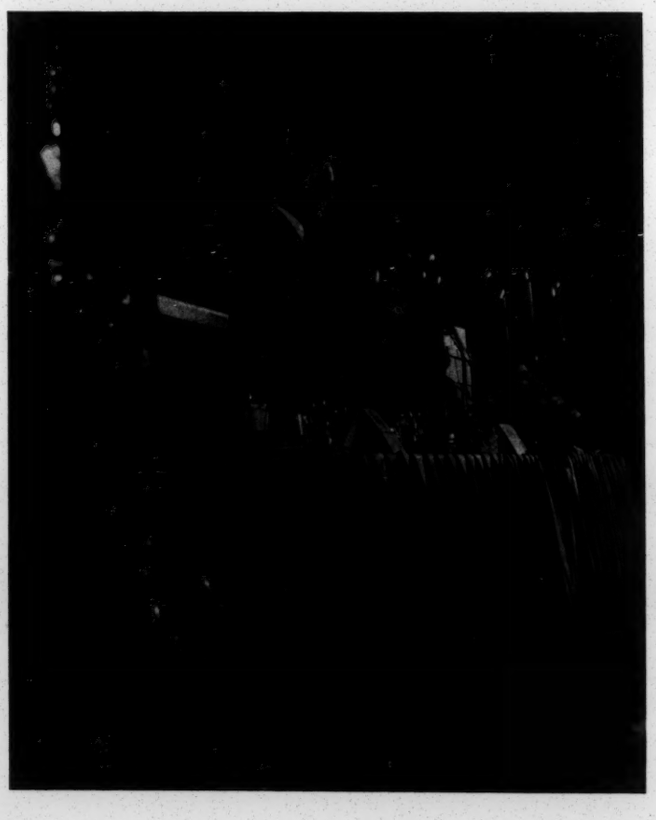
There is a division between the rich and the poor. It is not the same division that has existed in bygone days between rich and poor because, today, the poor know of the wealth that surrounds them. Today, in America, the poor are a minority. To be poor in urban America is to be desperate. And in that desperation, you see Marlboro country on T.V., and you know it doesn't look like 126th Street. You must bridge the gap between rich and poor.

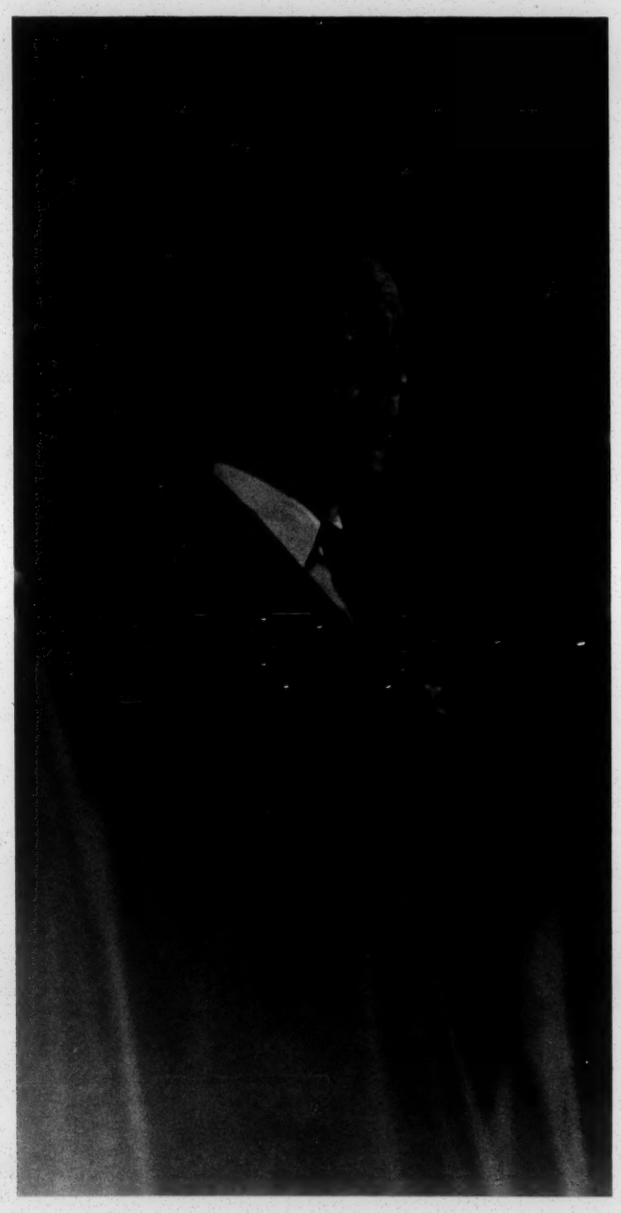
There are these gaps within races too. You must know Negro youth in this country. You must work very closely with them. They need your strength and wisdom. You need theirs. And if you can't bridge that gap, the meaning is immense to all of our people. And you must, within races and between, bridge the gap between the educated and the uneducated and lift all to the greatest possible education we can bring to them, because their future and ours depends on it, and so, too, the rich and poor.

And finally, of course, there's the division between black and white, a division that cannot and must not continue.



And from one side of this house of ours, we hear the call for order. There must be order. And from the other side of the house comes the cry of justice. Give us justice. The long history of mankind tells us that you will have neither order nor justice until you have both.





'...Proud To Have Been a Part...'

(TELEGRAM FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES)

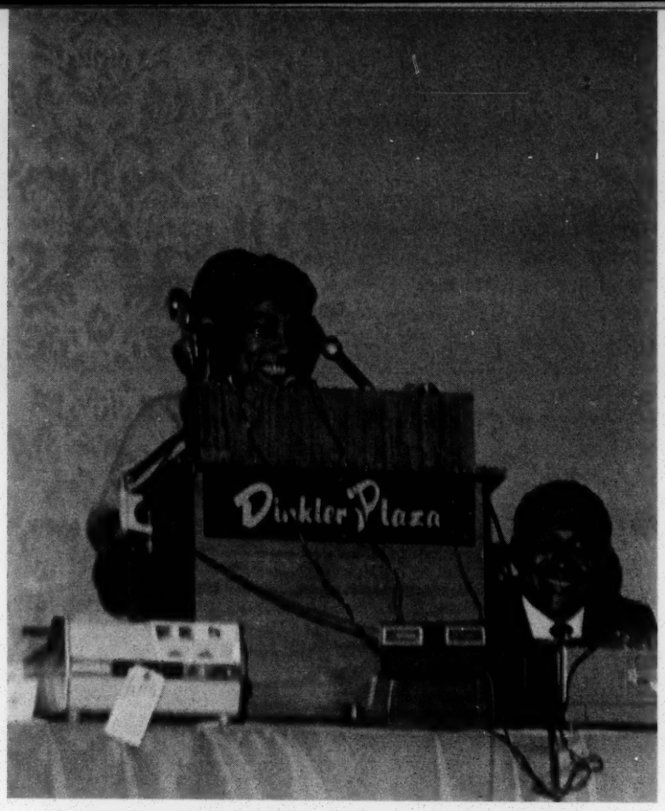
Four years ago, only a handful of black people held public office in the South. Negroes were, in effect, without a direct voice in the council of government in the Southland.

Soon after this administration began, I had the honor of signing into law the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Hundreds of thousands of Southern Negroes who had been denied the ballot were able, for the first time in their lives, to register and to vote. Indeed, Negro registration in the South has increased by one million in the last four years, to a total of more than three million today. Those black Southerners are today, for the first time, able to participate in the most basic step in our democracy—the casting of the ballot on election day.

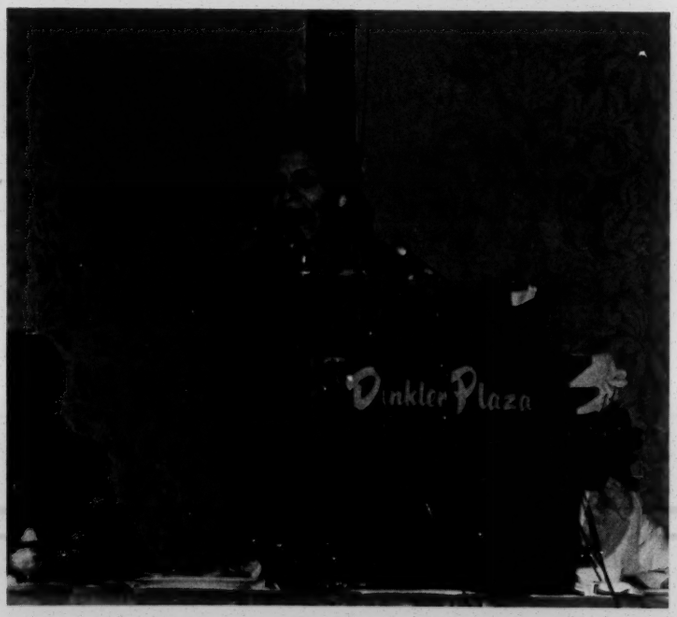
Largely because of this historic development, there are now some 385 black elected officials—all holding public offices for which they had to go before the voters—in the South. These officials now are gathered in a conference sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council to discuss their mutual problems, to exchange ideas and to receive advice and counsel on the performance of their public duties.

As President of the United States, I salute these black men and women now meeting in Atlanta. I wish their conference much success. I am proud to have been a part of the developments that made it possible for them to serve.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON


Dinkler Plaza

Dinkler Plaza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A Resolution: '...Not Separate, But Unequal...'

The following resolution, drafted by a representative of each of the 11 Southern states, was adopted by the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials as the conference ended Dec. 14.

We have come to a point in the South and in the nation where the executive decisions of the next four years may well determine the course of race relations and civil rights progress for the future and will decide whether the succeeding generations of America will live in peace or will live at all.

We are appalled by inferences from the incoming administration that the South's racial problems will be effectively dealt with by the states.

The fate and future of the South and her people, black and white, cannot be left in the hands of these leaders whose past failures have demonstrated their inability and unwillingness to build a new South.

While business, acting unselfishly, can help, business alone will not bring enlightened, unselfish solutions to this region's problems.

Rather, we, as members of city, county and state governments, believe in and depend on democratic government, responsive to the needs of our constituents and the unrepresented millions of the South, as the proper problem-solving agency of the 20th Century.

We hope that the traditional Southern divisions between class and race can be healed. The kinds of oppressed whites who have had their own interests subverted by their racism must join with the oppressed blacks whom we represent to build a new South.

What is needed more than all else is full implementation of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Economic Opportunity Act. This can be done only by full dedication of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches of federal and state government to the rights of man. The United States Supreme Court and our federal judiciary must be upheld and strengthened in devotion to equal justice.

We want to urge the President of the United States and our Congress to extend the much needed Voting Rights Act of 1965 from its present maturity date to another five years.

Since 1965, 805,233 Negroes have been added to voter registration rolls in the 11 Southern States. Most notable gains have come in those states where federal registrars have been assigned. To date, however, none have been assigned to either North Carolina or Virginia. Registrars are needed in these two states, and additional federal registrars are needed throughout the whole South.

In a nation dedicated to democratic principles, how can we explain that only about 60 per cent of the nation's potential voters went to the polls in the November election? Consideration should be given to making election day a national holiday so that the people can have adequate time to exercise the right to vote, so dearly earned by so many, over so long a period of time.

Violence and intimidation—as the tragic events at Orangeburg, S. C., earlier this year illustrated—have not abated in the South. White resistance to school desegregation continues—as we have seen in South Carolina and Mobile, Ala., and many other places, where white parents have organized to block effective progress toward eliminating the dual school system. In the 14 years since the *Brown* decision outlawing segregated public education, the rate of school integration in the South still hovers at a low level of tokenism. According to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare figures for the 1967-68 school year, only 14 per cent of the South's black children were enrolled in desegregated schools. For the Deep South the figures were: Alabama, 5.4 per cent; Mississippi, 3.9 per cent; South Carolina, 6.4 per cent; Louisiana, 6.7 per cent, and Georgia, 9.9 per cent.

The critical problem of poverty in the South must not be ignored by the new administration. In spite of much national publicity, children are still hungry in Mississippi and throughout the South. In spite of national concern over technological unemployment, men are still being driven from the land to huddle in the slums of our large cities. As critical as the problem of technological unemployment is the depressing reality of widespread under-employment. In many areas of the South the percentage of the labor force designated "unemployed" is about the national average, but the income in those areas is less than half the national average. Southerners, black and white, work long hours for

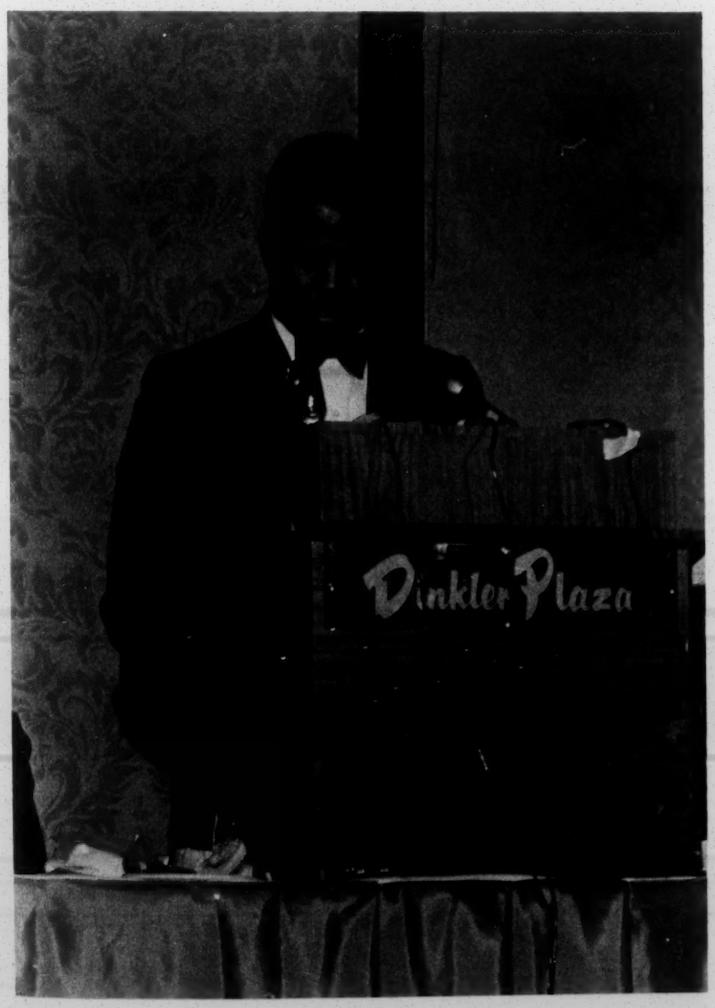
low pay. Minimum wage laws must be broadened and enforced.

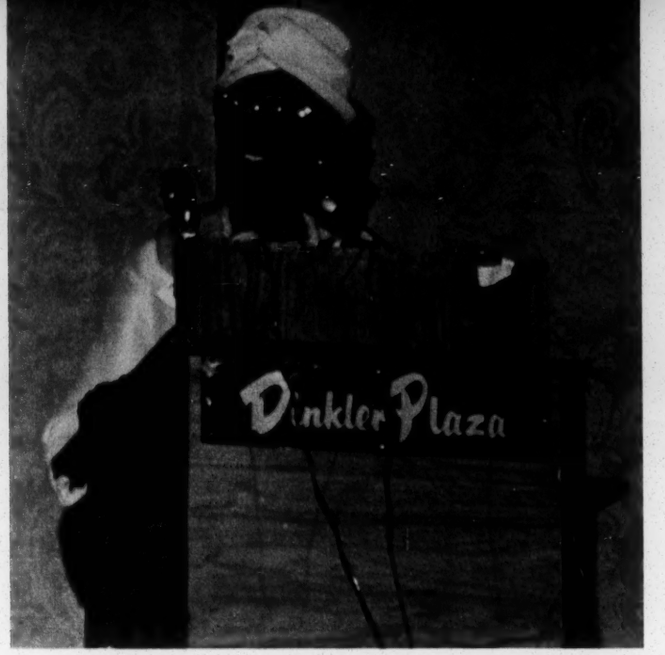
As part of a short-term solution to some of the more critical problems of the poor, uniform federal regulations are needed to govern the administration of public assistance programs in the states. Under present state welfare structures it is possible for states to impose restrictive regulations which bar the most needy from welfare rolls. However, the concept of public assistance itself needs to be re-evaluated with the understanding that welfare is not a privilege bestowed upon the needy in the way of charity, but a clear legal right. Hand in hand with such a re-evaluation, additional jobs and job training programs must be created.

We want to thank the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council for bringing us together and giving us the tools and techniques we need to improve our performance as elected officials.

As more of us take office and as we become more deeply involved in the problems of our constituencies, gatherings like this one, on regional, state and local levels, must be continued to help us keep abreast of the complexities of modern government.

Events of the past four years in the nation's alienated black ghettos should have taught us that the just and human needs of the country's black minority cannot be ignored, or appeased with high-sounding words. We are not yet a nation separate, but we are most assuredly a nation unequal.





'... The Polling Place Is the New Phase ...'

Mrs. Shirley Chisholm *of New York, whose luncheon speech closed the Southwide Conference Dec. 14, was elected Nov. 5 as the first Negro Congresswoman in history. Elected from Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant district, she had previously served in the state Assembly.*

Those of you who know me know that I am very forthright and very frank. And so I am not going to be giving you a lot of little pieces of dessert this afternoon. I'm going to tell it to you like it is, because we've got to realize that we are going through a very important social revolution in this country.

Someone made a reference a little bit earlier to the fact that we had women on the stage. Perhaps this might be ladies afternoon or ladies evening. I want to be very sincere when I say to you that there is a tremendous need for women to be in the political arena. I would hope, in the near future, that we would not pay so much attention as to whether a person is male or female, but that we would rather look at the assets and the attributes of those people who can help to liberate our race eventually. I think that must be the criteria.

Yes, from February through Nov. 5 of this year, I have been at it in the streets. And there were so many whisperings going on that "you can't make it because you are a woman." Well, ladies and gentlemen, here I am!

While nothing is easy for the black man in America, neither is anything impossible. Like all men, rather, we are moving along, and we will continue to move resolutely until our goal of complete and unequivocal equality is obtained. We must not be docile. We must not be resigned or inwardly bitter. We must see ourselves in an entirely new perspective, and we cannot sit in our homes waiting for someone to reach out and do things for us. Every tomorrow has two hands—the hand of fate or the hand of anxiety. And the first battle is won, my brothers and sisters, when we fight for belief in ourselves and find that it has come to us.

While we are still battling, we must not allow petty things to come to us and stimulate them into vast proportions of evil. To dwell on every slight and clutch it close to our breasts and nourish it will corrode our thinking. We are on the move now, and as Frederick Douglass said, "Power concedes nothing without a struggle. It never has and it never will." And the United States can no longer afford the luxury of costly, morally, religiously and ethically wrong racial discrimination. For America needs all of its citizens, with the ability to develop, to make a fuller contribution.

Many problems scream loudly—the thousands of black citizens, with franchise, living under degrading conditions; the millions of poor throughout this affluent nation, white and black, who lack the bare rudiments for fruitful living; the rapidly growing numbers of children caught in a web of disillusionment which destroys their will to learn, the increasing number of aged who do not look forward to rest or to retirement. And despite the historic legislation of our cities and our states, nearly 11 million black citizens today still live in basic ghetto communities of our cities.

From decades of non-participation, or only modest participation, the black man has, within only the last four years, shifted his goal to full political participation for full American citizenship. While on the picket line, at the lunch counter, and in the bus and store boycotts, the black man came face to face with the full breadth and weight of the power and influence exercised by local and state government, intertwining with and often stifling the protest. Indeed, a principle by-product of the American civil rights movement has been the election of the black citizen to his awesome political potential. And just as the picket line and the lunch counter demonstrations and the boycotts were dramatic and effective weapons of protest for the civil rights movement, the polling place, my friends, is the new phase and new thrust of the Negroes' bid for equality of opportunity.

Power concedes nothing. How else can any man rise to power and hold sway over millions and tens of thousands except by smothering dissenting voices? Freedom is an endless horizon and there are many roads that lead to it. We must walk arm in arm with other men, and we must struggle towards goals which are commonly desired and sound. We must give and lend to the youth a stronger voice and encourage their individuality. We must look to the schools and work for their improvement. The leaders of today in the black community must be able to place the goal of freedom ahead of personal ambition. The truly dedicated leader follows his conscience, tells what is best for his people.

Whatever else the black man is, he is American. Whatever he is to become—integrated, unintegrated, or disintegrated—he will become it in America. Only a minority of blacks has ever succumbed to the temptation to seek greener pastures in another country or another ideology. The black man's total commitment to America indicates that the prospects ahead seem bright. It is true that we are angry about our present

plight, for we measure this country by her potential rather than by her achievements.

And Black Power is, indeed, a reality that is gaining in emotional intensity, if not always rational clarity. The harnessing and solidification of Afro-American power is constantly being dissipated with factionalism. Internal struggle for power by one group over another and forgetting the masses—this behavior is no different from that of the whites. But we as a people cannot afford the luxury of fighting among ourselves if we are to make real progress in this country.

Black people will gain only as much as they can win through their ability to organize independent bases of economic and political power through boycotts, electoral activities, rent strikes, etc. Black Power is concerned with organizing the rage of black people and is putting new, hard questions and demands to white America. We will build a new sense of community amongst our people. We will foster a bond between those who have made it and those on the bottom. And as Mr. Hamilton says, "Alienation will be overcome, and trust, the thing that our people are looking for, trust, will be restored."

Let us remember that a great people are not affected by each puff of wind that blows ill. We must fight for belief in ourselves. And, above all, we must hearken back to the days of darkness when Frederick Douglass, the great abolitionist, even in those times, echoed the famous phrase that has come, realistically, to haunt the black people in America as they fight to enter the mixed stream of political and economic life in these United States, the land of their birth. And that phrase is, "Power concedes nothing."

Let me say to you, my brothers and sisters, that until we can organize to create black unity with an economic base, until we can develop a plan for action to achieve the goals to make us totally independent and not have to look to The Man in order to live, we are not liberated. We must become doers and producers in this system in order to be able to control our destiny. We have the potential, but we must consolidate all of our strength for eventual liberation.

And let me say, off the cuff, a few things that are beating in my breast.

As I travel around the country now, speaking to groups, I must share these things. During my congressional campaign in Brooklyn I had the opportunity to talk with many of the black and white students on the various campuses; and to a large extent, many of these students came in and were a vital part of my campaign. And one of the things that these students, both black and white, indicated to me: Mrs. Chisholm, you have become a new symbol; a new kind of politician that is emerging. And I would ask them to elaborate on what the statement meant. Listen, this is what young people are saying in this country. They say you represent the type of politician that the people can trust implicitly; the type of politician that will not exploit their people for personal self-aggrandizement; the type of politician that is unbought and unbossed.

Those of you who have been following my career ever since I emerged five years ago know that the symbol under which I have operated is unbought and unbossed, and I think you can understand when I say to you that this does not endear me to the political structure. For I have the courage of my convictions. If you are truly going to give your people a sense of direction and a sense of leadership, you have to be able to relate to the people only and be prepared to take the consequences as a result of your actions, because this is what black people are looking for in America today.

They are disillusioned, they are apathetic, and there are many more reasons why many of our people don't go to the polls in spite of all of the barriers that have been held against them, particularly in the Southern part of this country. Many of them don't go to the polls because the public officials that they put in office forget them when they get in office. And we cannot afford that luxury. Yet, people have said to me ever since I emerged four years ago, you are committing political suicide, because I refused to do things for political expediency. When I should leave this scene, I want to be remembered, not as the first black woman to go to the United States Congress, although this is a historical fact. I want to be remembered as a politician that entered the arena where the people had real hope, not in terms of the words that I mouth day to day, but in terms of my actions and my attitudes in my community. That is what I want to be remembered for.

Yes, it was a very tough struggle, a very hard struggle this year. First in the primary of June I was up against the most popular state senator, another woman. The senator was The Man's "boy," because in the meeting they had indicated, "Yes, Mrs. Chisholm has ability; yes, Mrs. Chisholm is a fighter; but you can't cope with the woman." It isn't a question of coping with the woman, it's a question of trying to manipulate my conscience and dictate to my mind what I must do. And I said then—and I continue to say it—I know a person that's fiery and independent-minded in the political arena, I know that their days may be shortened. But I am not going to worry about that. Fortunately for me, I have a theory that many people don't accept. And maybe many of the people in this room will not accept it. But I believe this theory on the basis of my political activity for 20 years behind the scenes—only having emerged five years ago. The black people in America must have leadership that for the most part is educationally and/or financially secure. Because the temptations that are placed in the paths of many of us, many of us are not strong enough to resist.

I think that if we understand these basic things, then we can hope to restore some faith in our people. They will go to the polls, the registration drives will be increased because of the fact that their elected officials have indicated by their actions that they are fighting for them, that they are with them, that they are prepared to take the consequences of their actions. If we do this, I can assure you that the registration drives and the political activity during election time will become greater. But we have to prove this.

They told me that they could not back me for the United States Congress, even though the people in that community had last December come together and interviewed 11 others who were potential candidates. And the citizens had said we want Shirley Chisholm to go to Congress, because she has beaten the machine at the polls and the woman cannot be controlled, and we know that we can sleep at night when that woman's voice is in Washington. But the very assets that the people found in me I later learned were things that were

against me politically, and hence the party boys did not give me the designation.

And of course, like many people, I suppose I should have stepped back, I should not have bothered, because I had four strikes against me. Number one, I was not a darling of the party. Number two, I was a woman. Number three, I was a black woman. And number four, I sure didn't have congressional money to run.

But you know what really made me decide to run? Not only the fact that I've always risen to challenges, but the fact that a woman came to my home on Sunday morning—I remember the state Legislature was still in session—that was way back in March. She came to my home one Sunday morning and rang the doorbell. I went downstairs and opened the door. I think I see her now. A very fat, middle-aged black woman, timidly entering my living room and pulling out of her pocketbook a crumpled, dirty white envelope. And I saw her taking this envelope out—it was kind of heavy—and as she extended it to me, she said, "Mrs. Chisholm you know, we welfare people hate you politicians because you're always fattening yourselves. We don't believe in helping you because so many of you forget about it. But Mrs. Chisholm, for the 10 years before you entered the political arena and for the four years that you have served in the state Legislature, when we learned in this community that you were going to run for the United States Congress, a group of us welfare mothers decided to get together and have our own little thing going each Friday night in order to raise some money to help you to buy stamps." And she gave me an envelope—I will never spend that money—the first contribution I got to my congressional campaign—$9.69 in coins.

If I had any doubts about running, that erased every doubt. I made my mind up that I had to run although many persons had cautioned me. They said, "Shirley, no one can run in your district against you for the state Assembly and win. That's your seat. You could stay there as long as you want to. Why are you giving up a sure thing to run for a congressional seat when you have so many odds against you. I said yes, I may have odds against me, but I have a little talk with the Man above each night, and I have a talk with the grassroots in the community, and they say, "Chisholm, run." And I ran. It was the toughest campaign that I've ever run in my life.

During the course of the campaign, right after I won the primary in June, I became ill. I had to go to the hospital to get an operation, and I was out of circulation for about seven weeks. My people became very concerned because my opponent was going up and down the district, and every day it would seem that he would be nearer and nearer to my door; and there was of course a certain amount of anxiety. But always deep down within me I knew that in spite of what was happening, I was going to win. Because I had indicated by my life, from the day I was born in that community, that I had served and worked with those people even before they ever thought of sending me to political office. And I knew that they would not forget. In spite of whomsoever the powers wanted to throw out there against me, I knew that the people would not forget me. Many workers came to my home as I lay on my bed trying to recuperate, and they were crying and upset. They said, "Chisholm you're so near to it, but yet so far, because the people in the district are saying they don't hear your voice on the soundtruck."

Ever since I have emerged I don't campaign indoors, I bring them out to the streets. Let the people dig you, let the people see you. And I believe in campaigning in the streets and in the housing projects and at the rallies. Because then this is where the truth and sincerity of everything comes out and you have to face that populace. You don't have to get away with gimmicks.

Finally, I said to my doctor—and he'd known me for a long time—I said, "Doc, I've got to go." He said "Shirley, I'm going to tell you, you have got to keep quiet for a while. I know that you're itching to go, but you've had an operation and you cannot use up your energy." And I remember so well that I said to him, "But Doc, the stitches aren't in my mouth, they're on my body." And he said, "Well, if you feel that you're strong enough to go out on your soundtrucks and tell the people your story, well, then you can go."

And believe it or not, the moment I got up to go into those streets until Nov. 5, I didn't even remember I had an operation. God is with me, and I went out in those streets and I did the kind of job that had to be done.

And now I know every eye is going to be focused on me. I went down to Washington last week for three days to look for a place to live, to hire a staff, to do a lot of odds and ends. And as I walked into the House of Representatives' restaurant, as I came down the steps, some of the members of the House of Representatives were eating; and I saw the elbows just hitting each other, as I came down the steps. Well, I guess you can imagine what was being said. And they came over, and one of them had the nerve to say to me, "You know, we heard *all* about you in New York, and we know you're a tough cookie, but we have been waiting for you. We're going to have some fun with you, Shirley Chisholm." And I said, "Sir, you must remember that fun doesn't necessarily work in one way. I'm going to have some fun with you, too."

And so, my dear brothers and sisters, I rise to the challenge of the awesome responsibility that has now been placed upon my shoulders, to be the first black woman to sit in the United States House of Representatives. And although I specifically represent the 12th Congressional District of New York State, I know that I am a voice for all of the blacks in America.

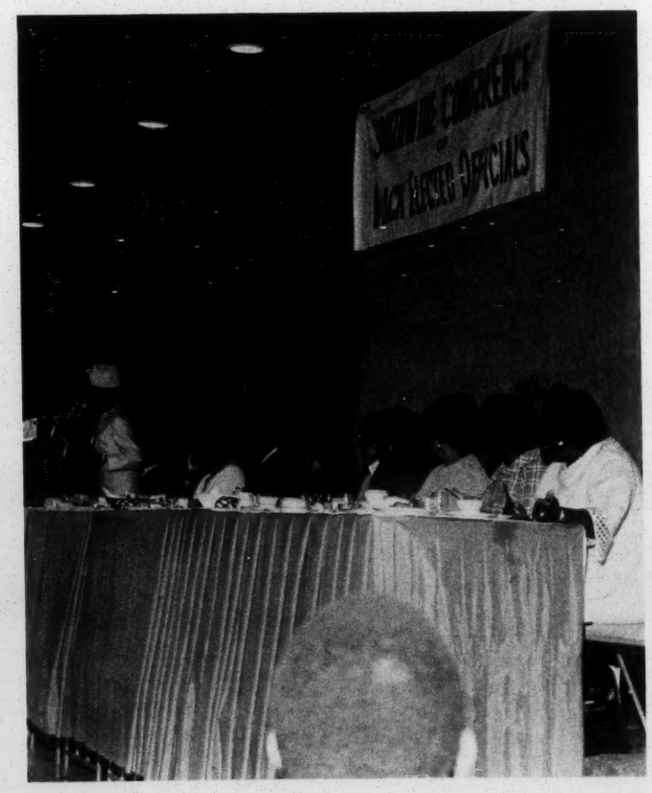
I don't know if many of you also realize that I was elected at the Democratic National Convention as the first black person to be a national committeewoman of New York State. I say this for one specific reason, because somebody said it to me a couple of weeks ago: "Shirley Chisholm, how can you rise within the ranks of the party so quickly, within a four-year period, from a poll leader all the way up to Congresswoman, and then go to the convention and emerge as a national committeewoman for the party—and yet you are not really a part of the machine?" And I said to the person, "Don't you recognize that the revolution is here, that the people are making their decisions now on the basis of what you can do to help liberate them?" And that's why I am rising. Because even though the bosses kept trying to stop me at the convention, when I ran in the district, the people kept telling them by their support, "Why don't you leave her alone?"

I think now that they recognize one thing about me,

if nothing else. I love a good fight. And you don't tell me that you're going to try to destroy me without my attempting to show you what I can do with my 100-pound self.

God bless all of you. Pray for me, because I am going to need prayers. But one thing I do know, that the black people in this country will be very proud of their first black woman to go to Congress, because I'm going to live the life and fight the good fight. Because the time has come when we can no longer be the passive recipients of whatever the politics or the morals of a nation may decree, but that we shall rise up and fight for that which we believe.

Forget what the world will say, whether you're in your place or out of your place. Forget conventionalism. Speak your best words. Do your best deeds. Fight your best fight, looking only to God and to your conscience for approval.



ELECTED OFFICIALS WHO ATTENDED CONFERENCE

ALABAMA

Lucius Amerson
Sheriff
Tuskegee

A. R. Ashley
Justice of Peace
Tuskegee

Mrs. Alice Belle
Constable
Coatopa

Dr. Prosanto K. Biswas
School Board
Tuskegee

Albert C. Bulls Jr.
City Council
Tuskegee

William J. Childs
Justice of Peace
Tuskegee

Joe L. DuBose
City Council
Fairfield

Rev. V. A. Edwards
Board of Revenue
Tuskegee

Jesse Favor
Justice of Peace
Hayneville

Davie Frazier
Justice of Peace
Troy

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
School Board
Tuskegee

Isaiah Hayes III
Justice of Peace
Attalla

Mr. T. R. Hayes
Justice of Peace
Magnolia

Elias Hendricks
Constable
Birmingham

John Hoard
Justice of Peace
Livingston

Rev. Peter Kirksey
County School Board
Boligee

Afton M. Lee Sr.
City Council
Homewood

Samuel Little
School Board (Chairman)
Eppes

L. A. Locklair
Tax Collector
Tuskegee

Miss Patricia McAlpin
Justice of Peace
Gadsden

Wilbur Miller
City Council
Roosevelt City

Lorenzo S. Mitchell
City Council
Bessemer

Aris Morris
Justice of Peace
West Attalla

Thomas J. Norwood
Justice of Peace
Birmingham

Virgie Lee Pearson
City Council
Fairfield

Freddie C. Rogers
Mayor
Roosevelt City

Calvin Smith
City Council
Roosevelt City

J. R. Striplin
Mayor
Hobson City

Lewis Thomas
Constable
Panola

Mrs. Tessie Thomas
Justice of Peace
Panola

Harold Webb
Board of Revenue
Tuskegee

Mrs. Annie B. Williams
Justice of Peace
Panola

Jimmie Lee Williams
City Council
Fairfield

Mrs. Bettie Wimbley
Justice of Peace
Witfield

Lee D. Young
City Council
Hobson City

ARKANSAS

Mrs. Mabel Allen
School Board
Eudora

Charles Bussey
City Manager's Board
Little Rock

Johnnie Gay
Mayor
Humnoke

J. D. Hammond
School Board
Menifee

Woodrow Keown
Justice of Peace
Little Rock

Rev. G. R. Mazique
Aldermanic Board
Helena

Arthur H. Miller
School Board
Pine Bluff

T. E. Patterson
School Board
Little Rock

Frank Smith
Mayor
Menifee

John W. Smith
School Board
North Little Rock

Rev. G. Edward West
City Board of Directors
Fort Smith

FLORIDA

Bobby E. Brooks
City Commission
Riviera Beach

Earl J. Carroll
County Commission
Miami

Jackie Caynon
City Council
Fort Pierce

George H. Gause
City Commission
Bartow

James Huger
City Council
Daytona Beach

Earl Johnson
City Council
Jacksonville

Mrs. Sallye B. Mathis
City Council
Jacksonville

William Shellman
Constable
Jacksonville

Oscar N. Taylor
City Council
Jacksonville

Rudolph Von Slaughter
City Commission
Melbourne

Boisy Waiters
City Commission
Dania

Ozie F. Youngblood
City Commission
Del Ray Beach

GEORGIA

William H. Alexander
State House
Atlanta

Julian Bond
State House
Atlanta

Benjamin D. Brown
State House
Atlanta

J. C. Daugherty
State House
Atlanta

James E. Dean
State House
Atlanta

Clarence G. Ezzard
State House
Atlanta

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
State House
Atlanta

Bobby L. Hill
State House
Savannah

Miss Edith Jacqueline Ingram
Ordinary
Sparta

Leroy Johnson
State Senate
Atlanta

John McCown
County Commission
Sparta

E. J. Shepherd
State House
Atlanta

Rev. L. Scott Stell Jr.
County Commission
Savannah

Dr. Horace E. Tate
City School Board
Atlanta

Albert Thompson
State House
Columbus

Horace T. Ward
State Senate
Atlanta

Q. V. Williamson
Board of Aldermen
Atlanta

Asa G. Yancey
City School Board
Atlanta

LOUISIANA

Wesley Albert Sr.
Justice of Peace
New Roads

Morris Barnes
Constable
Palmetto

Larry Balthazar
Ward Constable
Natchez

John Bobb Jr.
City Council
Grand Coteau

Anderson Broussard
Justice of Peace
Franklin

Felton C. Ceasar
Justice of Peace
Welcome

Oliver Cooper
Police Jury
Welcome

Eddie Davis
Police Jury
Weyanoke

Joseph M. Davis
Police Jury
Jeanerette

Joseph Delphin
Justice of Peace
Natchez

Joseph A. Delpit
City Council
Baton Rouge

L. D. Land
Aldermanic Board
Grambling

Ledell Mackie
Police Jury
St. Francisville

Mrs. Helena B. McClinton
School Board
Tallulah

Ernest Metz
Constable
Franklin

Henry A. Montgomery
Aldermanic Board
Ferriday

Thomas Nelson
Constable
New Roads

Joseph A. (Joe) Pete
City Council
Crowley

Joseph Russell Richard Sr.
Town Council
Grand Coteau

Watson Sanders
Police Jury
Sondheimer

Arthur D. Smith
Aldermanic Board
Grambling

Nathaniel Smith Sr.
Police Jury
St. Francisville

Peter Smith
City Council &
Mayor pro tem
Grand Coteau

Rev. O. L. Virgil
Police Jury
Lake Providence

MISSISSIPPI

Howard T. Bailey
Election Commission
Lexington

Miss Julia Banks
Election Commission
Fayette

Osborne Bell
Coroner
Holly Springs

Ellis Braxton
Election Commission
Lorman

Robert G. Clark
State House
Lexington

Mrs. Geneva Collins
Chancery Clerk
Port Gibson

John Daugherty
Election Commission
Lamar

Mrs. Gladys Davis
Election Commission
Woodville

Sylvester Gaines
Board of Supervisors
Lorman

Mrs. Flonzie Belle Goodloe
Election Commission
Canton

James Gray
Election Commission
Port Gibson

John Green
County School Board
Woodville

Mrs. Marie Green
County School Board
Woodville

Sol Jackson
Election Commission
Fayette

Everett Jennings
Election Commission
Hermansville

Elra Johnson
Election Commission
Durant

James Jolliff Jr.
Board of Supervisors
Woodville

Charlie Jones
Justice of Peace
Coahoma

Mrs. Martha Lee
Justice of Peace
Lorman

Wesley Liddell
Mayor
Mound Bayou

Horace Lightfoot
County School Board
Port Gibson

Earlie Lott
Constable
Fayette

Mrs. Arenia C. Mallory
County School Board
Lexington

Griffin McLaurin
Constable
Tchula

Leander Monroe
Constable
Port Gibson

Mrs. Legora A. Reed
City Council
Mound Bayou

U. S. Rimmer
Justice of Peace
Camden

Floyd Rollins
Election Commission
Port Gibson

William Matt Ross
Board of Supervisors
Port Gibson

James Shanks
Alderman
Jonestown

Burrell Tate
Election Commission
Pickens

Willie Thompson
Justice of Peace
Fayette

Mathew Walker
Justice of Peace
Rolling Fork

McEwen Walker
Constable
Waterford

Robert Lee Williams
School Board
Lorman

NORTH CAROLINA

Henry Frye
State House
Greensboro

Clarence E. Lightner
City Council
Raleigh

Fred D. McNeill Jr.
County School Board
Durham

Carl H. Russell
City Council
Winston-Salem

Asa T. Spaulding
County Commission
Durham

John S. Stewart
City Council
Durham

SOUTH CAROLINA

Leroy E. Browne
City Board of Directors
Frogmore

St. Julian Devine
City Council
Charleston

Anthony Eddings
Magistrate
Frogmore

Herman H. Felix
City Council
Lynchburg

David Jones
County Board of Directors
Hilton Head

Eddie Kline
Magistrate
Dale

J. O. Wendell Martin
County Council
Jenkinsville

John L. McCoy
City Council
Great Falls

Mrs. Frieda R. Mitchell
Board of Education
Sheldon

Charles H. Ross
Mayor
Summerville

Arnic Washington
Town Council
Summerville

Joseph Wright
City Council
Beaufort

TENNESSEE

Mrs. Gladys Allen
Magistrate
Oakland

Dennis Banks
Constable
Knoxville

Robert J. Booker
State House
Knoxville

Lawrence Curry
Constable
Chattanooga

Fred L. Davis
City Council
Memphis

John Driver
City Council
Nashville

Alvin King
State House
Memphis

Harold M. Love
State House
Nashville

Rev. James L. Netters
City Council
Memphis

Dan Nixon
Magistrate
Brownsville

Sherman Perry
Magistrate
Oakland

A. D. Powell
Magistrate
Brownsville

Rev. Robert Richards
Justice of Peace
Chattanooga

James I. Taylor
State House
Memphis

Avon N. Williams, Jr.
State Senate
Nashville

TEXAS

Harmon Bell
City Council
Bryan

I. W. Brown
Board of Aldermen
Malakoff

Asberry Butler
School Board
Houston

Mrs. Exalton A. Delco Jr.
School Board
Austin

Wilbert Lee Eagleton
School Board
Crosby

Dr. Marion G. Ford
School Board
Houston

Curtis M. Graves
State House
Houston

Arthur J. Guidry
Mayor Pro Tem
Port Arthur

Zan Wesley Holmes Jr.
State House
Dallas

Scott E. Johnson
City Council
Huntsville

Alfred Zack McElroy
School Board President
Port Arthur

John Miles Jr.
City Council
Hearne

William H. Taft
School Board
Beaumont

Harrison E. Taylor
Board of Aldermen
Wichita Falls

VIRGINIA

Rev. Lawrence A. Davies
City Council
Fredericksburg

Charles H. Harris
City Council
Danville

William D. Hobson
City Council
Martinsville

Dr. James W. Holley III
City Council
Portsmouth

Joseph A. Jordan, Jr.
City Council
Norfolk

Henry L. Marsh III
City Council
Richmond

W. Ferguson Reid
State House
Richmond

Moses Riddick
Board of Supervisors
Suffolk

S. O. Sykes
Board of Supervisors
Southhampton

Raymond Turner
City Council
Portsmouth

Voter Education Project

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Advisory Committee

Dr. Samuel D. Cook, Chairman

Paul Anthony
Julian Bond
Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
Jesse Hill
Norman Hill
Frank Smith
Dr. C. H. Thomas, Jr.
John Wheeler
James E. Youngdahl

Staff*

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director

Rev. John Morris
Conference Coordinator

Thaddeus Olive
Administrative Assistant

Mrs. Nobbie Morgan
Secretary to the Director

Janet Wells
Research Assistant

Zane Wilson
Secretary

Weldon J. Rougeau
Field Director

Marvin Wall
Director of Research

Mrs. Margaret Chanin
Administrative Secretary

Gwendolyn Poole
Secretary-Receptionist

Lynne Wisdom
Asst. to the Conference Coordinator

*At the time of the conference

● *Photos by Booker Lockhart, Harmon Perry and Marge Manderson*

SHERIFF

Lucius D. Amerson

PHONE
OFFICE 727-2500
JAIL 727-0130

MACON COUNTY TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA

December 30, 1968

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director, Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

It was indeed my pleasure to attend the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials in Atlanta earlier this month. I am sure that by now you have been assured of the conference's success as attested to by its many participants.

The privilege of meeting others with common interests in order to share our problems and successes was to me very appropriate, and I sincerely hope that this type conference will continue in the future.

I am returning herewith the Eastern Airlines ticket you sent for my transportation to the conference. The personal benefits received more than compensated for the minor expenses I incurred.

Again, please know that I was both pleased and complimented to have attended this very fine conference.

Very truly yours,

Lucius D. Amerson

Lucius D. Amerson
Sheriff of Macon County

LDA:mm

Enclosure - Airlines Ticket

"Don't Wait 'Til Sundown To Slow Down"

Phone: Church
727-1780

Phone: Home 727-2979
Office 727-4752

Greater Saint Mark Missionary Baptist Church

REV. V. A. EDWARDS, Pastor
P. O. Box 58
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama 36088

December 18, 1968

RECEIVED
DEC 23 1968

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Mr. Jordan:

This is to express my appreciation for the opportunity given me to participate in the recent conference for the Black elected officials.

It is clear that Voter Education phase of the Council's program came into being in time to meet a great human need. After seeing, evidently, how much had gone into the planning of the conference for our benefit, the least I could do is to say thank you.

My feeling is that you and your staff are making it possible for the newly elected officials, irrespective to race, to make a better adjustment than was done in the earlier days of reconstruction. Our whole Southland is being helped to get around many pitfalls. It pleases me to see the determination, the faith, the dedication, notwithstanding the lack of academic preparation, of many with whom I associated.

As I watched your movements my feeling was increasingly confirmed that you were acquainted with both the letter and spirit of Longfellow's "Psalm of Life" the last verse of which follows:

Let us then be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait.

Gratefully yours,

V A Edwards

V. A. Edwards, Commissioner of
District 4-Board of Revenue
Macon County, Alabama

CITY COUNCIL
DOWNING PRYOR
CHAIRMAN
GWEN AWSUMB
JERRED BLANCHARD
WYETH CHANDLER
FRED L. DAVIS
LEWIS R. DONELSON
BILLY HYMAN
ROBERT JAMES
W. T. McADAMS
JAMES L. NETTERS
J. O. PATTERSON, JR.
PHILIP A. PEREL
THOMAS H. TODD, JR.

MEMPHIS SHELBY COUNTY TENNESSEE

CITY OF MEMPHIS

MEMPHIS
TENNESSEE
38103

RECEIVED
DEC 23 1968

December 19, 1968

Mr. Vernon Jordan, Jr.

Dear Vernon:

Thank you; V.E.P., and S.R.C. for one of the most valuable experiences I have had in my political career. As a black man, it is most encouraging to learn of the significant progress made by the black people in the confederacy through the ballot box. As an elected official, it is most rewarding to glean the perspective project by the conference. I hope and pray this should not be the last meeting of this kind. If possible, something on this order may be done annually.

✓ If you have enough copies of the list of black elected officials over the Mid-south, I should like about twelve or more copies to give to some of the schools here in the City. I think this information should be very helpful to them in discussing black history. Also, put me on the mailing list for the V.E.P. News.

By the way, you are an ideal host and presiding officer and I don't think you are a dictator. Again, thanks for a rich and rewarding experience.

Enclosed is my bill as you instructed me to send to you.

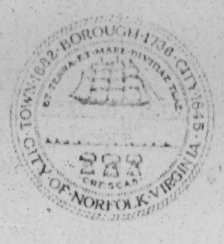
Yours sincerely,

JLN

James L. Netters
City Councilman

JLN/vl

MACE OF NORFOLK



City of Norfolk

Virginia 23501

RECEIVED
DEC 23 1968

December 19, 1968

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Re: The Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officers

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Please accept my congratulations to you and your staff for the outstanding contribution you made towards liberating our Southland. I cannot imagine a more constructive or more timely affair.

As indicated in our last conversation, I trust you will not hesitate to call upon me for any help in the logical follow-through of your program.

Respectfully yours,

Cousin Joe

Joseph A. Jordan, Jr.
1228 Virginia Beach Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia 23504
627-7128

JAJ,JR./mjb

ALBERT W. THOMPSON
Representative, District 110, Post 2
210 Ninth Street
Columbus, Georgia 31901

COMMITTEES

SPECIAL JUDICIARY
· Vice-Chairman, Inquiry & Investigations
STATE INSTITUTIONS & PROPERTY
Eleemosynary Institutions
TEMPERANCE

The House of Representatives

Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
DEC 17 1968

December 16, 1968

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Director, VEP
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Geogia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

My recent experience as a participant in your Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials was one of the richest and most rewarding of my entire life. I assure you that the association with the other elected officials, and the expertise of the many speakers and panelists have helped to give direction to my thinking and I hope will reflect in the type of legislator I will be in the next session of the Georgia General Assembly.

Please accept my sincerest gratitude for having been included in this momentous and historic event.

Sincerely,

Al

ALBERT W. THOMPSON

AWT:mgg

Welcoming remarks at VEP Conference
Friday December 14, 1968
By: Paul Anthony, Executive Director, SRC

It is with misgivings that I appear on the program this evening. Long dinners and the involvement of many people serve no function other than that of boring our guests.

However, in the next several moments, it is both a privilege and certainly a pleasure, to do two things.

First, on behalf of the Southern Regional Council I should like to express our appreciation to Attorney General Ramsey Clark for being with us this evening. There is good in the South and there is good in the Nation. This audience, Mr. Attorney General, represents a significant part of the good and the promise in this region. And the Attorney General, ladies and gentlemen of the audience, represents the good and the honorable of this nation. It is important, most important that we meeting here tonight recognize this.

Secondly, and again on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I should like, belatedly, to welcome the black elected officials of the South to this meeting and to thank you for coming. This is, as I am sure you agree, an historic occasion, and Atlanta is the appropriate site for it. Earlier, we have gone from "Gone with the Wind" to the Cotton States Exposition. At that latter event, of course, Dr. Washington attempted to make peace with the White South for "his people." I do not demean Dr. Washington, I hurt for him and the choices he faced.

The black elected officials here tonight five proof that now we are privileged tohave new choices, and I rejoice that we do. The Southern Regional Council has for 20 years had a strong interest in access to the ballot, we have developed a strong reputation for our knowledge on this subject, and we have consistently expressed our faith in the power of the baloot. ((And we are pleased that our current Voter Education Project is our most ambitious and succesfful effort to date in this area.)

Yet, for all the encouragement, pleasure and indeed, honest rejoicing that this gives us of the Southern Regional Couhncil, we too, are sad. I am sad that in 1968 we should need a conference of black elected officials. For the Southern Regional Council to have such a conference is a confirmation that we are right, particularly in believing in the democratic society. We are gratified that this represents such a significant movement up the rungs of the ladder. But, we shall not be really gratified until we have climbed the ladder. We shall achieve our real dream in cooperation with men like the Honorable Ramsey Clark and that which he represents, and with the cooperation of the honorable black elected officials here present. This dream is to have a conference of elected offiicals.

Then we will all be blessed, whole, and a nation of honor.

file

Draft

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

Report of the Conference Coordinator

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

	ALA.	ARK.	FLA.	GA.	LA.	MISS.	N. C.	S. C.	TENN.	TEXAS	VA.	TOTAL	
Legislators													
State Senate				2					2	1		5	30
State House			1	12	1	1	1		6	2	1	25	
City Officials													
Mayor	3	4			1	1		1				10	
City Council	28	10	15	6	13	7	11	15	8	10	18	141	152
Civil Service Board			1									1	
County Officials													
County Governing Board	2		1	5	11	4	1	4	5		2	35	
County Administration	1			1		1					1	4	54
Election Commission						15						15	
Law Enforcement Officials													
Judge, District Court							1					1	
Sheriff	1											1	
Coroner	1					1						2	
Town Marshall					2							2	
Magistrate								4	4			8	81
Constable	6		1		8	5			3			23	
Justice of the Peace	20	3			8	10			1		2	44	
School Board Officials													
School Board Members	5	33		3	9	6	4	2	2	8		72	72
TOTALS	67	50	19	29	53	51	18	26	30	21	24	389	389

Chart prepared as of information on hand January 10, 1968.
In Tennessee one man serves both as State Representative & City Councilman.

Report Of The Conference Coordinator:

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

December 11-14, 1968

Atlanta, Georgia

Introduction

Persuaded, as I am, that political progress represents one of the more substantial and enduring gains for the black community in the Southern region, I consider it a distinct privilege to have been associated with this historic, first southwide assembly of Negro public elected officials.

In a period of reversals and new dimensions to the American dilemma it may well be that the steadily increasing number of black elected officials in the South is one of the few signs of continued progress in the pursuit of racial justice. Furthermore, I believe that this emerging phenomenon may well constitute one of the more effective instruments for the building of an integrated and open society in this region, possibly giving the South, even, certain advantages over other areas of the country.

That the conference, convened in Atlanta in mid-December, 1968, by the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project, was enormously successful is attested to, not only in the consensus of staff, but in the unsolicited feedback from participants, resource persons and the press.

I shall in this report indicate the areas of continuing need suggested in the conference, summarize the highpoints on the program - with some indication of the progression of mood and involvement by participants, and document the number of participants and their states and offices - as well as give a financial breakdown on both funds received and expended for the conference.

"The List"

Prerequisite for the convening of such a meeting was accessability to the names and addresses of the elected officials, there being no agency other than the Voter Education Project which has presumed to maintain such records. It could be noted in passing that until recent time there was, indeed, no basis for such a list - because of the virtual non-existence of "black elected officials". Prior to the nineteen sixties it is estimated that only a handful of black persons held elective office in the Southern region. In 1965, following the implementaion of the Voting Rights Act and its effect, the VEP counted 72 such officials.

When I arrived on the job in preparation for the conference on September 1, 1968, the records of the VEP indicated there were some

246 black elected officials in the eleven states covered by the Southern Regional Council. Even before the November, 1968, elections we had tracked down others, bringing the total to almost 300. Now, following the elections, our final tabulation - with names and addresses - comes to 388.

The procedure for gathering information for the roster has, necessarily, been haphazard and subject to error. VEP has depended on its network of concerned persons, state and local projects, and other interested persons to advise us where some black person has been elected to office, reelected or defeated. Now, with the publication for the first time of a Directory of Black Elected Officials, and with the increased interest and momentum created by the conference, it should be easier to maintain and improve the accuracy of the list.

Inclusion of all such officials on the VEP mailing list, for receipt of the Newsletter and other pertinent materials, should stimulate greater responsiveness on the part of the officials themselves to keep us advised as to gains and losses in the field. I am thinking especially of those officials from whom we received no response following one or more mailings, albeit each communication was in the form of a personally typed letter and included a form to be returned in an enclosed stamped and addressed envelope. There were 97 officials in this category. Later in this report I shall speak to this factor in greater detail.

Conference Planning

For purposes of initial planning for the conference a small meeting was convened on September 28th, 1968, at Paschall's Motel in Atlanta. This included VEP staff members: Vernon Jordan, Marvin Wall, Thad Olive, Weldon Rougeau, and myself. Invited consultants included: Representative Robert Clark, Lexington, Miss.; Councilman Henry Marsh, Richmond, Va.; Attorney Nils Douglas of the VEP Advisory Committee, New Orleans; Dr. Samuel Cook, Chairman, VEP Advisory Committee, Duke University; James Felder, then Director of the South Carolina VEP; Senator Horace Ward, Atlanta; Representative Julian Bond, Atlanta, who was unable to be present but submitted his ideas in writing; Dr. Vivian Henderson, VEP Advisory Committee, Clark College, Atlanta; Michael Chanin, Director, Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy, Atlanta; and Mrs. Taunya Banks, Director of the VEP-sponsored service center for elected officials in Mississippi. The overall agenda was considered in this session, with broad outlines concerning its makeup upon which staff proceeded to build.

While I was designated "Conference Coordinator", I would be the first to acknowledge that VEP Director Vernon Jordan was the chief architect of both the substance of the meeting and administrative procedures for calling and holding the conference. At every time he was acutely attuned to unseen needs both in administration and in the perfecting of the quality of the agenda.

Communications With Elected Officials

In the early fall each elected official then on our records received an individually typed letter signed by Mr. Jordan telling him of the impending meeting and asking that a form be returned giving

us certain information on his office, tenure, whether he was up for reelection, etc. This now constitutes a part of the improved records of the VEP on the black elected officials in the region. Some similiar device will be needed in future years to keep the records updated.

In mid-November a second personally directed letter to elected officials was sent out inviting them to the conference, together with appropriate forms to be returned. There had already been some press attention to the impending meeting, and in early December we held a press briefing in which Mr. Jordan announced our plans, the agenda and key speakers.

So, with due preparations having been made for the physical arrangements of the conference, the assistance of an Atlanta travel bureau, and a complete agenda - announcement and invitations were submitted and we prepared for the event itself.

Response From Elected Officials

I believe in some instances there is significance for the VEP in the percentage of elected officials from the respective states who attended the conference insofar as future work is concerned.

STATE	NO. BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS	NO. WHO ATTENDED CONFERENCE	PERCENTAGE WHO ATTENDED
Mississippi	51	34	66.7%
Texas	21	14	66.7%
Florida	19	12	63.2%
Georgia	29	18	62.1%
Alabama	67	35	52.2%
Tennessee	30	15	50.0%
Louisiana	53	24	45.3%
South Carolina	26	11	42.3%
Virginia	24	10	41.7%
North Carolina	18	5	27.8%
Arkansas	50	11	22.0%
TOTALS	388	189	48.7%

Most of these percentages offer clues as to either strengths or needs within the respective states. For instance I suggest that Mississippi was strong in turn-out because of the length of time they have had an organized effort politically in the MFDP. Texas I would construe as being high in attendance because of a generally advanced level of sophistication, without the same cautiousness that

might operate elsewhere. The same for Florida. As for Georgia, I believe we should have had a higher responsiveness factor and that it might have been substantially lower if the conference had been elsewhere than in metro Atlanta with its large number of black elected officials. Areas of low responsiveness in Georgia included Augusta and rural counties in South Georgia. Alabama was strong generally, except for poor turnout from Hobson City, Triana, etc. That it had the largest single delegation in attendance is evidence of good work being done through various thrusts, including the NDPA effort. Tennessee was in the middle with a 50% attendance, this being mostly from Nashville and Memphis. Rural areas were weak in responsiveness there. Louisiana and South Carolina were about on a par, as was Virginia, but all three indicate cause for concern as to what happened to the others. North Carolina was surprising low in attendance, although in letters of regret we received, with valid reasons for in-attendance, they would rate high in actual responsiveness. With Arkansas at the bottom, and most of their elected officials being in the category of school board members, one wonders just what operated to make for so poor a turnout.

Several factors operated to hold people back, although on the whole I think the attendance was very encouraging. It's just that an improved program for the future calls for some examination of the no-shows moreso than those who came. First, it must be acknowledged that in the more rural areas many officials do not have the means or the tradition for taking time off from their jobs. Although we were covering all expenses of travel, lodging and meals, this would not make up for pay lost at home. We received a few letters asking if we could cover this. Nothing has developed to alter my feeling that it was best to make a firm and overall decision not to get into this, but in some instances it is a factor.

In a different vein, I think the attendance percentages suggest that some of the possible reasons for not coming are to be correlated with negative factors still operating within the black community. Some may have felt that whites in their area would have known if they came and exerted pressures on them thereafter. Some may have felt that this would be an ultra-militant gathering, with overtones with which they are not in sympathy. Indeed, our use of the new terminology, still not predominant in this area, entitling the conference one of "black" persons, may have put a few persons off. And then there would be some who for either good or ill would not want to identify with a predominantly black meeting, feeling either that this was beneath their station, or, with more positive rationale, that they were elected to serve the whole community and did not require any support from identification with their "racial group".

A Comment On the Accent on "Black" Participation

Having on several occasions so vigorously resisted the new thrust of separatism, black caucuses, etc., as innimicable to ultimate goals of building an open and integrated society, I offer as an appendix to this report the remarks before the conference of SRC Director Paul Anthony which put the conference in perspective so ably, in my estimation.

I believe that this conference was a right and necessary effort to consolidate and strengthen black political power. That all elected officials on hand as participants were black is only a factor having to do with the realities around us in the region. If some of the white NDPA candidates in Alabama had been elected, they would have been invited,

as they, in fact, were to an earlier conference for candidates which the VEP sponsored in Alabama before the election. Had we known of any block of white office holders given to "thinking black", in terms of their primary concerns and commitments, they would have been invited. Instead, we were an all black conference, insofar as delegates went, but with a mixed group of speakers and resource personnel, because this was a true expression of our necessity. No one was excluded. All supporters would have been welcomed. Nor was their any mood or feeling against white participation during the conference, except for one small thing that came to my attention - and this from a visiting west coast legislator who had some misgivings that the white conference coordinator presumed at one point to close down the hospitality room when the next session was starting. He conceived of racial overtones in this small matter, but later friendly conversations between the two, and possibly the whole tone of the meeting, must have seen this gentleman returning home with a slightly improved idea of what could be done in America bi-racially today.

Responsiveness To Conference By Category of Office

It may be of interest to note the percentages of officeholders of various categories who attended the conference, as follows:

Category	Number of Officials	Number Who Attended	Percentage In Category To Attend
State	30	22	73.3%
Law Enforcement	81	46	56.8%
County	54	35	54.8%
City	152	62	40.8%
School Board	72	26	36.1%

It is obvious that state legislators have a very high degree of responsiveness to such meetings, while school board members as a group leave something to be desired, except that in the latter case the great number of school board members in Arkansas who did not respond contributes substantially to the low percentage there. Also, in the instance of city officials, it should be noted that a breakdown between the number of councilmen in large cities and in the small, predominantly black towns would show a higher responsiveness in the case of those from metropolitan communities. On the other hand, most of the law enforcement officials are J.P.s and constables in rural areas and their rate of attendance at the conference was relatively good.

THE PROGRAM

The following are my observations on the major parts of the agenda, as per the sequence and timing thereto:

Wednesday P.M., Dec. 11:

A hectic afternoon of registering delegates, dealing with the hotel, etc., saw us fairly well prepared for the evening's opening

reception (provided courtesy of Atlanta's "The" Coca Cola Company) and dinner with Julian Bond as keynote speaker. Greetings from local black elected officials attested to our successes in this area and served to begin xxxx the conference with a high degree of participation by officials themselves in the agenda - a factor I think we maintained in the balance of who wasonn the program. Overall it was a good opening night: Julian Bond came on strong and was well received. Everyone remembered him from Chicago. The tone became one of a celebration of successes, but with a realistic appraisal of continuing difficulties and hurdles not yet overcome.

Thursday A.M., Dec. 12:

Dr. Samuel Cook's well-researched "overview" of the Negro in Southern political process offered an historical perspective into which the conference fit. Southerners generally have a sense of history, and our recent changes in racial patterns are recognized as developments built upon prior efforts - so I think that Dr. Cook's discerning paper was appreciated by most participants - and, indeed, probably grasped xxxx by a number who ordinarily would not be prone to academic or scholarly considerations. The panel of respondents which followed was lively, with some vigorous dissent in evidence, a development which contributed to the dynamics of the meeting - letting it be known that we had not laid out any party line but welcomed the active participation of everyone present.

Thursday Lunch

Dr. Kenneth Clark was unable to be on hand, but was ably replaced by Dr. Vivian Henderson who, by all reports I had (I was out most of the time concerned with details) substantially enhanced the spirit of the conference and was avidly applauded at the close.

(I make no effort here, incidentally, to summarize the substance or content of the various speakers, but to indicate how I perceived they were received.)

Thursday Afternoon

The first of three workshop sessions, with separate groups for state officials, city officials, county officials, school board members, and law enforcement officials. With a convenor and recorder for each workshop and selected resource personnel, they were attended by nearly all officials in the respective categories. Several times I circulated around the hotel and it seemed they were very much alive with discussion. At the close of the first workshop period we had the convenors and recorders assemble to determine if any additions or changes were needed in the format. Thereupon a separate group was created for the Election Commissioners from Mississippi, pulling them out of the County workshop for the next day's session.

Thursday evening

The only publicly announced session in the form of a "Public Forum" at Clark College, with promotion on the xxxxxxxxxxxxxx campus

aimed at getting a large student turnout from the Atlanta University community. I thought this was less successful than we had hoped for, but don't believe it was because one of the militant student groups chose to hand out separatist literature outside the auditorium just beforehand and at the close. Mayor Richard Hatcher was good, probably the more militant of talks before the conference, but well received, as was the panel which followed.

Friday Morning

I had thought the session on Revenue and Taxation would show some lack of interest and attrition in attendance, but not so at all. In fact, it carried on in the question period with such vigor that the presiding chairman had to cut it off so we could make the distribution and explanation of the manual "Everyman's Guide To Federal Programs" which was provided each participant.

Friday Lunch

To honor and hear from several black candidates who had run major races either statewide or against white goliaths, this came off very nicely in spite of the fact that several of the honorees didn't show. Some sounded like they were still running, but one person in particular, Mrs. Eva Clayton of Virginia, delivered impromptu remarks which were very moving and much welcomed by the conference participants.

Friday Afternoon

The second workshop session produced very positive feedback, a surprising phenomenon in such a conference where these things sometimes drag and the participants filter out before adjournment.

We have detailed reports from the respective workshop recorders giving something of the detail of what was discussed, the kinds of problems considered, etc. That even some of the veteran and sometimes cynical type resource people felt the workshop went so well is ample testimony to this fact, I believe

The workshops, then, in terms of process, seem to have accomplished our aim - that of having adequate time in the packed agenda when the participants would not be talked to, but could ventilate and discuss what was uppermost for them. I believe we had a good balance of plenary sessions, speakers at meals, receptions, and time for feedback and delegate participation.

Friday Night

A more formal dinner at a nearby and more luxury motel (because of a conflict at the Dinkler) actually turned out, in terms of process, to be a good variation from the routine we had begun at the Dinkler and, being the night before everyone went home, it made it into the closing banquet kind of affair. A reception beforehand sponsored by the Atlanta Inquirer and H. J. Russell & Co. added the touch of festivity that was in order. It would have been an adequate evening just because of these factors, but, then, U. S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark came on so strong

and eloquently in advocacy of the very concerns that were uppermost in the minds of the officials, it made it into an exhilarating climax to what had developed into a very successful conference. I think everyone went home wondering why we were meeting again on Saturday....and yet not wanting to go home because it had been good to be in this place.

Saturday morning & Lunch

There was some attrition in the workshops for this third and final session, partly occasioned by those who had to leave Atlanta on early flights or long drives.....but, still, they went of their own volition until just before lunch.....

It might have been a slack final day in the proceedings except for Mrs. Shirley Chisholm who charmed and inspired the conference with a rousing address on black political power, how the Congress was going to know she was there now, and what must be done to increase and perfect such political power in the black community. She was given a standing ovation and rightly deserved it. From my standpoint, the conference was closed out on as high a note as we had reached the night before when it seemed the peak of responsiveness had arrived....

Heartfelt goodbyes in the lobby and throughout the afternoon attested to the fact that for many of these persons they had seldom been away to as satisfying a meeting as they found this one to be.

* * * * * * * * * *

FUNDS RECEIVED FOR AND EXPENDED ON THE CONFERENCE

Funds Received:

Ford Foundation	$20,000.00
Abelard Foundation	2,500.00
Taconic Foundation	5,000.00
Irwin-Sweeney-Miller	5,000.00
ATLANTA INQUIRER & H. J. Russell Co.	500.00
	$33,000.00

Funds Expended:

Hotel (Lodging, meals, reception)	$15,283.20
Travel (participants, speakers, etc.)	15,074.67
Cash outlay (travel, hotel tips, etc)	289.22
Honoraria & Consultants	2,288.75
Supplies (briefcases, posters, etc.)	484.90
Photographer	136,00
Misc. (equipment rentals, etc.)	161.33
	$33,718.07

Several refunds for unused airline tickets will bring the income and outlay almost into balance, although it should be noted that VEP and SRC absorbed staff and administrative expenses for the conference.

In Conclusion

That I feel the conference to have been most successful is apparent by earlier comments, a feeling I believe is shared by other VEP and SRC staff members and which is borne out in the unsolicited comments we received from participants afterwards - a sampling of which are attached in the appendix.

Apart from the fact that the agenda flowed well and contained a balance of times to listen and times to talk, and the former saw many eloquent and moving expressions (as well as the latter, judging by the workshop reports), I think that the chief success and value of the conference was that, for the first time, the region's black elected officials (or a substantial part thereof) assembled together. Together they celebrated their success and the emerging power being felt by the black community. Together they commisserated over the difficulties of serving in predominantly white bodies and over the obstacles and real hurdles which remain for black persons in the South who want to be fully involved in community affairs and its government. Together they hoped for a better day. And together they determined that there was no turning back. This factor of public assembly from across the region was, in my estimation, the most signal contbtibution of the conference. Certainly for those present. I cannot but believe that in the general public's reading of news accounts there must also have been some reckoning and acceptance of the inevitability of black political power.

There has not been much lately in the political field or in the general picture of American race relations that has encouraged me. This conference was a marked exception. If the South is redeemed and made one community, these folk will be much involved. They may well in the years to come - they and their successors - have something to offer the rest of the country.xxx

Suggestions

1. Some mailing should go very soon to participants acknowledging that we were glad they came and enclosing the proceedings of the conference which are to be published and/or the set of press clippings we recently prepared.

2. Thereafter some periodic contact should be made with all the region's black elected officials, the minimum being that they all be included for receipt of the VEP newsletter. I think other things would be in order, and this in addition to what the several service centers may issue.

3. For down-to-earth practical affairs the service centers are a natural and essential consequence of the VEP's moving more and more into the area of assisting public officials. Strong direction and some coordination from the VEP office is in order for the various centers, I believe. Another full time staff person for just this responsibility would not be too much.

4. Many participants asked if we would have the conference annually. I think it could be well repeated in about three years, with conferences at the state level in the interim. In the case of some states, as for instance, the Carolinas and Virginia, there might be a single meeting annually.

5. I don't know just what, or, indeed, how much the VEP can do, but some effort should be made regionally, as is happening in Mississippi and Alabama, to involve the black elected officials more in the reform and liberal thrusts within the Democratic party - (or, if you will, in the Ripon Society where appropriate!). Much is happening in the country in the area of new and reform politics. It would be sad if the black politicians in the South were amongst the last to know. Persons who would grasp this concern include, for instance, Julian Bond, John Cashin, Larry Guyot, etc.

6. Ultimately, some special effort must be made to include some of the region's more liberal white political aspirants and officeholders (if there are any left!). Ten years from now we should hope for a south-wide conference of all politicians concerned for building the region as these black officials, in fact, envision it.

Appendix

These extended remarks and summary of data should be looked at in conjunction with the conference's proceedings (the major talks, etc.) which VEP is to publish. Also, the roster of black elected officials already issued in tentative fashion by VEP and soon to be released as a special report by SRC must be a part of any assessment of the situation. Finally, for some of the flavor of the conference, see the ten page reprint of news reports on the conference issued by the VEP and available on request.

Specifically appended to this report are the following:

1. The printed copy of the conference program. This details speakers, resource people, etc.

2. SRC Director Paul Anthony's remarks at the Friday night banquet during the conference.

3. A sampling of letters received unsolicited from some of the conference participants.

The workshop reports may be inspected at the VEP office. They offer some of the gutsy, grass-roots material that made up the conference.

Respectfully submitted,

January 14, 1969 John Morris

January 2, 1969

The Honorable Ramsay Clark
Attorney-General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Clark:

Please forgive me this long delay in writing to you. The holidays and the epidemic have slowed us down considerably.

Your address before the Conference of Black Elected Officials was the high point of that very significant meeting, and we are deeply grateful to you.

May I also express to you, on behalf of the Council and personally, our most sincere appreciation for the leadership you have given us.

Every good wish for the future.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Topknot
Linville Falls, N. C.
28647

December 30, 1968

Mrs. Mildred Johnson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mildred:

Please make a reservation for me at some Atlanta establishment for the night of January 9, arriving about 6:30 P. M. I presume I will have a confirmation from you and will also know where the meeting of the next day is to be held.

Linville Falls needs women like you, Mrs. Johnson.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

gwf

City of Roosevelt City

FREDDIE C. ROGERS
Mayor
MABLE Z. POINDEXTER
Clerk-Treasurer

COUNCILMEN:
Lorenza S. Mitchell
Wilbur Miller
John S. Billingsley
Calvin C. Smith
John L. Mason

301-B BRIGHTON AVENUE
ROOSEVELT CITY, ALABAMA 35020
TELEPHONE AREA CODE 205 — 426-1261

RECEIVED
JAN - 8 1969

January 6, 1969

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you and your staff for the kindness you shown towards me and our City Councilmen.

The meeting was very helpful as well as inspirational. We shall long remember your kindness.

Again thank you.

Yours very truly,

Freddie C. Rogers

Freddie C. Rogers, Mayor

FCR: rlh

JAMES I. TAYLOR
REPRESENTATIVE
SHELBY COUNTY FIFTH DISTRICT
492 EAST McLEMORE AVENUE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE 38106

House of Representatives
State of Tennessee
NASHVILLE

RECEIVED
DEC 27 1968

December 24, 1968

Attorney Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. Director
Voter Education Project,
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

I should like to take this opportunity to wish you and yours a most happy prosperous NEW YEAR. Again, it was a real pleasure in meeting you in Atlanta during the Black Elected Officials Conference a few weeks ago. I think you should be commended for a job well done with your Voter Education Project, and I thoroughly enjoyed all meetings of the same.

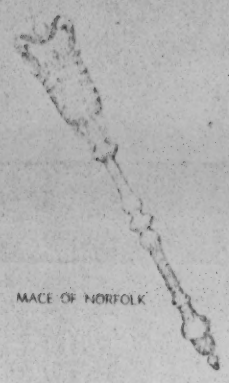
If you should ever come to Memphis for any occasion, please feel free to call on me.

Sincerely,

James I. Taylor

James I. Taylor

JIT:JIT



City of Norfolk

Virginia 23501

RECEIVED
DEC 23 1968

December 19, 1968

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Re: The Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officers

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Please accept my congratulations to you and your staff for the outstanding contribution you made towards liberating our Southland. I cannot imagine a more constructive or more timely affair.

As indicated in our last conversation, I trust you will not hesitate to call upon me for any help in the logical follow-through of your program.

Respectfully yours,

Cousin Joe

Joseph A. Jordan, Jr.
1228 Virginia Beach Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia 23504
627-7128

JAJ,JR./mjb

CITY COUNCIL
DOWNING PRYOR
CHAIRMAN
GWEN AWSUMB
JERRED BLANCHARD
WYETH CHANDLER
FRED L. DAVIS
LEWIS R. DONELSON
BILLY HYMAN
ROBERT JAMES
W. T. McADAMS
JAMES L. NETTERS
J. O. PATTERSON, JR.
PHILIP A. PEREL
THOMAS H. TODD, JR.

CITY OF
MEMPHIS
MEMPHIS
TENNESSEE
38103

RECEIVED
DEC 23 1968

December 19, 1968

Mr. Vernon Jordan, Jr.

Dear Vernon:

Thank you, V.E.P., and S.R.C. for one of the most valuable experiences I have had in my political career. As a black man, it is most encouraging to learn of the significant progress made by the black people in the confederacy through the ballot box. As an elected official, it is most rewarding to glean the perspective project by the conference. I hope and pray this should not be the last meeting of this kind. If possible, something on this order may be done annually.

If you have enough copies of the list of black elected officials over the Mid-south, I should like about twelve or more copies to give to some of the schools here in the City. I think this information should be very helpful to them in discussing black history. Also, put me on the mailing list for the V.E.P. News.

By the way, you are an ideal host and presiding officer and I don't think you are a dictator. Again, thanks for a rich and rewarding experience.

Enclosed is my [illegible] you instructed me to send to you.

Yours sincerely,

Jim

James L. Netters
City Councilman

JLN/vl

Phone: Church
727-1780

Phone: Home 727-2979
Office 727-4752

Greater Saint Mark Missionary Baptist Church

REV. V. A. EDWARDS, Pastor
P. O. Box 58
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama 36088

December 18, 1968

RECEIVED
DEC 23 1968

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Mr. Jordan:

This is to express my appreciation for the opportunity given me to participate in the recent conference for the Black elected officials.

It is clear that Voter Education phase of the Council's program came into being in time to meet a great human need. After seeing, evidently, how much had gone into the planning of the conference for our benefit, the least I could do is to say thank you.

My feeling is that you and your staff are making it possible for the newly elected officials, irrespective to race, to make a better adjustment than was done in the earlier days of reconstruction. Our whole Southland is being helped to get around many pitfalls. It pleases me to see the determination, the faith, the dedication, notwithstanding the lack of academic preparation, of many with whom I associated.

As I watched your movements my feeling was increasingly confirmed that you were acquainted with both the letter and spirit of Longfellow's "Psalm of Life" the last verse of which follows:

Let us then be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait.

Gratefully yours,

V A Edwards

V. A. Edwards, Commissioner of
District 4-Board of Revenue
Macon County, Alabama

ALBERT W. THOMPSON
Representative, District 110, Post 2
210 Ninth Street
Columbus, Georgia 31901

COMMITTEES

SPECIAL JUDICIARY
Vice-Chairman, Inquiry & Investigations
STATE INSTITUTIONS & PROPERTY
Eleemosynary Institutions
TEMPERANCE

The House of Representatives

Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
DEC 17 1968

December 16, 1968

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Director, VEP
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Geogia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

My recent experience as a participant in your Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials was one of the richest and most rewarding of my entire life. I assure you that the association with the other elected officials, and the expertise of the many speakers and panelists have helped to give direction to my thinking and I hope will reflect in the type of legislator I will be in the next session of the Georgia General Assembly.

Please accept my sincerest gratitude for having been included in this momentous and historic event.

Sincerely,

ALBERT W. THOMPSON

AWT:mgg

SHERIFF

Lucius D. Amerson

PHONE
OFFICE 727-2500
JAIL 727-0130

MACON COUNTY TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA

November 10, 1968

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director, Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

It was indeed my pleasure to attend the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials in Atlanta earlier this month. I am sure that by now you have been assured of the conference's success as attested to by its many participants.

The privilege of meeting others with common interests in order to share our problems and successes was to me very appropriate, and I sincerely hope that this type conference will continue in the future.

I am returning herewith the Eastern Airlines ticket you sent for my transportation to the conference. The personal benefits received more than compensated for the minor expenses I incurred.

Again, please know that I was both pleased and complimented to have attended this very fine conference.

Very truly yours,

Lucius D. Amerson

Lucius D. Amerson
Sheriff of Macon County

LDA:mm

Enclosure - Airlines Ticket

"Don't Wait 'Til Sundown To Slow Down"

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
January 10, 1969 Vol. 93, No. 2

S. H. RINGO—VIRGINIAN PILOT

RIDDICK

DONALDSON—LEVITON-ATLANTA

COLLINS

PHIL KILLIAN

CHILDS

Agents of liberation and redemption.

RACES

The Other Half of the Battle

When Mrs. Geneva Collins took office as Chancery Clerk in Mississippi's Claiborne County, the two-member white staff quit. Mrs. Collins is black. Dan Nixon, a Negro magistrate in Brownsville, Tenn., was never informed of the date for the swearing-in ceremony after his election and had to seek out a local judge to be formally installed in office. Griffin McLaurin, a black constable in Tchula, Miss., has a problem with the white justice of the peace in his district. Says McLaurin: "When I bring someone in on a traffic charge, if it's a white man, he'll let him go. But if it's a Negro, he'll fine him."

Slowly and painfully, most of the 382 Negroes who have been elected to public offices in the South—ranging from mayor and state representative to constable and justice of the peace—have discovered that getting elected is only half the battle. Now, to help solve some of the problems facing Southern black officeholders, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council has set up five campus service centers to provide basic training.* These centers hold workshops for potential candidates on legal requirements for filing, costs and techniques of campaigning, and their official duties. They also provide advice to those already in office and help black officials to research and introduce legislation.

Establishing Authority. Valuable as this assistance is, it is still the black officials themselves who must solve the problems of establishing their authority in a largely hostile white society. White intransigence to political integration takes many forms, ranging from defiance to outright intimidation. Black justices and constables are told by white offenders that "no nigger is going to tell us what to do." Moses Riddick, a member of the Board of Supervisors in Suffolk, Va., had a cross burned on his lawn after winning a primary. James Jolliff, a black constable in Wilkinson County, Miss., was arrested on charges of impeding and intimidating officers and was temporarily suspended from his office when he stopped Alcoholic Beverage Commission agents from searching a Negro cafeteria without a warrant.

In several Southern states local officials are paid on the "fee" system, according to the number of cases they handle. In towns where there is more than one justice of the peace, white officers can choose which J.P. they will bring minor offenders to for hearings. If one J.P. is black and the other white, the Negro official is simply ignored. William Childs, a black justice of the peace in Tuskegee, Ala., is one victim of this system. Childs charges that the white J.P. in his district averages 300 to 400 traffic cases a month, while he gets no more than 20.

* They are located at Southern University and A. & M. College, Baton Rouge, La.; Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.; Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss.; Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.; and Miles College, Birmingham, Ala.

Crisis of Identity. Frustrating and vicious as white resistance can be, it is only part of the problem. Many black officials are split over the question of whom they represent, often finding themselves in a crossfire between militant and moderate members of the Negro community, including many who feel that they should not have run in the first place. When A. W. Willis campaigned unsuccessfully for mayor of Memphis in 1967, his "real fight" was with the city's black community. His effort, he said, was undermined by Negroes "who felt that a black man had a nerve trying to be mayor," and by black militants who wanted to boycott the entire election. In Richmond, Va., two Negro councilmen were defeated for reelection when the black leadership supported two white liberals to replace them. Both the Negroes had supported a measure to increase city transportation fares, and one had voted against an open-housing regulation, arguing that the council was not empowered to pass such a measure.

The number of Negro-elected officials in the South has been rising steadily since the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the surge is expected to continue. With it will grow the crisis of identity that blacks and whites must face in the South, and the problems will doubtless multiply. So, in the longer run, may the opportunities to root out discrimination. Says Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook, Negro professor of political science at Duke University: "Today, while it is true that the Negro still is part subject, it is also true that he is much nearer the start of political equality than at any previous time. He now has a toehold in the Southern political process. Negroes can help redeem the past. They can be liberating and redemptive agents. Black men, working with white men of reason, good will and a sense of justice, can largely free the South from the chains and illusions of the past."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SAMPLING OF PRESS REPORTS

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE of BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council

DECEMBER 11-14, 1968
DINKLER PLAZA HOTEL
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

LIBERTY

BROWNSVILLE TEXAS NEWS

Freedom Justice Equality

Fort Worth, Texas — Vol. III, No. 71 BRONZE TEXAN NEWS December 14, 1968 — Price Ten Cents

Over 200 Black Elected Officials To The Southern States Are Gathering For Future Strategy

EEOC
FIGHTS DISCRIMINATION IN JOBS
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
1800 G St. N.W. • Wash. D. C. 20506

ATLANTA, Georgia — The first Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials will be held Dec. 11-14 in Atlanta, it was announced today by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Main speakers for the four-day conference will include U. S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York, State Rep. Julian Bond of Atlanta, and newly elected Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm of New York.

In addition to the general sessions, the black elected officials will attend a number of workshops and panel discussions arranged by the Voter Education Project to enable them to fill their offices more effectively. Between 200 and 300 of the 380 black elected officials in the South are expected to attend.

Rep. Bond will deliver the opening address at an 8 p.m. dinner Dec. 11. During last summer Rep. Bond gathered case histories for a soon-to-be-published VEP booklet on how black candidates in the South conduct their campaigns.

Attorney General Clark will speak at a banquet Dec. 13. John Wheeler of Durham, president of the Southern Regional Council, will preside and VEP Director Vernon E. Jordan Jr. will introduce the speaker.

Mayor Hatcher will speak at a public forum Dec. 12 at Clark College. Students from the Atlanta University complex and the public will be invited to attend and pose questions for Mayor Hatcher and a panel of four other black officeholders.

Richard Hatcher

Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, will highlight The Southern Regional Council, for Southern Black Elected Officials in Atlanta, Georgia, December 11-14, 1968. Some 300 persons from across the South are expected to attend.

Dr. Clark, noted New York psychologist and president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, will speak at a luncheon Dec. 12. Speaker that morning will be Dr. Samuel D. Cook of Duke University, chairman of the VEP advisory committee, who will trace the history of Negro political participation in the South.

Mrs. Chisholm, who won election Nov. 5 in New York's Bedford-Stuyvesant area, is the first Negro woman to be sent to Congress. She will address the conference's concluding luncheon Dec. 14.

With the exception of the luncheon at Clark College and the Dec. 13 banquet at which Attorney General Clark will speak, all sessions will be held at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel, which will be conference headquarters. The Dec. 13 banquet will be held at the American Motor Hotel.

A luncheon panel Dec. 13 will feature five Negro candidates who recently mounted major campaigns in the South and lost. The five and the offices they sought are Maynard Jackson, U. S. Senate in Georgia; Reginald A. Hawkins, governor in North Carolina; Charles Evers, U. S. House in Mississippi; George A. Payton, U. S. House in South Carolina; and A. W. Willis, mayor in Memphis.

Three black experts on finance and taxation will appear on a panel on the morning of Dec. 13. They are Gerald Lamb, Connecticut state treasurer; Theodore Jones, Illinois director of revenue; and Alfred Pelham, chairman of Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company, Detroit.

Appearing on the panel with Mayor Hatcher will be State Rep. Robert Clark of Holmes County, Miss.; City Councilman Henry Marsh of Richmond, Va.; State Rep. J. C. Daugherty of Atlanta; and John McCown, newly elected commissioner from Hancock County, Ga.

A panel discussion will follow Dr. Cook's Dec. 12 address. Members of the panel will be State Sen. Barbara Jordan of Houston, Texas; Lawrence T. Guyot Jr., chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Dr. C. G. Gomillion, school board member from Tuskegee, Ala.; and Joseph A. Jordan Jr., city councilman from Norfolk, Va.

Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen will greet the officeholders at the first morning session on Dec. 12.

The officials will divide into five groups for workshops on the afternoon of Dec. 12 and of Dec. 13, and the morning of Dec. 14.

Purpose of the four-day meeting, which is wholly sponsored by VEP, is to bring the elected officials together to discuss mutual problems, to share experiences, and to receive information designed to help them serve more effectively.

Only those officials holding elected public offices are being invited. The list includes 151 city officials, 78 law enforcement and judicial officials, 32 school board members, 15 county officials, and 26 state legislators, all from the 11 states of the Old South.

VEP has employed the Rev. John Morris, former executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, to handle planning and arrangements for the conference. VEP has held somewhat similar conferences for newly elected Negro officials in Mississippi and Louisiana during the past year.

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., supports projects of voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training in the 11 Southern states.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit nonpartisan organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

Ramsey Clark

RAMSEY CLARK

Pictured above, Attorney General Ramsey Clark — Key-note speaker for Black Southern Regional Conference meeting which takes place December 11-14, 1968, in the "Heart of Dixie."

Editorials = pages 6-8
HATCHER = page 5
CLARK = page 10

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Chattanooga Times

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., 37401, MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1968.

BLACK OFFICIALS TO HOLD MEETING

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA — The first "Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials" will be held here December 11-14 by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Main speakers for the conference will include U.S. Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York, State Rep. Julian Bond of Atlanta, and newly elected Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm of Brooklyn, N.Y.

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Between 200 and 300 of the 380

See Page Six, Column One

From Page One

black elected officials in the South are expected to attend.

Rep. Bond will deliver the opening address at a dinner Dec. 11.

Last summer Rep. Bond gathered case histories for a soon-to-be-published VEP booklet on how black candidates in the South conduct their campaigns.

Clark will speak at a banquet Friday. John Wheeler of Durham, president of the Southern Regional Council, will preside and VEP Director Vernon E. Jordan Jr. will introduce the speaker.

Mayor Hatcher will speak at a public forum Thursday at Clark College. Students from the Atlanta University complex and the public will be invited to attend and pose questions for Mayor Hatcher and a panel of four other black officeholders.

Dr. Clark, noted New York psychologist and president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, will speak at a luncheon Thursday.

Dr. Samuel D. Cook of Duke University, chairman of the VEP advisory committee, will trace the history of Negro political participation in the South.

Mrs. Chisholm, who won election Nov. 5 in New York's Bedford-Stuyvesant area, is the first Negro woman to be sent to Congress. She will address the conference's concluding luncheon Saturday.

With the exception of the forum at Clark College and the Friday banquet at which Clark will speak, all sessions will be held at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel, which will be conference headquarters. The Friday banquet will be held at the American Motor Hotel.

A luncheon panel Friday will feature five Negro candidates who recently mounted major campaigns in the South and lost. The five and the offices they sought are Maynard Jackson, U. S. Senate in Georgia; Reginald A. Hawkins, governor in North Carolina; Charles Evers, U. S. House in Mississippi; George A. Payton, U. S. House in South Carolina; and A. W. Willis, mayor in Memphis.

Three black experts on finance and taxation will appear on a panel on Friday morning. They are Gerald Lamb Connecticut state treasurer; Theodore Jones, Illinois director of revenue; and Alfred Pelham, chairman of Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company, Detroit.

Appearing on the panel with Mayor Hatcher will be State Rep. Robert Clark of Holmes County, Miss.; City Council[illegible] Henry Marsh of Richmond, [illegible] State Rep. J. C. Daugherty of [illegible]lanta; and John McCown, new[illegible] elected commissioner from Han[illegible]cock County, Ga.

A panel discussion will follow Dr. Cook's address. Members of the panel will be State Sen. Barbara Jordan of Houston; Lawrence T. Guyot Jr., chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Dr. C. G. Gomillion, school board member from Tuskegee, Ala.; and Joseph A. Jordan Jr., city councilman from Norfolk.

Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen will greet the officeholders at the Thursday morning session.

The officials will divide into five groups for workshops.

Purpose of the four-day meeting, which is wholly sponsored by VEP, is to bring the elected officials together to discuss mutual problems, to share experiences, and to receive information designed to help them serve more effectively.

Only those officials holding elected public offices are being invited. The list includes 151 city officials, 78 law enforcement and judicial officials, 72 school board members, 55 county officials, and 30 state legislators, all from the 11 states of the Old South.

Rev. John Morris, former executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, will handle planning and arrangements for the conference. VEP has held somewhat similar conferences for newly elected Negro officials in Mississippi and Louisiana during the past year.

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., supports projects of voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training in the 11 Southern states.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit nonpartisan organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1968

ELECTED NEGROES STUDY PROBLEMS

Louisiana Official Depicts Trouble With U.S. Agency

By WALTER RUGABER

ATLANTA, Dec. 14—Grand Coteau is a little town in south-central Louisiana with no sewers few paved streets and a rickety water system that breaks down every once in a while and leaves the pipes dry for two or three days.

Peter Smith, who was born in Grand Coteau 39 years ago, remembers some of the former Councilmen there as nice enough men. But, he explains earnestly, "they just met and paid the bills and went home."

Now Mr. Smith and two other negroes control the five-member governing body, and they have worked out a plan to improve conditions in Grand Coteau. But its implementation has proved frustrating.

Mr. Smith, who also serves as Mayor pro tem, spent four days in Atlanta this week with about 200 of the 385 Negroes who hold elected public offices in the 11 states of the former Confederacy.

The gathering, sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, was tangible evidence of Negro political advance in the region. But the difficulties, such as Mr. Smith's, are widespread.

Three years ago, after Mr. Smith's election to the Council, Grand Coteau hired a consulting engineer to draw plans for sewers, paved streets, a reliable water system and a natural gas network to permit town growth.

The engineering plan was sent to the Department of Housing and Urban Development with an aplication for 80 per cent Federal financing and 20 per cent local matching funds.

"I wouldn't know of anybody in Grand Coteau that would try to block that program," Mr. Smith said. "We're all for it. We all need it."

Grand Coteau could not get a clear response from the Federal agency, Mr. Smith said. There was talk of a shortage of funds for "small towns," he went on, but aparently the department found nothing wrong with the plan itself.

For three years, the councilmen said, letters have gone back and forth to Austin, Tex., where the regional offices are situated, and to Washington. Different bureaus and sections have been involved.

"It's like a man's house is on fire and you call the fire department and they say the fire truck is out on somebody else's house, and you call someone else and it goes on to somebody else and your house is burned down by then," Mr. Smith said.

Exchange of Letters

Mr. Smith insists that despite an exchange of 25 to 50 letters, he still does not know the cause of the delay. Experts at the conference here were unfamiliar with the case and unable to suggest a reason.

Recently, Mr. Smith said, the city of Lafayette, 12 miles away, received a $55,000 Federal grant to air-condition its bus system. This development, he remarked, was hard to explain to the people of Grand Coteau.

"It was fun to be making these plans and spending the extra time getting them ready and all," Mr. Smith said. "But now it's getting to the stage where, you know, it's getting discouraging when you get no results out of it."

Several organizations are moving to reduce the uncertainty that often confronts inexperienced new officeholders. Whites in some communities have denied advice or misled Negro officials.

The voter project said "service centers" for black leaders would go into operation next month at predominantly Negro colleges in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana.

Jackson, Miss., Daily News
Dec. 5, 1968

Negro Officeholders Meeting Is Scheduled

12-5-68

Jackson Daily News

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP)—Negro officeholders from throughout the South are being invited to a conference here next week to discuss mutual problems.

Principal speakers for the Dec. 11-14 conference include U.S. Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark and four top Negro officials.

Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind.; Rep.-elect Shirley Chisolm of New York, first Negro woman elected to Congress; Georgia State Rep. Julian Bond, and Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York, a psychologist who heads the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, are among the Negro officeholders scheduled to address the conference.

Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the Voter Education Project the Southern Regional Council, said Tuesday in announcing the conference, "The idea is that we are dealing with an elected offi- legally, arbitrarily and syste- officeholders face antagonism matically excluded from the political processes."

Jordan contended that Negro and prejudice which often makes their task more difficult than similar posts are for white officials.

The project, which conducts voter registration and educational projects in 11 Southern states, expects 200 to 300 of the South's 380 Negro officeholders to attend the session.

According to the project's figures, there are 151 Negro city officials, 78 law enforcement and judicial officeholders, 72 school board members, 55 county officers, and 30 state legislators in the South.

The conference will also include discussions of finance and taxation by three Negro experts and a panel session with five Negroes who were defeated in their bids for major posts.

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New York Post 12-17-68

The Negro Politicians Assess Their Situation

By PAUL W. VALENTINE

ATLANTA — Lawrence T. Guyot Jr., a bullishly-energetic Mississippi man, pointed a finger at his fellow black politicians in the hotel meeting room.

"The political bitch that spawned southern politics," he warned, "is in heat again."

Guyot, a functionary of the Missi[illegible]ppi Fre[illegible]m Dem[illegible]

if-youthful Georgia legislator, warned them in a keynote speech that the incoming national administration is being formed by a man "against whom 90 per cent of you voted last November." President-elect Richard M. Nixon has no favors to repay the black man, he said.

No Favors to Repay

A [illegible]nsistent [illegible]n thro[illegible]

New black officeholders to learn from veterans

By Robert P. Hey
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta

Suppose politicians never let you take part in politics, even shooed you away when you tried to vote.

Then one day you could run for office, and you won. Would you know how to do your job, or even what it was—especially if colleagues hindered you, instead of helping?

Sounds improbable, doesn't it?

But it's precisely the situation several score black politicians in the South face today. Last month 107 black candidates won political office throughout the South. Some are politically sophisticated; most aren't.

It's to help this unschooled majority understand their jobs, and learn how best to do them, that a first-ever conference is being held later this month in Atlanta. It's called the first Southwide conference of black elected officials and is being held by the Voter Education Project of the privately financed Southern Regional Council.

In the past two years the Voter Education Project has held several smaller conferences to instruct newly elected black officials in the precise duties of their jobs. Most have been statewide conferences.

The fascinating aspect of this Southwide conference is that, for the first time, newly elected black officials will be learning from black officials who have already been on the job a year or two.

This is another benchmark in the political progress of the black Southerner. Heretofore there were next to no experienced black officials—nobody able to help neophytes with the many problems black officials face that white one's don't. Today there are quite a few.

The Voter Education Project figures there are about 385 black elected officials in the 11 Southern states now. (In November, 1965, there were only 70.) Between 220 and 250 are expected at this conference.

Much of the "meat" of the four-day affair Dec. 11-14 will be in the workshops. They'll be divided by general job category

★ Please turn to Page 3

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December 6, 1968

—school-board members in one hall, city officials in another, and so forth.

No one will make speeches in the workshops. After the sessions are called to order, the new officeholders will quiz veterans. (How did you tackle this problem, and that one?) At each session there'll also be a special resource person.

Not all answers known

Surely new officials will bring up the many problems unique to black officials, such as: How do you stop white school-board members from conducting their real business in a private session at a club (without inviting you, naturally), then holding only a pro forma legal meeting? How can a black justice of the peace get white legal officials to cooperate, instead of ignore him?

For the first time, this year newly elected black officials will get answers from experienced black officials, men who have faced the same problems. If they haven't solved them, at least they have thoughts on dealing with them.

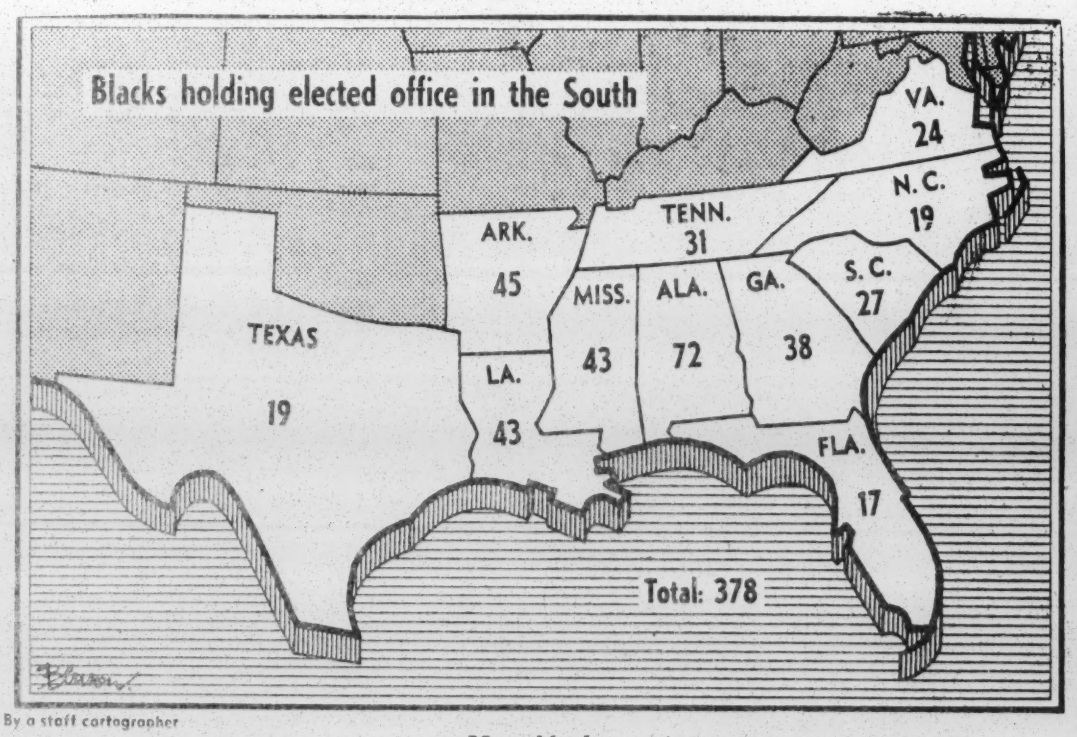
Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the Voter Education Project, says the political sophistication of black Southern officeholders varies greatly. Most state representatives are quite sophisticated; he points out that "half of the 14 black members of the Georgia Legislature are lawyers."

But most black officials hold city or county office. And many of these are unsophisticated. Especially in rural areas, many are lamentably uneducated, the inevitable consequence of an inept educational system. It is with these officials that discussions will be most elementary — and essential.

A number of nationally prominent black Americans will appear on panels or deliver speeches during the conference: State Rep. Julian Bond of Georgia; Lawrence T. Guyot Jr., chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, noted psychologist and president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, New York City; Richard G. Hatcher, Mayor of Gary, Ind.; Robert G. Clark, the only black member of the Mississippi House of Representatives; Charles Evers, most influential black political leader in Mississippi; Mrs. Shirley Chisholm of New York City, the nation's first black congresswoman-elect.

Ramsay Clark, Attorney General of the United States, will address the conference banquet.

The Voter Education Project is footing the bill for transporting, housing, and feeding the conference participants. It would like to make the conference an annual event. For the foreseeable future, at least, it would seem greatly needed. But whether the Voter Education Project can do so depends on whether it can raise enough money to pay such a big bill every year.



By a staff cartographer

Growing numbers

More blacks are in government today in the South than ever before. Since it is the first real venture into politics for many of them, experienced black politicians will meet with them shortly in Atlanta to offer advice on their new jobs.

Birmingham, Ala., News
Dec. 7, 1968

33 Negro officials will attend parley

At least 33 of Alabama's 68 Negro public officeholders plan to attend the first Southern Conference of Black Elected Officials in Atlanta next week.

Speakers for the four-day event that begins Wednesday will include U.S. Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark; Richard Hatcher, the Negro mayor of Gary, Ind.; Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York; Georgia State Rep. Julian Bond, and newly elected Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm of New York.

IN ADDITION to speeches, participants will attend workshops and panel discussions planned to let them discuss mutual problems and share experiences, and to help them do their jobs better.

Conference spokesmen said invitations have gone to the 151 city officials, 78 law enforcement officers and judges, 72 school board members, 55 county officials and 30 legislators from the 11 states of the Old South.

The meeting is being sponsored by the Southern Regional Conference.

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Federal Help Near Limit, Negroes Told

Officials Hear Dr. Henderson Stress Local Level Work

By ACHSAH NESMITH

Negroes have "just about got all we are going to get from the national level," Dr. Vivian Henderson told the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials Thursday.

"If the Nixon Cabinet appointments last night are any criteria, I know we have," the President of Clark College said. He added that he hoped "we're wrong about this," but stressed that Negro public officials must depend on their own political ability and backing from the community to achieve future gains.

Many of the gains of the past "have come in spite of ourselves," Dr. Henderson said, both because of national policies and "because of the power of the racial ghetto rather than political astuteness."

POLITICAL PERSONALITIES

"Politics among Negroes in Atlanta has been almost wholly oriented toward personalities. Atlanta desperately needs issue-oriented politics," he said.

The South's great strength in seeking to get into the economic, social and political mainstream of the nation is its lack of rigidly segregated housing patterns, allowing a "realistic opportunity to avoid the mistakes of the North and build a truly open society," as the South rapidly moves toward urbanization, he said. Atlanta and Houston, however, are plagued with segregated housing patterns, making them the two major exceptions in the South.

"We have yet to see in the South the kind of initiation of public policy measures at the local level" to bring about major improvements in the most serious social problems facing the nation, particularly urban areas, Dr. Henderson said.

CITES GHETTO SCHOOLS

"The issues are clear," he said, citing the poor quality of ghetto schools, delivery of services to the poor, inability to reach certain levels of government, the absence of minimum wage laws at the state and local level, and discrimination and gerrymandering in redistricting.

"We must re-examine the strategy of racial blocs," he declared. "I'm not too sure we can rely on racial solidarity to accomplish our goals," stressing again that President-elect Richard Nixon's Cabinet appointments indicate that this need is crucial.

"The only appeal of the incoming administration to the brothers and sisters is to call for black capitalism. I want all the Negro businessmen we can get, not just in Harlem but on Fifth Avenue, not just on Hunter Street and Auburn Avenue, but at Five Points; but it is an illusion to think this approach will transform the lives of the majority of brothers and sisters from poverty and destitution to minimum standards of living," he declared.

"This is the one carrot I've heard from Nixon." Henderson said. "Nixon didn't compete for the Negro vote," considering it a sure thing for his opponent, and "it suggests Negroes are left out and will be left out. We've had to depend on the national scene to get things done at the local scene. . . . We've got to rethink our strategy. It can't be done running in 40 different directions."

"I'm not a black nationalist or a black power advocate according to the rhetoric you hear," he said. "We're not at the point where we can abandon racial consciousness under the facade of color blindness. You have to represent all the people, but keep in mind that in 99 per cent of the cases those who elected you were black. Represent all the people, but give some special attention to the black brothers and sisters . . . the consequences of racial segregation can't be removed "with careful colorblindness," he added.

PART OF STRATEGY

"Color consciousness must be part of our political and urban strategy," he said, declaring there was nothing new about building black political power and self-respect, "but it does not mean building racism, hate, or a separate society. Negro life needs to be strengthened for intelligent integration into a pluralistic society, with respect for individuals and without the loss of identity of black institutions, not for establishing some mystique of black power or separatism but for achieving our rightful place in a multiracial society."

Henderson also said he was "deeply distressed as a college president over our failure" to help black officials to examine proposed legislaiton and formulate strategy and policy.

Earlier, Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook of Duke University's political science department told the conference of over 200 Negro elected officials from the South:

"You're here because the black man has the initiative for the first time except a brief period during Reconstruction. Because black men have power. The crucial question is what are you going to do with your power? History contains the tragic element of irreversibility."

The Atlanta Journal
Dec. 14, 1968

Bond Says Negroes' Outlook Is Bleak

By BOB HURT

State Rep. Julian Bond dismissed the potential of Richard M. Nixon's new administration with a bitter prediction Wednesday night that Negroes "who still have faith in the democratic process" are facing four years of "severe disappointments."

In a speech that brought an audience of elected Southern Negro political leaders to a standing ovation, Bond said that white liberals and moderates "have deserted us" and Negroes in America must look for "new friends."

Bond, 28, who was swept into national prominence during the Democrtic National Convention in Chicago, was the keynote speaker of the first Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials which opened Wednesday at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel.

SEES 2 CRISES

He urged his audience to face what he termed the two greatest crises in America—"racism and militarism," and issued an icy-voiced condemnation of people who see "black capitalism" as the best tool for improving the lot of the Negro.

That plan is no more than "exchanging the race of the people who have been exploiting us," he said.

Instead, Bond said "we ought to become interested in—now here's a terrible, dirty word—community socialism. We should be interested in the kind of economic development in our community that will not only give us jobs but will give the community a profit as well."

CHARGES DESERTION

Bond said "Those on whom we used to depend have deserted us."

The support once given by organized labor vanished during the presidential campaign of George Wallace, who Bond described as a "hill-billy Hitler." The support of white liberals and moderates has wained because "the terrible war has attracted all of their attention."

In the speech, filmed by two national television networks, Bond said that liberals in Atlanta have failed Negroes when they were asked to "give us justice."

The Negro-moderate coalition in Atlanta "is wearing thin," he said, and is best illustrated by talk by whites who want to extend the city's boundaries to take in white suburbs.

MUST LOOK

The Negro must look to other minorities — Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and American Indians — to form a new political coalition in the United States, Bond said.

Bond, who was once denied his seat in the General Assembly because he said he admired the courage of draft-card burners, said that the "American imperial war in Vietnam" is a major obstacle to racial harmony at home.

Negroes who go with whites and "burn down the huts of some Vietnam village" may return home and react to discrimination to the point that he "may be motivated to burn down the huts of some American village."

Bond's address came at the opening session of the three-day meeting of Negro elected officials, sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Clark Urges Extended Use Of U.S. Voting Examiners

(FULL TEXT of CLARK'S TALK AT END of FOLIO 4)

By The Associated Press

Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark says the use of federal voting examiners should be continued beyond 1970.

Clark told the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials Friday night that the Federal Voting Rights Act of 1965 expires in August 1970.

He warned that the states will then have the opportunity to reinstate voter qualifications suspended by the act.

"State legislatures will be empowered to prescribe new standards, new procedures for voting throughout the land," Clark said.

The attorney general said the voting act has led to widespread increases in Negro voter registration and political gains for blacks.

FOUR YEARS ago, we could have held this meeting in a telephone booth in the lobby and not have interfered with anybody that wanted to make a telephone call," Clark commented.

He spoke to more than 200 Negro officeholders and told them that blacks and whites must prove they can live together because: "It's survival. It really is, you know."

Clark expressed disapproval of any type of racial separatism and called for pursuing efforts to end school segregation and "vast discrimination . . . in employment."

EARLIER, three Negro panelists discussed taxes and revenues. Gerald A. Lamb, Connecticut's treasurer, told the Negro officeholders, "We can excell in this field."

Others on the panel were Theodore A. Jones, director of the Illinois Department of Revenue, and Alfred M. Pelham, former Detroit comptroller who now is chairman of the board for Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Co.

Panel members agreed that taxation in this country has created inequitable burdens upon lower income groups, but warned higher taxes lie ahead.

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Negro Politicians Watched, Voter Project Director Says

By HARMON PERRY

The letter to the Southern Regional Council from the Clarksdale, Miss., Negro who had taken office as justice of the peace was not in the best form and contained many misspelled words, but it told the story of many of the Negro men and women who have entered the political ring in the Deep South in recent years.

"I am grateful for the great service you gave the Negroes that were elected to office, you has (sic) helped many burdens roll away," the Negro wrote. "The things we are enduring are many but I am not discouraged at all, I am going to fight to finish whatever it may be."

Stories of harassment, intimidation, and lack of cooperation echoed throughout the first day of the Southwide conference of Negro elected officials meeting in Atlanta. The sessions are designed to help Negroes elected to a wide range of offices in 11 Southern states perform their responsibilities more effectively.

"THIS IS WHY we're here," said Vernon Jordon, SRC's Voter Education Project director, as he spoke at the banquet Wednesday night which got the four-day conference under way. The upsurge in the number of Negroes elected to office since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is one of the more significant developments in Southern politics, he said.

"The Negro officeholders, most of whom carry into office the extra burden of inexperience because they had been denied living in the political process, are being observed by both races and are measured more exactly than are white officials," Mr. Jordon explained. "The conference hopes to solve some of the problems these black officials face."

State Rep. Julian Bond had a bit of encouragement for the 200 officials attending the conference. "I want to bring a little culture to you, but it's difficult to address you because we come from so many different backgrounds."

Rep. Bond, who devoted much of his address to an attack on the Vietnam war and President-elect Nixon and his incoming administration, said there were three things he and his audience had in common, "We're politicians, we're black, and we were elected largely by black constituents."

The young Georgia legislator was cool to proposals for black capitalism in black communities, saying it only ends up as white capitalism that hires and trains Negro workers.

He called for Negroes to seek out allies among other colored minorities and poor whites who have been blinded by racism. "We ought not turn anybody down."

REP. BOND also said black people should control their communities, become aware of the things that turn them against their own interest and develop concern in community socialism.

"We need fast action, but we must look at it with care; we ought to consider an attack made on one of us as an attack on all of us," Rep. Bond advised.

AT THE FIRST general session Thursday morning, Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook told the conferees their presence was the result of black men having power, and the power to have more power.

The question is, "What are you going to do with it now that you are elected?" Dr. Cook asked.

Speaking on "From Subject and Victim to Citizen and Official," Dr. Cook said the liberation of black people is the key to Southern liberation.

"Racism has dominated and controlled the minds of the white South," he said, "so the South will be fully free only when the black man is fully free."

"Once freed from the yoke of racism, the South—and the nation—will take wings," Dr. Cook said.

Mayor Hatcher Says:

SRC

Black Power Brings Only Limited Gains

Atlanta Daily World 12/14/68

By PORTIA SCOTT

"Black Power can only bring limited gains. It can not eliminate poverty, poor housing, poor education or give us a portion of economic control of nation," Mayor Richard Gordon Hatcher told a capacity audience at Clark College Thursday night.

Black Power, Student Power and violence as has occurred here, said Hatcher cannot be dismissed from achieving power, yet this type of power has not payed off very much. "It has just made whites talk better," he added.

The Mayor of Gary, Ind., explained that he supported all Black Power that helps to "capture its heritage and exert ability to meet its demands," but the type of power that was really needed was "a coming together in State Militancy or People's Power."

The occasion was a public forum at Davage Auditorium that climaxed the Thursday session of the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials, sponsored by the Southern Regional Council, which will continue through Saturday at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel.

The speaker continued that he could accept the possibility of "separate states, but what Blacktown wants Whitetown will not confer." Hatcher pointed out further that even in Blacktown there still would not be utopia because Blacks can be expected to exploit Blacks as whites have.

Also, he said that he could understand a return not only spiritually, but physicially to our African culture, but that he himself did not choose to leave. "A good portion of these United States we own not just physicially, but morally," he asserted.

The speaker, soft in his tone, yet firm in his speech, said that search for power isn't new, but today, "we have combined pride with being Black with the search."

There are many forms of Black Power that can meet the needs of Black people, he stated.

"Whites have assigned to us the role of being strangers within his village. But being ourselves will make us less a stranger.

"We cannot nor wish to reject our Blackness," he continued.

Hatcher explained that it was fortunate that our history and culture is rich enough to find pride to make us less a stranger in the white man's village.

He pointed out that the world is not white any longer and never will be again. He warned that "we must establish power of people in the world which none are strangers."

Without this, he continued, "dark nights and despair" are ahead. He added, Blacks have less to loose but most to gain."

Other speakers included Robert Clark, Representative from Mississippi; Henry Marsh, City Council, Richmond, Va.; and John McCown, County Comm., Hancock County, Ga., who were part of a panel discussion on the Mayor's address and the issues of the conference as a whole.

President Vivian Henderson (Clark), presided over the session.

Charlie Jones Talks About His Victory in Miss

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Charlie Jones caught a plane for the first time Wednesday to come to Atlanta to the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials from his home in Coahoma, Miss.

Elected justice of the peace there over a white incumbent of over 20 years who had originally decided not to run, and then did after Jones announced, Charlie Jones observed that he had never been away from Coahoma for more than 20 days at a time, though his travels have taken him to Florida, Canada and many Northern cities.

"I've known the white man I beat for 50 years," the genial father of 12 said.

He explains the political realities of his area in Mississippi simply. There are roughly 1,300 Negroes and 300 whites (Charlie can tell you to the man in each precinct). "There wasn't hardly no way he could beat me, lessen I was a mighty bad fellow."

Jones is a sharp contrast to young Negro politicians at the conference such as Julian Bond in style, background and fame, but he is as typical of one segment of the men and women who have come into political office in the South as a result of civil and voting rights legislation, registration campaigns and the first true "black power" at the ballot box.

"When Moses needed to get across the Sea of Galilee God didn't dry up the earth or clear away the whole sea. He just cleared a path. That's all Moses needed, just a path," Charlie Jones told a reporter as he ate lunch in the ballroom of a hotel that a few years ago would have refused to serve him.

"A path always leads to the highway," he added, "not the other way around, just like a stream leads to the ocean of you follow it. If it wasn't for all the little creeks and ponds and bayous and rivers the ocean would dry up," Charlie Jones added.

"When I went to school, we didn't have school but three months. White folks would keep you out of work, but I sent my children through 12 grades and some two years of junior college. If they'll just do the same thing for their children—" he said, leaving the obvious conclusion unsaid. But he added, "You don't learn all you know from books, and you don't learn all you read in books. You've got to experience some things to understand it."

He used to drive people to Memphis, he said, and when he took them to a place to eat, they would go in and a waiter would bring him something outside.

Now he can go in those places, but he generally goes down the road instead, to places where he had been always welcome. "The way biscuits taste best is like your Mama made 'em," he explains.

He adds of his dealings with white people in his community, "I'll give anybody the time of day and say good morning. I owe him that as a human being. But I don't stand around and talk with him unless he's got something to say worth hearing. I don't owe him that.

"I saw a terrible thing in Chicago," he said. "People have to lock their car doors to ride on the streets or they're liable to have somebody in there with them. I wouldn't want to live there, having to lock doors. It would be as bad as being a millionaire's child and having to have guards everywhere you go and be afraid. My children run free. That's how it ought to be."—ACHSAH NESMITH

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THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
For 101 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

RALPH McGILL, Publisher

REG MURPHY, Editor
Editorial Page

PAGE 4 THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1968

Editorial Comment on the Conference

The Use of Black Power

"Black power" is a much used and often misused slogan in black Americans' drive for justice and equal opportuunity.

But what happens when black power is achieved—when Negroes are elected to office? Then the focus of interest must shift from power to responsible use of power.

Then black officials must become concerned with taxation, federal aid programs, law enforcement, administration . . . in short, the same concerns as white officials.

Just such practical matters will be the subjects of discussion at a four-day Southwide conference which opened at the Dinkler Plaza here last night under the sponsorship of the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project.

Racial matters, of course, will be much in the minds of the participants, for this is an historic gathering. Thanks largely to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, there are now nearly 400 black elected officials in the South. About half of them are here for the meeting.

Not only will they discuss problems among themselves, but they also will hear from fellow Afro-Americans from other regions who hold such offices as mayor, state treasurer and state director of revenue.

Among the many notables attending are Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind.; Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark; Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center; M. Carl Holman, vice president of The Urban Coalition; Congresswoman-elect Shirley Chisholm of New York, and Mississippi civil rights leader Charles Evers.

It is noteworthy that Atlanta not only is the site of the conference, but that it has many black persons in political office and other positions of importance to act as hosts and panelists. These range from the director of the Voter Education Project to federal officials, an alderman, businessmen, a college president and several state legislators.

THE ATLANTA INQUIRER DECEMBER 14, 1968 2

ON GUARD For Human Rights 24 Hours A Day

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We Commend Vernon Jordan And Black Elected Officials

Between 200 and 300 of the South's black elected officials are converging here this week for their first Southwide Conference. The Conference, sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, features some outstanding speakers including U. S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York, Rep. Julian Bond of our fair city and the nation's first Negro Congresswoman, Mrs. Shirley Chisholm of New York.

It should be an interesting, productive conference. We hope the officials enjoy Atlanta hospitality and will return again for either business or pleasure.

More significantly, we hail the meeting because it represents the power of education. With some die-hards trying at every turn and utilizing every hook and crook to "hold us down," the officials meeting here are living examples of the fact that politics will be the great beneficiary of education.

Many of the elected officials are members of school boards and, consequently, even more significance is attached because they are in positions to rid this country of its unfair dual system of education. Its abolition would mean even greater advancement through education for all of our people.

We welcome the Conference and its members and gleefully urge, "Giddyap" for the job ahead.

The INQUIRER salutes Vernon E. Jordan, director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, for his wisdom and foresight in instituting this first Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials.

Mr. Jordan believes the "dramatic increase of black officials represents one of the more significant developments in Southern politics today. Not even the fact," he says, "that five Southern states gave George Wallace his only electoral votes can overshadow the deepening involvement of black Southerners in the region's political process."

We hope, as he and the officials hope, they will be able to establish at this conference some machinery for dealing with the problems on a continuing basis in the future as the number of black elected officials continues to grow.

We hope further that they will find it imperative to continue these conferences so that they might be able to grandly produce in behalf of their constituents.

We highly commend Mr. Jordan and the officials meeting here who seek the means to work toward that end.

6.

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The Atlanta Journal

"Covers Dixie Like the Dew"

Since 1883

Jack Tarver, President • Jack Spalding, Editor

The South and the Law

ONE OF THE strong undertones at the Southwide Conference for Black Elected Officials, which ended over the weekend in Atlanta, was frustration approaching bitterness about what is expected of the Nixon administration.

Is it exaggerated? It may be. But it is significant that this view is prevalent among men and women who have fought great odds and often endured great hardship and intimidation to win a toehold in Southern political life. They know they had to do it against the toughest kind of state and local opposition. They know they had to rely upon the federal government's enforcement of the Constitution of the United States.

That enforcement often has faltered. Indeed, for a century even the federal government ignored the 14th Amendment (requiring "equal protection of the laws" and requiring that a state's representation in Congress be reduced if it disfranchised people because of race) and the 15th Amendment (further guaranteeing that states could not deny people the right to vote because of race).

* * *

WHY WAS THE law of the land ignored? This sad chapter in the nation's history began with the compromise of 1877, in which reactionary Southern power changed a presidential race's outcome in exchange for agreement that the law would not be enforced.

Most of the 225 Negro officials who gathered in Atlanta were elected for this reason only: The defenders of Southern wrongs, fighting under a false banner of states' rights, finally failed to prevent the federal courts from applying the Constitution and failed to prevent passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

In short, these officials were here because the federal government finally renounced the wicked compromise of 1877.

The rights that have been restored, after a century's neglect, are not firmly fixed. An administration has just been elected which has talked weak enforcement. Many white people may not know what that means. But the black officials who assembled here know what it means.

* * *

ATTY. GEN. RAMSEY Clark, in an extemporaneous speech obviously coming from deep conviction as an official and as a white Southerner, called attention to another ugly compromise required by the defenders of the worst in the South. To get the Voting Rights Act through Congress, it was necessary to accept a cutoff date in the effectiveness of some of its main provisions. Mr. Clark referred to "the expiration of some of the most important sanctions and controls in what seemed a long time then but now seems no time—Aug. 8, 1970." Will it be extended?

State and local governments at that time may return to the devices which many have used to keep Negroes outside working democracy, such as discriminatory use of literacy tests. The Department of Justice no longer will be able to rectify local abuses by sending in voting examiners (registrars).

Further, Mr. Clark noted, the most effective federal device for requiring enforcement of the Constitution on school segregation—guidelines and their enforcement—now may be gutted.

* * *

FEW SOUTHERN spokesmen in Congress stood up for the Voting Rights Act. (Two who did, Congressmen Charles Weltner and James Mackay from the two Atlanta districts, have been defeated, as have some others). Is it any wonder that Negroes who finally have gained a small place in Southern democracy are deeply disturbed about what will happen if the Nixon administration is in effect weak on the Constitution?

This was only a conference. The President-elect may not have taken note of it. But he must not ignore the sentiment it represented, or the fact that the South's best sons white and black (of whom Ramsey Clark is one) do not want any subtle slipping back to the ugliest part of its past.

RALPH McGILL ATLANTA CONSTITUTION 12-12-68

Southerners At Their Best

Pre-Christmas traffic was heavy along Atlanta's streets and darkness was coming on when I turned into a hotel entrance. It was with a feeling of expectancy and some excitement that I entered and went to the table where the first Southwide conference of black elected officials was being registered. More than 200 of some 385 such officials, all chosen in local, county and state elections, were in attendance.

This conference, surely unique, certainly a first, unquestionably historic, was sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the privately financed Southern Regional Council.

For me, as well as many others, the fact of the conference was an emotional experience. I stood there recalling the winter of 1944—almost a quarter century ago. In that time meetings were held discussing the merging of the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919, with a new organization of broader scope and potential.

The Problems

The old commission had concerned itself, necessarily and realistically, with the immediate problems of the time—lynchings, which were many and brutal, justice in the courts — and with providing a bridge across which the separated races of the South might find a way to meet, talk and work together toward ends that would make for a better South and nation.

The new organization was called the Southern Regional Council. Its board included 80 Southerners from both races, representing major religious faiths and 13 states in the region. It set about to collect facts, to learn what the real conditions were, what the people wanted, thought, believed.

In 1951 the Council officially committed itself to the aim of an unsegregated society—not a society in which the Negro became "like" a white man, but one in which he had his own pride and identity as a black-skinned American.

It was not always easy. But the Council persisted. It demonstrated merit. It was fortunate in executive directors and staff.

Now, as I stood, remembering, it was December 1968.

In 1944 there was a comparative handful of Southern Negroes registered to vote—most of them in a few of the larger cities, Atlanta included. The number of Negroes holding public office could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The offices held were all minor ones.

Elected Officials

Now, in 1968, due in considerable measure to the Council's Voter Education Project, there are some 385 elected black officials. (In 1965 there were only 70.) The number of registered black voters in the 13 states today is 3¼ million. In 1944 it was approximately ¼ million.

The conference in Atlanta brought together the Negro officeholders-elect for political "schooling." What has happened has been, and is, one of the miracles of the democratic process. The black Southerner could not really everywhere freely register to vote until the congressionally enacted voter rights laws of 1964. These did not become truly effective until 1965.

In this historic conference the school board members meet in workshops, the city hall officials in another, county officers in still another, and so on.

These newly elected black men—most of them recall being denied the ballot—come from many segregated backgrounds. They lack political education and sophistication. Some, from rural areas, are products of segregated schools and, therefore, lack education. A few will be subjected to sabotage through noncooperation and opposition.

It gave one a feeling of pride in his region and country to see the Southerner and the South at its best.

After all, it is not so long from 1944 to 1968! And there is more to be done. Much more.

7.

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FREEING THE WHITE SOUTH?

ATLANTA JOURNAL 12-13-68

Some Black History-Makers Talk About It

By REESE CLEGHORN

"I WAS WHITE once," said the black man from Virginia. He was as white as anybody could be, he continued, deadpan, a Stars-and-Bars white Southerner. He had changed, he said, because of drinking a lot of bad, black coffee, with very little cream and sugar.

"When I was white we had many discussions about you people," he said, and the appreciative snickers in his largely Negro audience became a rush of laughter. "We had many fears about you people," he went on. "We feared one day you might decide there was some place to meet besides the church—that you might meet at the ballot box."

This was City Councilman Joseph A. Jordan Jr. of Norfolk, Va., speaking to some 225 fellow black office-holders from throughout the South.

They are a majority of the 380 Negroes who have been elected (107 of them last month) in this region. They have come to Atlanta for a four-day conference, under auspices of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, to discuss their common problems, the duties of their offices and current issues.

The fear that Councilman Jordan talked about having, before he drank all that black coffee, are very real among large numbers of white Southerners.

* * *

THAT IS ONE OF the obstacles the black office-holders have to overcome. They are, of course, a diverse lot with diverse ideas about how to play their history-making roles.

An open discussion of their concerns revealed the diversity.

Black office-holders should play broad roles of leadership, said Lawrence Guyot, leader of the Freedom Democratic Party in Mississippi. They should not just discharge the duties of local offices; they should speak for their once-voiceless communities in an aggressive and wide-ranging way. They should consider themselves the leading spokesmen of black people.

* * *

BUT, SAID A MAN from Arkansas, it is not as simple as that. He had been elected not mainly by Negroes but mainly by whites. "If this conference is to be relevant," he said, "it must include situations like that."

Nothing can be accomplished by Negroes, said a man from South Carolina, "until we realize we are all black." He seemed to suggest that aggressive representation of Negroes was the first duty.

* * *

A COUNTY COMMISSIONER from Virginia interjected. He is one of five commissioners, he said, and the other four are "rednecks if you want to call them that." His job, he said, is to make friends and win allies on that commission. "I couldn't get a second for a motion, much less a road or a teachers' raise, if I didn't do that," he said.

"I had been an extreme radical," he went on. "After I was elected, I learned I had to be effective. A lot of people brainwashed by the more radical elements call us Uncle Toms."

* * *

THERE WAS A STIRRING in the room. This is the kind of talk sometimes heard from timid men, and most Negroes do not fancy that they are electing people these days to be timid. But it also could be the talk of a determined but practical man, one who wants to be an effective politician. Which was it in this case? Probably nobody at this conference would ever know. It would depend upon that man who shortly would go back to do his job, against the odds, in rural Virginia.

That is the way it is for many of these new office-holders, who have won a place in the democracy at last because of voting laws opposed by almost all the Deep South's congressmen and senators. Many serve in lonely places. At this conference, they could get a feeling of common endeavor with others in similar situations across the South.

* * *

WHAT IS THE BROADER significance of their situation? Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook, former Atlantan who now teaches at Duke University, spoke to them as a political scientist and as a fellow black man.

". . . The black man, because of the tyranny of racism over the mind of the white South, has been able, without intention or knowledge, to dominate Southern political and governmental life . . .," he said. "Whites fell into the trap they had so cleverly and determinedly made for blacks: absolute dominion. . . . The Negro, like a fearsome ghost, has haunted and driven the white man."

Now, he said, Negroes have gained a toehold. What will it mean?

* * *

"NEGROES CAN HELP REDEEM the past of the Southern political process. They can be liberating and redemptive agents. Just as the Negro was the key to Southern political enslavement, he is the key to Southern political emancipation.

"The Southern genius has been exhausted in the 'race problem.' Black men, working with whites of reason, goodwill, and a sense of justice can largely free the South from the chains and illusions of the past. The chief problem is racism.

"Freed from the prison of racism, the South will be freed from the heavy yoke of deceit, hypocrisy, negativism, obstructionism and provincialism. . . . It will be freed of the exhausting and painful efforts to maintain a closed corporation. . . . Freed of the Atlas burden of racism, the Southern political process will be able to say, ironically, with Martin Luther King: 'Free at last!' "

Welcome To Southern Elected Officials

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD 12-14-68

The meeting in Atlanta this week of nearly 400 Negro elected officials from various sections of the south is a good omen of a sincere effort to seek for a consensus of opinion to meet the problems confronting us today. Such a meeting is indeed appropriate and imely.

12-14-68

We congratulate these officials and the Southern Regional Council for its sponsorship. The session started Wednesday night and runs through part of Saturday.

We hope such a meeting is held at least once a year from now on.

Atlanta Daily World

In the light of the role the Negro voters in this region and the nation as a whole, we believe it would be most timely for these officials, in a closed door session, give some time to discussing the merits of bi-partisan action in certain elections.

Through the years we have emphasized the importance of intelligent political action as an effective means of solving racial problems and opening new opportunities.

We also recognize the necessity for the preservation of a strong two-party system in our nation if the democratic process is to survive.

If this current meeting of Negro elected officials could have been held prior to the recent balloting for president, perhaps a consensus of opinion could have been reached which would have prevented candidate George Wallace from carrying a single state. The Negroes had the votes to do it.

Our officials should try to take a broad bi-partisan view of issues and problems, rather than the narrow partisan view, and they can strive to be statesmen, instead of mere politicians.

Again, we congratulate and commend the efforts of this conference.

8.

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Blacks in Office

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1968

'One of the Miracles of the Democratic Process'

ATLANTA—More than 200 of the South's 385 Negro elected officials gathered in Atlanta last week, and the most remarkable thing to many of those who saw it was that it had occurred at all.

"Four years ago," Attorney General Ramsey Clark said in a speech Friday, "we could have held this meeting in the telephone booth in the lobby—and not interfered with anybody who wanted to make a phone call."

The black officials, who included state legislators such as Julian Bond of Georgia and law enforcement officers such as Sheriff Lucius D. Amerson of Macon County, Ala., plus holders of many humbler posts, actually filled a fair-sized banquet hall. In this alone, Southerners with sharp memories found a monument.

Bi-Racial Communications

Ralph McGill, the columnist who is publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, recalled some of the first tentative and almost timid moves toward bi-racial communications in the region nearly 25 years ago.

"For me, as well as many others, the fact of the conference [last week] was an emotional experience," Mr. McGill wrote. "... what has happened has been, and is, one of the miracles of the democratic process."

The assembled officeholders did more than dramatize the impact of the Federal Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the registration campaigns which together have increased Negro enrollment to more than 3.1 million.

Their first Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials, sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, also brought out some differences in outlook and approach. "These guys don't all think alike," said Vernon E. Jordan Jr., the project director. "They've all got their own ideas, their own approaches, and their own special political problems."

Black Underrepresentation

Negroes remain underrepresented in the South and most of those who hold public office find themselves pressed to assume broader responsibilities for blacks outside their immediate area and jurisdiction. While some argued for a more activist role, involving devices such as "extra legal hearings" to pressure white conservatives, others insisted that the Negro should take pains to do their own jobs well.

At the conference, most of the officials appeared to concentrate on more specific problems such as detailed legal matters and the bewildering complexities of obtaining money from Washington. As representatives of some of the most poverty-stricken areas of the country, they displayed an intimate sense of local shortcomings on everything from street lights to housing projects.

Many of the officials are inexperienced and some are poorly educated. To help out, [illegible] project discussed plans to establish "service centers" for black leaders in [illegible] Alabama and [illegible].

Mr. Jordan [illegible] centers [illegible] next month in [illegible] predominant[illegible] said they [illegible] tion and sup[illegible] to work in [illegible] offices.

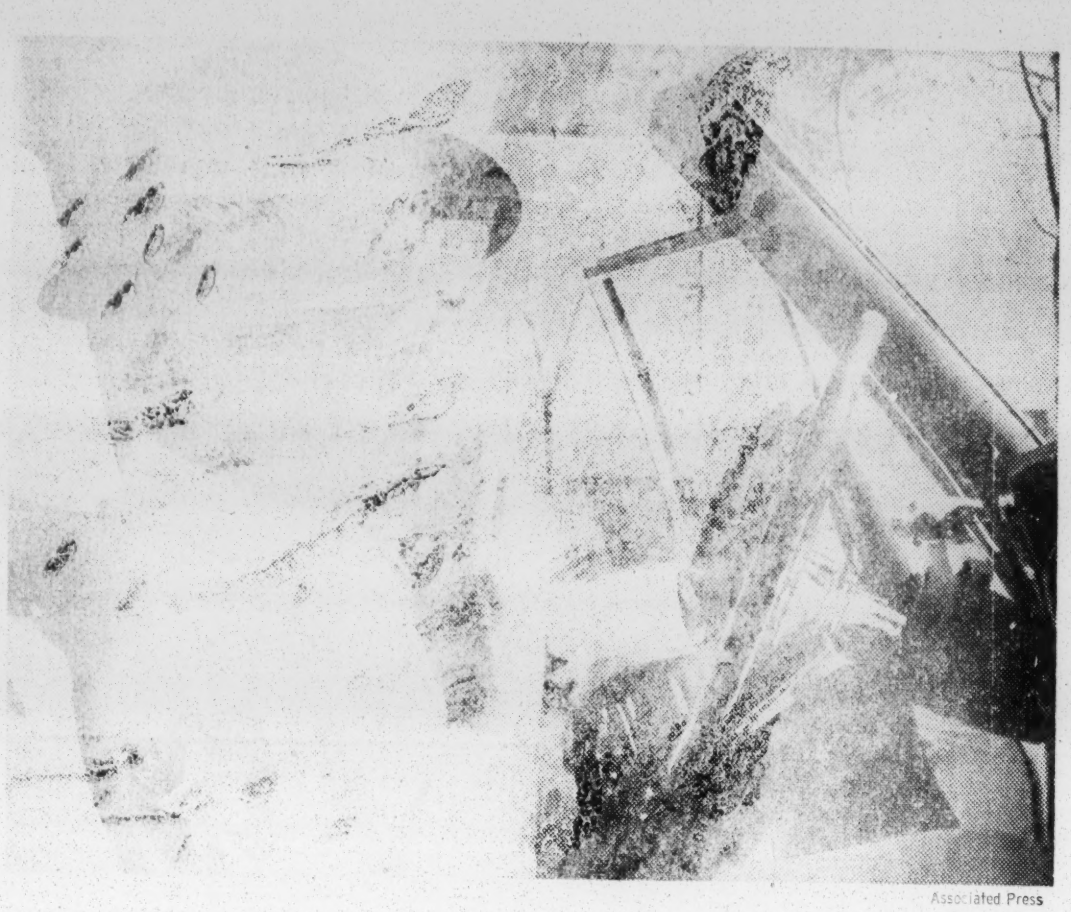
Some participants complained that in emphasizing the specific problems, the [illegible] an [illegible] fail to generate ideas for overall programs to help Negroes on a regional or even national basis. "They're so broken up in so many little pieces [illegible] trouble," one critic said. [illegible] ought to be filled [illegible] national perspective. [illegible] supposed to be advo[illegible] haven't met any[illegible] mad yet."

[illegible] all the Negro officials [illegible] lives in their [illegible] with white colleagues. [illegible] one Negro on a Louisiana [illegible] council observed sadly: "If I argue for it, everybody gets real quiet."

But they appear to be learning the ropes. A constable from Mississippi calmly explained to a law-enforcement seminar that he had the right to chase lawbreakers out of his district and even out of the county.

The stocky, slow-talking lawman explained that he receives fees for each task he performs, and he observed whimsically that "the farther I run him the more money I stand to make."

—WALTER RUGABER



Associated Press

[illegible] Sheriff Lucius D. Amerson of Macon County, Ala., above, and [illegible] Julian Bond, below, were among the elected Negro officials [illegible] met in Atlanta last week to confer on past progress and [illegible] shown at hearings at which his right to the seat he won [illegible]

United Press International

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Yes, We Can Bring Equal Justice

ATLANTA JOURNAL 12-21-68

Voting Rights Act of 1965 Slowly Opens Many Doors

By ATTY. GEN. RAMSEY CLARK

We are here tonight because we are a democracy and a democracy that will ultimately extend equal justice to all of its people. We are here tonight because we are making progress toward that end. We are making progress because we care.

I well remember the long nights in the Department of Justice in the winter of 1964 when we were trying to find the legal techniques for a voting rights act. I well remember President Johnson's deep personal commitment to liberating the Negro, the minority in America; to bring the vote to all Americans.

As the principal federal officer in charge of the enforcement of the federal court order under which the march from Selma to Montgomery took place in the Spring of '65, I had the privilege to see great men—brave men, men who believed in America—march that we might be here tonight. Dr. Martin Luther King was in the front rank.

* * *

THEN THERE was that moment, August 6, 1965, when the rotunda of the nation's Capitol was filled with the nation's great and the President of the United States signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and it became the law of the land.

I know there are thousands and thousands of people in these United States who have come to doubt and some who do not believe, that this nation has either the purpose or the capability to bring equal justice to all of its citizens.

You demonstrate better than anything perhaps, that this is not so; that the system, however awkward, however slow, can work; that our purpose as a people and the purpose of our laws is equality and justice for all.

About the Forum Writer

U. S. ATTY. GEN. RAMSEY CLARK recently addressed some 225 of the South's 380 elected Negro officials attending the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials. The conference at Atlanta was under auspices of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. This is part of that address.

Mr. Clark, who shortly will leave office, is a Texan, the son of retired Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark. He has served as attorney general since 1966.

- The Voting Rights Act is a bold experiment in democracy. It has made a difference. Four years ago we could have held this meeting in the telephone booth in the lobby and not interfere with anybody who wanted to make a phone call.

* * *

THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT of 1965, like every contested piece of legislation, has compromises. One compromise was the expiration in five years of many of the most important sanctions and controls in what then seemed a long time and now seems no time. On Aug. 8, 1970, there will be the opportunity for jurisdictions to reinstate qualifications to vote through subjective tests such as literacy.

Then, unless something is done, the power of the Department of Justice to place examiners and obervers in places where they are needed to protect the fundamental right of a demoratic people will expire. Then state legislatures may prescribe new standards, new procedures, for voting throughout this land.

* * *

IT SEEMS IMPERATIVE to me that we redouble our efforts today to enlist in the support of democracy, under the auspices of the Voting Rights Act and this great Voter Education Project, all of our people; that we provide for the future by extending the sanctions of the Voting Rights Act of '65 for years to come. Their necessity, to me, seems clear.

* * *

I WILL NOT be fair if I say that voting, the right to vote, the exercise of that right, is the entire solution. We must go forward, seriously, on many fronts and with rare courage: the rare courage that you black elected officials have shown us and of which I am grateful. We know the areas. We sometimes think that because the struggle is so difficult perhaps, the road isn't clear; but it is. Separate-but-equal was never so; could not be; will never be. There can be no equality with separation in any society, least of all in a highly urban and complex nation of 200 million such as ours. Separation must be ended, and all of its manifestations, to bring equality. The task is terribly difficult.

* * *

ONE AREA is education. Start with the children. Education is America's greatest industry. One in three in this country is engaged, full time, in education as student, teachers or administrator. In 1954, May 17, the Supreme Court said that as to public schooling there can be no separation. For nine years, through litigation in the courts of the South, the constitutional rights of our citizens were litigated.

* * *

IN SEPTEMBER, 1963, those who knew saw one per cent of the Negro children in the public schools of the 11 states of the Confederacy in schools that were desegregated. "All deliberate speed" meant nine centuries. People with vision saw this.

People of determination changed it, in large measure, because of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, because of Title VI, because of the much-maligned guidelines of the Office of Education promulgated in conformity with law thereunder.

One per cent in '63 became 16 per cent in '67 and when the returns are in, this will surely be over 20 per cent in '68. This law that has had barely three years to work its way has made a major difference and has shown that the constitutional rights of our citizens in the South can be fulfilled.

* * *

BUT BECAUSE of the immensity of this nation, while we concentrated here where the need was so great we barely noticed the new segregation building up steadily and swiftly in urban America.

In five short years, 1950-1955, the percentage of Negro children in the public schools of Baltimore increased from 50 to 61. In St. Louis, it was from 49 to 60. In Chicago from 42 to 50. A profound change reflecting patterns of living meant a new segregation in Central City America unless we awoke.

Slowly the resources of the law are brought to bear and now four suits, outside the South, are brought to desegregate our schools there. Soon we must recognize, among other things, that the litigations that take so long and the guideline techniques that can work so well must be brought to bear elsewhere. And soon we must recognize that segregation in schooling is incompatible with our principles and I believe with the Constitution, whatever the cause.

* * *

ON THE FOREFRONT today, we are moving in the area of employment; and only beginning. There is vast discrimination in employment: the opportunity to get a job, to keep a job, to improve in your job, to get a better job.

The '64 Act, Title VII promised to remedy this. It is essential that we enlist all of our energies, as a people, to do it. Today, we have brought finally 34 suits. When you think of the immense industry of the United States, you see how very slow the beginning is. Twenty-four this year, with so far to go.

* * *

ONE REASON you must understand. For all the might of the federal government, the resources that we, as a peo- have provided there are terribly inadequate.

- The Civil Rights Division as devoted a group a people to the principles of this country that has ever been collected in one place—with one mission, in my judgment—is fewer than a hundred lawyers. Their average age is under 30.
- Their burden is to enforce the Voting Rights Act to litigate school desegregation in perhaps 30,000 school districts over the U. S.; to bring Title II of the Act, promising open accommodation, to a reality; to enforce all of our civil rights laws.
- This small resource would be inadejquate for one state. It would be inadequate for one single law throughout the U.S.

* * *

THE REASONS that black and white in America must show the world that they can live together with respect, with stability and with love are many.

One is human dignity—my dignity, your dignity. Another is to remove this gross imperfection from our national character: to show that we can be what we say we are.

* * *

BUT THERE IS another. It is survival. It really is, you know. We will add on this planet, in the next decade, one billion souls and most will be blacks, and browns and yellows. Millions will starve. And millions will live in more than affluence; amidst surfeit, then will have more than they can use.

* * *

SCIENCE and technology—with 90 per cent of the scientists who ever lived working today—and population explosions compel now equality.

And if we do not demonstrate that it is possible, here in America, black and white together with love and strength, then this poor, tired world has more ahead than it can handle.

10

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JANUARY 13, 1969

Columbia, S. C.---Thomas Moss of Orangeburg, S.C., has been named director of the South Carolina Voter Education Project, it was announced yesterday.

Moss, 40, succeeds James L. Felder, who resigned in November to direct a program of assistance to black elected officials for the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality. Felder had been director since June, 1967.

Active in voter registration since 1963, Moss has been serving as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of SCVEP and as co-chairman of the Orangeburg County VEP. The appointment was announced by Dr. Charles H. Thomas Jr., president of the state organization.

The first of four statewide programs formed by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, the SCVEP is engaged in programs of voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training.

In the wake of required re-registration of all the state's voters last year, SCVEP-sponsored registration drives were largely responsible for more Negroes registering than had previously been on the books. The percentage of Negro to white voters increased almost 4 per cent during re-registration.

Moss said that under his leadership, the SCVEP will continue its effort to register the 171,000 eligible but unregistered Negroes in South Carolina. He said the organization also will continue its sponsorship of political education workshops and publication of voter education materials.

Moss has been active in labor organization for 20 years. He has been secretary, vice president and president of Amalgamated Meatcutters & Butcher Workmen's Local 443 in Orangeburg and has served on special contract negotiations on an international level.

The new SCVEP director is a member of the board of the Orangeburg Human Relations Committee, a bi-racial organization formed last year after the killing by police of several black students at South Carolina State College. He is a former vice president of the South Carolina Conference of Branches of the

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and is a member of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

Moss is a lifelong resident of Orangeburg. He attended Morris College and served as a staff sergeant in the Korean War.

His wife, Mrs. Gladys V. Moss, was a 1968 recipient of a Civic Leaders of America national award. She is a special education teacher at Richard Carroll Elementary School in Bamberg.

They have two children.

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., supports projects of voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training in 11 Southern states.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit non-partisan organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

February 11, 1969

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Harvard University
78 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Vernon:

April 8 is one of the six dates which I have agreed to hold for the League of Women Voters on the occasion of their citing SRC. The League president has promised to let me know within a week which date will be selected.

Keep warm!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Selected Persons

FROM: John B. Morris, Special Assistant for Program Development

DATE: February 14, 1969

SUBJECT: Possible Staff Openings

The Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council has been moving to provide greater assistance to the growing number of black elected public officials in the southeast. Following up on our Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials held here in Atlanta last December, grants are being made to a number of southern colleges which will sponsor service centers for elected officials. Currently, these are already functioning, or projected, in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia. Other service centers may be developed elsewhere.

In connection with these efforts, we have recently submitted a proposal to a foundation which, if accepted, will allow us to launch this program on a more adequate and well-staffed basis.

If the proposal is favorably received, we will be immediately looking for an assistant field director for the Voter Education Project and at least four assistant directors for the respective state service centers. The V.E.P. assistant field director would be responsible for coordinating our program of service to black elected officials, working through the state service centers and directly in contact with elected officials in those areas where there is not a service center. Assistant

directors of the various service centers, working under the director, would insure that the program reached all of the concerned elected officials in their areas. Funds for consultants, attorneys and other specialists would be available as needed.

It would be premature at this point to go into a job description in greater detail or project salary considerations. However, because of our desire to lose no time in implementing this program, I am writing to ask your assistance in referring to us prospective candidates for the various positions.

We feel that the assistant field director should be a lawyer, ideally with substantial first-hand knowledge of the southern scene and with a talent for learning about the various levels of governmental office to which black persons have been elected in recent years. This assistant field director would work out of our Atlanta office and do considerable traveling in the southern region.

The assistant directors of the state service centers would be based at the respective campuses under whose aegis the program will operate. While the most important consideration would be an enthusiasm for participating in the growing political power of the black community, I would imagine that candidates for these positions should have had a college background in government, political science or related fields. Indeed, there would be some merit to having attorneys in these positions.

It may be several months before we are able to make a specific offer to interested candidates, or it is entirely possible that within several weeks we will be seeking to implement this new program. Please feel free to share this information with any perspective candidates for the various positions whom you may know. Your own recommendations will, also, be very much appreciated. More detailed job descriptions and interviews can follow once we have approval for the program and a number of good candidates for the various openings.

file

February 20, 1969

Mr. Norman J. Rubin
Community Relations Manager
Western Electric
195 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rubin:

I am very sorry you encountered some violence while visiting Atlanta. I do hope you are feeling much better now. When I saw you being wheeled around, I was certain this was another example of Southern hospitality.

I am presently making arrangements to identify elected officials from the five or six areas you mentioned in your letter of February 4, 1969. As soon as I have made a compilation of names and offices, I will contact you. I would think that from our end the possibilities are very good.

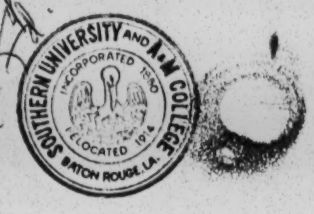
I should be in contact with you within the fortnight.

Sincerely,

Weldon J. Rougeau
Field Director
Voter Education Project

WJR:mjc

Copy Submitted to Ford Found. 1969



SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA 70813

RECEIVED
MAR 10 1969

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 7, 1969

Dear Mr. Jordan:

On behalf of Southern University I wish to acknowledge receipt of a grant of $15,000 to establish a service center to provide assistance to public officials in Louisiana.

Funds provided in this grant will assist the University in performing more effectively its obligations to the clientele which it serves as Southern has a history of involvement in the quest for solutions to problems peculiar to its constituency. In the last two years, for example, this involvement has included special projects focusing on upgrading the type of instruction offered at the elementary and secondary levels in schools of Louisiana; a national conference on the contributions of the Negro to American Literature and Art; two academic year part-time leadership training institutes for lay leaders in the Black community; three special conferences focusing on African and Afro-American studies, especially as they relate to contemporary problems facing students in predominately Negro universities. The University is constantly expanding its services in keeping with the emergence of new issues and concerns in academic circles and in the community at large.

Our experiences indicate that educational institutions like Southern University must bear the lion's share of responsibility for development, on the part ot its clientele, of that political awareness, knowledge and interest necessary for meaningful participation in the democratic processes. We are confident that the presence of the Service Center will contribute immeasurably to our academic program by providing new knowledge in the social sciences and other areas and by providing a research laboratory for both students and faculty. Already the magnitude of problems raised by the elected officials and the increase in the number and variety of officials to be served would seem to indicate that the requests for assistance will far exceed that anticipated at the time the proposal was submitted. Thus, while we are still in the process of structuring a staff, physical facilities and programs under the initial grant, the University is aware of the possibility that the percentage of its resources (financial and human) allocated to this project might well have to be expanded in the future if the objectives of the Center are to be realized.

In summary, Southern University is pleased to accept the grant from your organization and looks forward to a mutually rewarding relationship through operation of this Center on our campus.

Sincerely yours,

G. Leon Netterville, Jr.
Acting President

Mr. Vernon Jordan, Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

cc: Mr. Eli Evans
Carnegie Corporation
437 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Copy to Submitted to Jan & Fel. 1969

TALLADEGA COLLEGE

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA 35160

RECEIVED MAR 10 1969

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 8, 1969

Attorney Vernon Jordan Jr.
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

As you must know, I am exceedingly pleased that the Talladega College Service Center for Black Elected Officials in Alabama has now become a reality. Although the project is just in its initial stages and has been projected on a modest basis, I look forward to a wide range of dividends for both the college and the students through participation in this timely and useful program.

In the first place, the project gives the college an opportunity to establish meaningful relationships with the larger community of the state and its strategic black leadership. Secondly, it is one answer--and a mighty strong one--to the student demand for making the college program relevant. And Thirdly, it provides a subtle but highly significant connection between the demands for relevance and the demands for so-called "black power". For at this point, our experience should lead toward learning how the effective use of political strength is an immediate leverage for the articulation of the hitherto inarticulated interests which operate in the democratic process of the local and state community. All of this, and more, we have the opportunity to learn through this kind of project.

It is, at the same time, an ambitious project which requires strengthening and additional resources. Full-time leadership will be required, and I hope that further provisions for student summer internship arrangements can also be anticipated. I do not necessarily mean internships in the formal sense, although they would not be precluded, but something in the order of summer field assignments which can provide opportunity for learning through involvement.

I did not intend to make my comments this extended, but I was anxious for you to have this expression of my concern and of the perspective I have for some of the far-reaching opportunities which an expanded program in this area might serve.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

Herman H. Long

HHL/glh

cc: Mr. Eli Evans

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

TOUGALOO COLLEGE

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NOTE ANNIVERSARY 1969-70

Tougaloo, Mississippi 39174 601/982-4242

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED

MAR 11 1969

March 10, 1969

Mr. Vernon Jordan, Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Having a service center for black elected officials on the campus of Tougaloo College is a valuable educational experience for both the college and the community. The Center has proved helpful in our attempt to help the college relate more to the needs of the black community. Our students can also benefit from the presence of the Center in that they can get firsthand knowledge of black public officials. In our troubled times such experiences can only give all involved hope for the future.

Perhaps even more important is the Center's effect upon the public officials themselves. A very large percentage of our people both black and white, have never gotten the benefit of even a high school education. For them, just being able to visit a college campus and even speak to the student body is quite an experience. I hasten to add that the courage and commitment of these officials is an inspiration to all of us.

Tougaloo has a firm commitment to this program and will increasingly involve more of our people in it. This program can help to make this a truly democratic society through this firsthand

Member United Negro College Fund

experience of our students with the realities and potential of an involved citizenry.

Thank you for this opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

George A. Owens
President

GAO:gl

cc: Mr. Eli Evans
Carnegie Corporation

file

March 18, 1969

Mr. S. A. Tisdale, Jr.
The National Bank of South Carolina
207 North Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Tisdale:

A recent audit of the records of the South Carolina Voter Education Project raised certain questions concerning the Xerox copy of "Debit Memo" dated November 6, 1968.

At your earliest convenience would you document the following information so that I can pass it to the auditors:

(1) Who initiated the transaction? and

(2) To what account was the amount of $3,307.56 transferred?

We regret that this request has been delayed, and assure you that future ones will be handled promptly.

Sincerely,

Thaddeus Olive
Administrative Assistant
Voter Education Project

TO:mjc

cc: Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Robert Thompson, Accountant
Sowell and Harden CPA's

March 20, 1969

Orig gets to John Morris

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
3401 Brookwood Court
Columbia, South C rolina 29204

Dear Alice:

If funds can be found, the Voter Education Project will have an opening for someone like Mr. Wrighten. I am passing your letter on to John Morris and requesting that he followup on it.

I do hope you have the flu beaten.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Remarks of
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director, Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, to the
National Civil Liberties Clearing House
March 21, 1969
Washington, D. C.

= = = =

Last December, Mrs. Mauldin got into the national news when several hundred Negro leaders gave President Johnson a goldplated replica of her voting certificate. The occasion was a farewell reception for Mr. Johnson. A few weeks thereafter, a research assistant from the Voter Education Project went to Selma to interview Mrs. Mauldin. During the interview, the research assistant happened to mention the scheduled expiration of important provisions of the Voting Rights Act in 1970. Mrs. Mauldin was surprised to hear this and a bit troubled. Thinking back to all that Selma Negroes had to go through to get on the voting books, she declared: "It really would be bad to have to go back."

Mrs. Mauldin, in saying this, again is probably typical of the thousands of black people who have registered under the Voting Rights Act. The vast majority of black people registered under the Act undoubtedly share her feeling that one trip to the registrar's office, federal or local, should be enough. The vast majority, like Mrs. Mauldin, no doubt is unaware that important sanctions of the Voting Rights Act are up for expiration next year. The vast majority, again like Mrs. Mauldin, undoubtedly would be dismayed at the thought of having "to go back."

But that is the prospect faced by Mrs. Mauldin and thousands of othere black people in the South as 1969 spins past and as 1970 approaches. That is the prospect faced by those of us who have labored in the field of voter registration in the South, trying to help Mrs. Mauldin and others like her get on the voting books. That is the prospect faced by a promising new crop of black elected office-holders in the South---whose ranks now number nearly 400---as they contemplate the possible loss of thousands of black voters from the registration lists.

There seems to be an impression, in Washington and in the nation, that the Voting Rights Act has solved all the problems of voter discrimination in the South. We know that such an impression exists because we hear it repeatedly from otherwise well-informed visitors who come to our office from other regions and other countries. Indeed, a highly regarded national newspaper noted in a front-page article as recently as last October that "federal registrars have been signing up millions of black voters in the South." We wish it were so. But the actual figure, as I already have mentioned, is in the neighborhood of 158,000.

True, Negro voter registration has increased dramatically in the South. In the election of last November, there was an increase of nearly one million in Negro registration in the South over the previous presidential election. And most of this increase has come in the states covered in full by the Voting Rights Act---Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Virginia. In fact, black registration in these six states has increased 740,000 since August of 1965, when the Voting Rights Act went into effect.

Now, at first glance this seems a remarkable accomplishment. Black registration in the six states fully covered has almost doubled in three and a half years. The number of Black elected officials in the region has gone from about 70 in 1965 to 400 today. No question about it, this is progress---significant progress. But that is only one side of the picture.

In the South, there are more than five million Negroes of voting age. Yet, black registration is just above three million. Thus, even with the help of the

Voting Rights Act, nearly two million Negroes of voting age in the South remain unregistered. Only 62 per cent of voting-age Negroes are registered in the Southland. Among whites in the region, however, 78 per cent of the voting-age population is registered to vote. So, despite the boost given by the Voting Rights Act, much remains to be done before it can be said that black people are full partners in the Southern political process.

Although much of the increase in black registration has come in the six states covered in full by the Voting Rights Act, the situation in these six states still is a bit worse than the situation in the region as a whole. In these six states, only 57 per cent of the voting-age blacks are registered. White registration in these six states, however, stands at 79 per cent of the adult white population.

This is the situation with the Voting Rights Act. Before the Voting Rights Act was adopted, only 31 per cent of the voting-age blacks in the six states---less than one-third, mind you---was registered to vote. So without question, the Voting Rights Act has made a difference. Much has been accomplished with only moderate and partial enforcement of the Voting Rights Act. How much more might have been accomplished if the Act had been fully enforced!

Of 517 counties in the six states fully covered by the Voting Rights Act, federal examiners have been sent to only 58. Make no mistake about it, black people in the South very much prefer going before a federal examiner to going before a local registrar. There is a difference in attitude. There is a difference in setting; for many black people fear and dread the local county courthouse, which is for many of them

a symbol of injustice and oppression. There is a difference, too, in procedure. As Mrs. Mauldin points out, "It didn't take but a few minutes. I don't know why it couldn't have been like that in the first place."

No federal examiners have been assigned in Virginia, which is wholly covered by the Act, or in North Carolina, which is partly covered. Federal examiners have been assigned in only three Georgia counties and only two in South Carolina. All the rest have been assigned in Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana.

And keep in mind that federal examiners are not constantly available to register black people, even in the counties to which they are assigned. Federal examiners are available to register people only at intervals. They come and go. For example, there were no federal registration activities in the South during the final quarter of 1968, despite the approach of important municipal elections in Mississippi.

Finally, in surveying the present scene, I might mention the problem of enforcement resources in Washington. When he came to Atlanta in December to address our historic Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials just before leaving office, the distinguished former attorney general, Mr. Ramsey Clark, pointed out that the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department had fewer than 100 lawyers to enforce not only the Voting Rights Act, but school desegregation, open accommodation, and all the other civil rights laws as well. As Mr. Clark asserted, this force is woefully inadequate for enforcing a single law, or for enforcing federal civil rights laws in a single state.

Only this month the U. S. Supreme Court upheld an important provision of the Voting Rights Act. But such decisions, as well as the Act itself, cannot be fully meaningful unless the federal government is prepared to supply adequate resources for enforcement. No one realizes this better than the black people of the South, who all too often have called upon Washington for help that either was slow in arriving or did not arrive at all.

I personally hope that Congress and the administration will see that the resources for civil rights enforcement are increased rather than decreased. I know only too well that certain forces for retrogression in the South are sensitive to the slightest relaxation in this area. Whenever and wherever these forces feel the slightest sponginess from the Washington level, you may be sure that they will take advantage of it.

Having discussed the past and present aspects of the Voting Rights Act, let us now turn to the future. Unless Congress acts this year or next year, the sanctions of the Voting Rights Act will go out of existence in August of 1970. What then?

Once Southern states are freed from the bonds of the Voting Rights Act, it is highly likely that they will want to do something about their 740,000 new black voters, whose presence on the voting lists is profoundly affecting Southern politics. It is highly likely that these states will require---as South Carolina did in 1967---that all voters re-register. A number of localities in the South---West Feliciana Parish in Louisiana being prominent among them---already have procedures requiring re-registration.

As black leaders in West Feliciana Parish have pointed out, re-registration can be a considerable burden for Negroes who were fearful and reluctant about going to the courthouse in the first place. But once the prohibitions of the Voting Rights Act are removed, re-registration would be a means of reviewing the registration status of those blacks who have registered under the Act. In fact, several states have retained literacy tests in their election codes and thus stand in a position to reactivate these tests once the restraints of the Voting Rights Act are out of the way.

The election of nearly 400 black officials is only one way in which newly registered Negro voters are affecting the politics of the South. These new voters also are changing some of the faces and attitudes of white officeholders. This is occurring in quiet and barely noticeable ways (although sometimes it is quite noticeable) in scores of cities and counties across the South. It is occurring even in such places as Selma and Dallas County, Alabama. As Mrs. Mauldin puts it, the white officeholders "Have kind of been pushed up to it since they got so many colored votes."

As sure as I stand here this morning, there are many white politicians in the South who resent being "pushed up to it" by newly registered black voters. There are, of course, some white politicans in the South who have learned to deal comfortably with large groups of black voters. But for every one of them, there are dozens of other Southern politicans who would like to go back to the "good old days" when large numbers of black voters didn't have to be taken into account.

Life was simple when one had to fashion an appeal and a record aimed at white voters only.

It might be argued that the South is changing and that black people need no longer fear white-written election codes and white-run registration offices. To be sure, there have been some slight changes---thanks in large part to the Voting Rights Act and the ever-present threat of having federal examiners sent in and the influence of newly registered voters. Some registrars (though by no means all) have learned to pronounce the word "Negro." Some have learned to use courtesy titles when Negroes present themselves for registration. But despite all this, old attitudes and hostilities persist in the atmosphere at many registration offices across the South.

The Voter Education Project from its beginning in 1962 has had the requirement that registration programs funded by us send us periodic progress reports. At first, of course, the reports were dramatic documents, replete with stories of violence, confrontation and direct action. The struggle for the ballot made headlines across the country.

There are fewer such headlines today, but the struggle is far from won. Our reports still tell us of registrars maintaining short or irregular hours, of registrars arbitrarily closing their offices without notice, of chicanery being used to keep Negroes from voting, of Negroes being treated discourteously by registrars. We hear over and over, from the 100 or more registration programs that we support each year, that blacks fear economic reprisals if they register---such as being fired or evicted, of losing lines of credit or being put off the welfare rolls.

I might take a few minutes to read just a few samples of reports received by VEP from registration programs received in the last few months. First, this excerpt from a program in Alabama:

"The local Board of Registrars did attempt to hinder the registering of Negro voters during the drive. When a Negro sought to register, they made a point of delaying him, often taking the application of whites ahead of the Negro, even though the whites entered the office after the Negro. If the names and addresses of the two witnesses submitted by a Negro were not listed in the telephone directory, the registrar refused to accept them as witnesses, forcing the Negro voter to return to the registrars' office another time.

"In the case of elderly voters, who might be easily confused, the registrars would ask for proof of age. For those receiving pensions the registrar advised them to obtain this necessary proof from the Department of Pensions and Security Office, also located in the courthouse. However, this office would tell the Negroes that they no longer had this proof of age or that the proof-of-age document had been mailed to them just that morning. Thus, the Negro was prevented from registering, with the blame being shifted from the Board of Registrars to the Department of Pensions and Security. This occurred repeatedly, an apparent device to limit the registering of Negro voters."

A report from Mississippi tells of 169 people who had been approached by canvassers but had given one excuse or another for refusing to register. The report continues: "They still have beliefs of what the white man told them in the beginning. They didn't need to register, or if they did he would make them move off his plantation

and cut their credit off."

And, yes, voter registration can still touch off violence in the South, despite the existence of the Voting Rights Act. Last fall one home was bombed and a shot was fired into another in Leake County, Mississippi. The violence, part of a series of such incidents stretching back to 1961, was aimed at people engaged in voter registration and voter education work. And just the other day, we received a report from north Louisiana saying that some of the 55 people who refused to register told canvassers: "You people are trying to get us killed." Although voter registration may be as American as apple pie, it still can be hazardous in much of the Deep South.

Federal presence, or the threat of federal presence, still is needed also to protect ballots cast by blacks. The VEP office continues to receive reports of election irregularities of all types. One tells of whole ballots about to be thrown out in a Mississippi county because of a few incorrect markings on them, until a federal observer intervened. A report from another Mississippi county tells of black voters seeking assistance and being misinstructed by white "helpers" to vote for George Wallace. Still another says: "If the new voters were not actually abused at the polling places, they were thoroughly confused and made to feel ignorant and inferior. This kind of thing spread into the community and many more prospective voters are convinced that politics is a white man's game." And I can report that black leaders in Hancock County, Georgia, are convinced that not the first one of their four black officials could have been elected if their county had not been the first in Georgia to which federal observers were sent.

Please keep in mind that we are talking here about Post-Act conditions. We are talking, for the most part, about matters that have been reported in recent months. If conditions can be, and are, this difficult with the Voting Rights Act, then we can imagine how difficult they will be if the coverage of the Act is allowed to expire.

So the Act must be extended. But I personally do not wish to settle for that. Enforcement of the Act should be strengthened. And the Act itself should be strengthened.

Southern states make the argument that they should not be singled out for coverage in the Act. Their argument is partly valid, partly invalid. Certainly there is reason to apply the Act in those states which have been most flagrant in denying the ballot to black people. But certainly there is logic also to extending federal protection to minority groups anywhere in the country who face discrimination in attempting to exercise their right to vote.

Certainly more effective and widespread use should be made of federal examiners and observers because of the continuing practices I have described, both in counties to which examiners and observers have been sent and those to which they have not been sent.

Perhaps the burden of designating counties for coverage should be lifted from the attorney general. Perhaps designation could be made automatic when non-white registration is below, say, two-thirds of the eligible number. This would remove the designation of counties from the pressures and cross-currents of

Washington politics. It would spare the attorney general the burden of deciding where to move in and where to stay out.

At present, the Act permits political subdivisions to petition for withdrawal of examiners when more than 50 per cent of the non-white voting-age population is registered. Many counties that have, or should have, federal examiners have moved past that point since 1965. Among these counties are some of the worst in the South and they should remain designated for federal examiners and observers. Accordingly, this 50 per cent figure should be raised to, perhaps, two-thirds.

There are many other recommendations that could be made to strengthen the Act and its enforcement. For example, the federal government should make announcements heavily when federal examiners and observers are being assigned. Blacks deserve to know when examiners are being sent in to provide them a chance to register. They also deserve to know in advance that there is less chance that an approaching election will be rendered meaningless by irregularities. Moreover, federal observers should be clearly identified so that whites and blacks alike will know of their presence. The Justice Department should have at all times staff and resources to review changes in state election laws aimed at weakening the ballots of black people.

We could go on, but I will spare us the tedium of a long list of recommendations. I believe we of the Voter Education Project can make a case for extension of the Voting Rights Act, or for some law like it, for strengthening of existing voting-rights legislation, and for stronger enforcement of existing legislation.

We can demonstrate that these steps are necessary to guarantee the rights of black people in the South to participate fully in the American political process.

I believe we also can demonstrate that there is no decline of interest on our part, or on the part of Southern Negroes generally, in getting people registered to vote. Indeed, we have sponsored, or helped to sponsor, over 400 programs in 11 Southern states during the last three years, the vast majority of which involve voter registration. We intend to keep at the task until we feel that it has been finished. And like Mrs. Mauldin, we hope that we don't have "to go back", and retrace our efforts of the last three years because Congress and the administration feel that enough has been done to protect the voting rights of black people in the South.

Let us never forget that most of the problems of the ghettos in the North and West have their roots in remote areas of the South. For many years Negroes in the South have been oppressed, starved, disfranchised and dehumanized. Voting-rights legislation holds out at least the hope of correcting these wrongs within the democratic system. If this federal support is lost, either through expiration or non-enforcement, no amount of persuasion will ever "bring us together again."

file SCLC

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
"Atlanta's MLK, Jr. Commemoration Committee"
Dr. B. E. Mays, Honorary Chairman

REGARDING

Proposal to VEP for Atlanta's April 4, 1969 Voter Registration Drive

DATE

March 30, 1969

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

~~Voter Education Project, 1969~~
S.C.L.C.

REPORT OF MEETING OF DIRECTORS FOR THE SERVICE CENTERS
FOR ELECTED OFFICIALS -- APRIL 2 - 3, 1969

A meeting of the directors for VEP's five Service Centers for Elected Officials was held on April 2 - 3, 1969 at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel, Forsyth Street, Atlanta. Those present were: Harold Franklin, Milton Hurst, and Herman Long, all of Talladega; Mike Chanin and Vivian Henderson from Clark College; Jewel Prestage and Dan Lacour of Louisiana; Lucius Pitts, Sherrill Marcus and Levy Oliver, Miles College; Taunya Banks and George Owens, Tougaloo; Mack Jones of Atlanta University, who is doing a study on the black elected officials in the South; Bob Clark, representative from Mississippi; and Lester Levine of Florida State University. Staff members present were: Weldon Rougeau, Marvin Wall, Thaddeus Olive, John Morris, Vernon Jordan, the Director, Nobbie Morgan and Gwendolyn Poole, recorders.

The meeting was opened by Vernon Jordan, who brought greetings to participants and then turned the meeting over to John Morris---after having everyone to introduce themselves. Mr. Jordan also mentioned that this was a new experience, a new program, and felt that we should all get together and share experiences, ideas, and problems relative to funds and necessary faculty for successful operation. The purpose of the meeting was to determine the relationship of the service centers to VEP and open the lines of communication. The extent of our usefulness will depend upon those who will provide the creativeness and initiative for uplifting the black community.

The meeting was then turned over to John Morris, who spoke of the procedure for signing out of the hotel and filling out expense forms, etc. It was disclosed that Directors of service center, college presidents and chairmen of advisory

committees composed the membership of the meeting. Mr. Morris spoke of the importance of black political power in the civil rights era. There are no blueprints to follow in attempting to outline the courses of action.

The big question is what should the service centers be doing and what should VEP do in order to sustain it? Each of the college spokesmen proceeded to tell just where they thought the centers were at this point. The first to respond was Michael Chanin, Director of the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy at Clark College.

Administrative Report:

Mr. Chanin reported that Clark had been looking for a director and the one they had in mind turned them down. However, several candidates still remain. The service center will operate as a division of the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy with a full-time director because:

a. In Georgia, there are a large number of black elected officials in the Legislature who need staff assistance.

b. The nature of Atlanta University is large and we need somebody who can work full time with all of the campuses. Let the Georgia black elected officials design the program which he will conduct. A "give-and-take" situation should exist; e. g., the black elected officials will state the kind of assistance they need. There will be an advisory committee of black elected officials and students.

Physically, the service center will be at Clark and will operate on a day-to-day basis which will be in continuing contact with black elected officials via telephone, etc., in helping them and meeting their needs. There are several

attempts being made at having interns in the various counties which the college will try to help the counties work out.

Dr. Pitts stated that Miles is trying to get on its feet. There are about 20 black elected officials in Jefferson County, Alabama. The center will be associated with the voter education and social research centers which are involved with community relations and the service center. It will be autonomous in that it will not be guided by the community relations centers. Students and adults will compose the committee. There has been one meeting with the people of Jefferson County in an attempt to discover what kinds of services they want.

They hope to have an intern for each one of the elected councilmen who will do research for him. Overall, it is felt that the program is a worthwhile effort.

John Morris remarked on Alabama's having the highest number of black elected officials, with Jefferson County having a very large portion of these.

Dr. Lacour attended the meeting to represent Southern. He felt that the service center was needed and would be beneficial. There has been one black person who is very troublesome mostly because of his problem in identifying with other blacks. Lacour is prepared to play his role fully---whatever it is. He feels that the purpose of his being at this meeting is to gain more insight into what this role is.

Dr. Prestage stated that the Southern University service center is on the way. Physical facilities are in the process of being completed. When it is completed, there will be a director's office, clerical room, and conference room. Several faculty members have agreed to serve on the Advisory Committee without pay.

It is hoped that the VEP and the Louisiana VEP interns will be available to the service center. In terms of program development, the director and members of the political science department already know the black elected officials. They had already sponsored a workshop last year which gave some knowledge of some of the problems facing the officials.

An attempt is being made to make black courses work with the service center and, in turn, the service center work for them. Dr. Prestage plans to make visits in late April or early May in an effort to meet the officials in their work situation in order to understand the real needs.

They have worked closely with a seminar under federal funds in voter education, and hope to get young blacks available for election to public office to take up residence in an area where their chances of election to some public office are best.

Dr. Prestage had scheduled a visit with Jim Chubbuck of the Institute of Politics at Loyola, who has developed a program for community leaders. This program might be worth looking into.

Talladega's Dr. Long spoke on the aspirations of the service center. Nothing greater has happened at Talladega than this project. It shows a sincere interest on the part of the college to become relevant to the needs of the black community in Alabama.

Dr. Long feels that Franklin's work in the 13 Colleges program, and his introduction of a course in Negro history, will not cause his involvement to be an interim one. He was the first black man to go to Auburn University and was

born in the community, which makes him quite aware of the needs. He feels that both he and Hurst, who is chairman of the Advisory Committee, show good promise for the future.

Dr. Long stated that the Advisory Committee ought to be representative. Theirs is composed of six faculty members, three students and three persons from the community. The faculty members are: Fowles of the Department of Economics; Jackson, Chairman of the History Department; Mrs. McCray who works with Upward Bound and is also in sociology; Mariati, Franklin and Hurst.

Hurst is of the opinion that Talladega is going through a learning process as are the other centers. Franklin informed everyone that 71 officials have been notified about the center. Those appointed to planning boards also have been contacted Some people do not know their responsibilities under law. There is one white justice of the peace in Alabama who has stated that he is willing to go into any county and help any black elected official at no cost.

Dr. Owens considers Tougaloo fortunate both in having Taunya Banks come to Mississippi to live, and having the opportunity to emphasize the needs of the college and the students in assisting the black community and in making what is taught relevant.

They are getting ready for municipal elections and estimate that over 100 blacks will be running in the cities in Mississippi. There are only 52 elected officials and they are expecting about 20 or 30 more. This will increase the job of the center. The Delta Ministry has gotten a black movie company to do a film on municipal governments. It is hoped that this will show the people what

to vote for and how their votes can change what is happening in the state.

They have been involved in voter registration and education projects. There is a gap between the students at Tougaloo because the office is in Jackson. Taunya will be moving out to the campus in the near future. Plans are being made for hiring several interns for the summer. They desire to help more students become more interested in politics and civil rights. They hope the center can channel the students' frustrations in some kind of constructive direction. These frustrations have resulted from the fact that the 1965 Civil Rights Act has not done what it was supposed to have done.

Mr. Jordan expressed a desire that there be a better relationship between director and the officials such as exists with Taunya in Mississippi.

John Morris introduced the two consultants---Levine and Mack Jones. Mr. Jones is trying to capture a picture of what is going on. This involves talking to officials, reading the records and newspapers. He is concerned with whether or not emphasis will be placed on technical matters or on substantive policy alternatives. There should be policy alternatives; i. e., talking about what local governments should do.

There is an over-emphasis on the amount that the officials themselves can do to bring about change. In interviewing people, he found that apart from the legal aspect, you ought to look into what you can do with your office other than what is expected.

As Levine sees it, the main function of the service center is making sure that all the kinds of facilities that are available to any white official be made

available to the blacks. It will be a shame if duplication occurs with some of the same services that are already available. Existing institutions should be able to do a lot of things. VEP might want to serve as a conduit to these existing facilities, or organizations, in cities and in states; e. g., the sheriffs association in Alabama. They could provide technical assistance and policy. It might be a good idea to contact John Feild, U. S. Conference of Mayors, about possible services to these centers.

There is a desire to publish a set of guidelines which will be a result of our common consensus here.

To what extent is student involvement as interns and on the Advisory Committee feasible and wise? In response to this question, Dr. Prestage said that you can involve students by paying them to do research and work with an official. This should make the students aware of the political problems facing the state and the problems of the black official in particular. The black college must develop political awareness; therefore, the service center ought to assist in this.

There is a built-in educational value in the whole project in addition to the service to the officials. Students come with experiences in civil rights work and without the psychological hang-ups which help in advancing new ideas.

Dr. Long feels that there should be a discussion of a strategy as to how students will be involved. There are two possible ways of operating a system of this kind:

1. A program where you mean everything to everybody. You become involved in a lot of activities.

2. Target objectives and program strategy very specifically. Thus, you will have some definite knowledge of what you have done. This could provide some basis for reporting back to the foundations.

Student assistants can have a research and information function which is separate from the interns who will be working alongside the officials. You have got to anticipate those things that the officeholders do not know they need. In the area of planning, there can be a student component which would be concerned with those issues that need to be discussed, etc., along with planning functions.

Mr. Jordan pointed out the fact that there cannot be an intern for all of the 400 black elected officials at any one time. Additional funds, in addition to those already budgeted, are available whenever a clear need is shown to have students for particular officials for a short period of time.

Dr. Henderson stated that the educational value to the campus has to be a by-product of our primary goal of helping those officials who badly need our help. Interns are definitely for the purpose of assisting the officials and the benefit to them is secondary.

Taunya Banks is of the opinion that there will have to be a self-determination by the center of its own needs as the programs develop.

There is a long-range reason as to why a large amount of attention should be placed on student involvement, especially those students in political science.

They are the ones who will be coming up for election in their states, cities, etc., eventually.

CONCLUSION

If the program is relevant in the first place, the students will automatically become involved in keeping with today's trend toward political awareness. While we cannot decide how a person will act on a matter of public policy, we can provide technical assistance. (Refer to Mack Jones' comment earlier)

Regarding the apathy (or whatever) that exists among the black elected officials, it seems that those who are most urbane express least concern with, or need for, these kinds of aid programs.

The following five approaches have been discussed thus far:

1. Emphasis made by Taunya Banks as to the need for the establishment of personal contact with officials.

2. Forms of impersonal communication to the officials; i. e., letters, form correspondence, etc.

3. General conferences as an element of service and program strategy. This would include an introductory conference to launch the program and set forth what we are doing and what we propose to do.

4. Smaller conferences of officials occupying the same kinds of office, thus spotlighting special problems and programs.

5. Basic information service. Strategies would be adjusted according to the level of sophistication among officials being served.

Levine informed us that federal funding may be available in the future for programs wherein the center could provide assistance in the area of continuing education out of the university. There could be specialization by colleges in particular areas of subject matter for feeding to officials throughout the region. VEP would put its stamp of acceptance on it.

VEP, along with Jack Greenberg, has, in the past, always informed newly elected officials of their rights and responsibilities through institutes and workshops, specifically one-day sessions.

It was explained that all centers had received their first installment of the one-year grant, and that all technical questions regarding grants should be referred to Thad Olive of the VEP. It was also made very clear that no strict stipulations were on the monies granted so long as they were within the budget amount given. Several questions also were raised as to funding. The service centers will be able to operate at the present level for three years. Hopefully, Mr. Jordan said, there will be enough money for full-time directors, maybe assistant field directors and other staff as is needed for future programs. It was expressed that, hopefully, guidelines would come out of this meeting to facilitate operating the service centers.

Partisan politics entering into the picture of the elected officials was discussed. It was made very clear to the directors by Mr. Jordan that their centers must be non-partisan, and that this is necessary for tax-exempt status.

The question was raised as to whether the center would be called Service Center for Black Elected Officials. It was determined they should be called

Service Center for Elected Officials, thereby giving anyone needed information regardless of color.

Mr. Levine gave the directors some valuable information about how to get aid from the federal government, under Title I. It was brought out that the Southern Education Foundation has an interest in doing something with school board members in terms of public policy. Questions relative to school board members could be directed to Jinna Franks, Washington, D. C. at the Southern Education Foundation.

Weldon Rougeau discussed briefly intern involvement in these different programs with the service centers. But this should be, if possible, financed by the Centers themselves. Possibly they could hire students that have attended school in the North and are coming to the South for the summer. Recruit students to work in the service centers to build courses around their internships.

The next discussion was whether to limit service to elected officials or to serve appointed officials as well. It was suggested that in view of their need, all officials would be served--appointed and elected. No special comments were made on service to appointed officials.

Remarks were made by John Morris concerning Bob Clark's presence, and also that of Paul Anthony. Mr. Anthony welcomed the directors, and left shortly thereafter.

There was some discussion as to what the elected officials are doing, how they are doing it, etc. Marvin Wall stated that a pamphlet by Julian Bond was soon to come off the press with a title similar to "How to Do It" and this would

probably be very informative to aspiring officials. Mack Jones' study will not be completed until June of 1971.

A general discussion brought out the fact that all officials should get their communities involved---get to know the community---and get the community to know the official, thereby enabling the official's constituents to know him, and vice versa. And, in view of the fact that Mack Jones' study will not be completed until 1971, Long felt that an immediate document was needed, that the officials could use as a "bible" more or less.

Taunya Banks' was a good example of how the centers could become involved with the elected officials and communities. She has become the main source of information concerning black elected officials in Mississippi. This results in calls being referred to her office when people are seeking information concerning black elected officials in Mississippi.

Finally, it was suggested that the center's director should surround himself with people who can support him in order to make the programs successful. Further discussion involved inquiries as to the size of advisory committees and their power. Their power, as explained, is limited to advising the centers, not operating them.

6/14/69

A STATEMENT ON THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

* * * * *

The Southern Regional Council launched the first Voter Education Project in 1962. A major purpose of the new undertaking was to be research into the causes of low political participation, particularly among blacks, in the South. And a major method of this research was to be the direct funding of voter registration drives in the South as a means of determining the types of difficulties encountered.

While the SRC Executive Committee felt this project to be of the first importance, it stipulated that the Council could not sponsor this effort without review and assurance from the Internal Revenue Service that this program would be in accordance with tax-exempt activity as interpreted by IRS. The Council received that assurance from IRS on March 22, 1962. In addition, of course, the Southern Regional Council has filed annual reports with IRS on this as well as all of its programs and expenditures.

SRC's first Voter Education Project began in March of 1962 and ended in the fall of 1964. As a result of these efforts, an increase in Negro registration of nearly 700,000 was recorded in 11 Southern states.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965, suspending literacy tests in six states and otherwise providing new protection for prospective black voters, substantially changed the circumstances of civic participation in the South. Accordingly, the Southern Regional Council decided to launch a second Voter Education Project.

This second VEP began work in early 1966 and remains in operation today. Research into the causes of low political participation remains a major function. Support of voter registration activities continues to be a method of determining the causes of low political participation. However, the second Voter Education Project has placed an increasing amount of emphasis on non-partisian citizenship education and leadership training programs, particularly the latter.

As Congress recognized in the adoption of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the recent history of the South is darkly stained by the systematic exclusion of Negroes from the political process. A summary of the repressive statutes and practices which enforced this exclusion can be found in "Political Participation," published in May of 1968 by the Civil Rights Commission, and in "Climbing Jacob's Ladder," by Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorn, published by Harcourt, Brace and World in November of 1967. The latter book is largely a description of the work of the Voter Education Project. A feeling for the importance of the research activities of VEP may be gained by noting the number of citations of VEP material in the

Civil Rights Commission's report.

The activities of the Voter Education Project have unquestionably brought more Negroes into the political process in the South. With the passage of the Voting Rights Act a contributing factor, the second Voter Education Project---like the first---estimates that its programs have added 700,000 blacks to the registration rolls in the South. Year-by-year progress can be seen in the following table:

INCREASES IN BLACK REGISTRATION - 11 STATES

Year	Black Registration	White Registration
1960	1,463,333	12,276,127
1962	1,480,720	12,109,680
1964	2,164,200	12,263,820
1966	2,689,000	14,309,704
1968 (Summer)	3,112,000	15,702,000

It should be noted that although black registration has risen to 62 per cent of the black voting-age population in the region, white registration stands at 78 per cent of the white voting-age population. Much remains to be done before it can be said that Negroes in the South are full partners in the regional and national political process.

The amount of money allocated for each project hardly can be described as large (although it must seem large to an organization with no other source of support). An average grant for voter registration runs between $1,000 and $2,000. The allocation generally covers a period running from one to two months.

A grant letter is sent to the local organization (see attached sample) which sets out in unequivocal terms that the money is to be used only for non-partisan voter education and voter registration and may not be put to any partisan or other use, and specifically not to serve any political campaign. The grant letter is followed by a research letter which sets our reporting requirements. Organizations receiving funds are required to submit both financial and status reports weekly. These reports are reviewed in the VEP office in Atlanta. All money spent must be accounted for precisely.

Money is supplied on a cash-draw basis. No lump-sum grants are given. This furnishes VEP with a means of cutting off support instantly when a report indicates partisan activities or any other irregularity.

In addition to all this, VEP employs a full-time field director. The field director makes both announced and unannounced visits to all projects receiving VEP support. The field director also visits projects prior to funding to determine that they qualify for support. Non-partisanship is a major item checked by the field director in these on-the-spot inspections.

It should be pointed out that VEP does not endeavor to pay the entire cost of voter registration activities in the South. Local organizations, to the extent possible, are expected to raise funds of their own, particularly in urban areas. Candidates and others directly connected with political campaigns are not permitted to hold positions of responsibility in VEP-supported registration activities

or in any way utilize VEP-supported projects, funds or facilities in aid of their own campaigns. While VEP has never found instances of partisan activity to warrant terminating a grant, several grants have been discontinued on other grounds.

Registration activities are not limited to blacks. Several projects have involved registration of Indians and Mexican-Americans. A few projects have reported registering some white Southerners. Relevant to the last point, however, is the fact that white registration in most of the South already is quite high.

The weekly reports are the backbone of VEP research. It is through these reports that VEP learns of difficulties Negroes continue to encounter in their attempts to register and vote in the South. Directors of voter registration projects supply the research department with a wide variety of facts and figures relating to Negro political participation in the South. VEP is the central point of such information by government, the press, scholars and universities, publications, research organizations, authors, and foreign visitors.

As already mentioned, the registration drives provide tremendous amounts of information and knowledge that otherwise would not be available. For many years, the Southern Regional Council has been the main source of information about black registration and voting in the South. Because several states have discontinued publication of registration figures by race, these local registration drives have become increasingly important in arriving at registration figures by race. The Voter Education Project continues to be the main source of this information.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

During the last three years, VEP has held a number of seminars, workshops and conferences for candidates and officeholders.

We have felt that black candidates and black officeholders, like black voters, have been so long denied a part in the political process that these special educational programs were warranted and, indeed, necessary.

The seminars and conferences are restricted to discussions of the duties and responsibilities of candidates and/or officeholders. Discussion of campaign techniques and strategy, of how to get elected, etc. is not permitted. Incidentally, VEP has consistently rejected requests for funds for get-out-the-vote activities and has cautioned grant recipients against using VEP funds for this purpose. Similarly, we have felt that the new voters should be informed about the government they now are helping elect, and that is the basis for the programs in the field of citizenship education.

As the number of black elected officeholders in the South climbed rapidly toward 400 last year, VEP scheduled the first Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials. The conference was held in Atlanta last December with approximately 200 black elected officials attending. With the total number of black elected officials now standing at about 460, VEP has set up service centers for elected officials at five predominantly black colleges in the South. Although these centers now serve mostly black officials, we look forward to the day when they will be serving officials of any race who need technical

and research advice. The centers may be compared, in terms of techniques and approach to the problems of government, with the Institutes of Government of the Universities of North Carolina and Georgia.

FINANCES

The Voter Education Project is but one of the many programs conducted by the Southern Regional Council, but it is the largest. Although VEP continues to receive small gifts from individuals, the bulk of funds comes from foundations.

Between 1966 and 1968 VEP received $1,163,446. Foundations which gave $2,500 or more each during this period include Aaron Norman, Abelard, Field, Ford, Irwin-Sweeney-Miller, Mary Reynolds Babcock, New World, New York, Rockefeller Brothers, Robert E. Moton Memorial and Taconic.

Grants for 403 programs, most of which involved voter registration totaled $736,956.70, for an average of approximately $1,830 per grant. The rest of the expenditures went for publications research and consultants, scholarships, student interns, meetings and seminars (including the Southwide Conference), and salaries and administration.

The first Voter Education Project (1962-64) received $870,371. Principal supporters were Taconic Foundation, Field Foundation, and the Edgar Stern Family Fund.

CONCLUSION

The Voter Education Project was formed as a result of

widespread urgings from many concerned persons and groups, including high government officials, particularly in the Justice Department, that the energies of the sit-ins and freedom rides of the early '60s be channeled also into voter registration and citizenship education. It should be noted that there was some resistance within youthful civil rights circles to this development, the objection being that the idea sounded like an "Establishment" effort to blunt the thrust of activist undertakings.

It is true that the voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training programs have sought to bring black Southerners into the political process as a means of correcting the injustices that black people have historically suffered. The registration of thousands and the election of scores of black people have given many blacks in the South some hope of improving their lives through the existing political structure.

The Voter Education Project is the only organization conducting such programs on a region-wide basis. VEP could not have undertaken its task without foundation support. Without foundation support, VEP could not have existed. And without VEP, the black registration in the South would be substantially less than it is today.

Yet, as already pointed out, much remains to be done. Some two million voting-age Negroes in the South have not been registered to vote. Gradually, there are signs that white officeholders are responding to the needs of black voters. There are encouraging signs, here and there across the South, that blacks and whites can work

together in the councils of government.

In large part these gains were made possible through voter registration, which in turn was made possible in large part through foundation support. To continue and sustain these gains will require a continuing effort, which in turn hinges upon continued foundation support. Gradually white Southerners are becoming accustomed to Negroes as a part of the political process. To roll back that trend now would be tragic. Discontinuance of foundation funds for voter registration, coupled with the prospective expiration of the Voting Rights Act, would surely halt and reverse the trend toward full political participation in the South.

Sustained registration campaigns are needed to test the willingness of Southern registrars to follow non-discriminatory procedures (especially if the Voting Rights Act is not extended). However, most black people in the South are poor and can scarcely meet their daily needs. A few communities would be able to raise local funds to finance a voter registration campaign, but most would not. For all practical purposes, voter registration in the South would grind to a halt without foundation support.

In the years after Reconstruction came a dark period called Redemption. During this period, white Southerners turned back the clock and reasserted their control over the lives of black people. Tragic and bloody years followed, and the nation is still undoing the damage. Total exclusion of blacks from the political process was a major factor in that Redemption period.

A second Redemption is unthinkable if the region---and the nation---is to survive as a multi-racial society.

Approved by the Executive Committee
of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.
in Executive Session, June 14, 1969
Atlanta, Georgia

(List of members appended)

Mildred Johnson

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Clearcopy Onion Skin
FLUORESCENT

April 23, 1969

Professor David Lindsay
Department of Political Science
Central Missouri State College
Warrensburg, Missouri 64093

Dear Professor Lindsay:

Replying to your letter of April 17 I am happy to enclose a number of publications concerning the work of the Voter Education Project.

More specifically, in response to your inquiry concerning the student intern program I am enclosing the letter and application form which our Field Director, Mr. Rougeau, provides interested persons. We should be happy to receive and consider applications from any of your students.

We do not have any other intern program which we are operating. The intern part of the program at our Service Centers for elected officials is handled by each of the Centers and only involves students at the respective campuses where the Centers are located.

Please let me hear from you again if we can be of further assistance.

Yours sincerely,

The Reverend John B. Morris
Special Assistant for
Program Development

nb/enc
cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

4/21/69

John Morris

PLEASE RESPOND TO THE ATTACHED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AFTER YOU HAVE DONE SO, ATTACH A COPY OF YOUR LETTER TO THIS REQUEST AND RETURN TO MILDRED JOHNSON FOR FILING. NEEDLESS TO SAY, YOU MAY MAKE A COPY FOR YOUR FILES IF YOU WISH TO HAVE ONE.

D. A.

John Morris
T.

Education for Service
CENTRAL MISSOURI STATE COLLEGE
WARRENSBURG, MISSOURI 64093

April 17, 1969

Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I read in the Christian Science Monitor the other day that the Voter Education Project of the SRC is establishing service centers at 5 colleges in the area to assist Negro officials by providing legislative research, helping draft bills, advising on legal questions, etc, as well as recruiting student interns as aides to the officeholders.

I have several Negro students who are interested in this project, as well as others who might be if they knew more about it.

Would it be possible for you to send me some information which I can pass on? For example, if a students wanted to work with you during the summer, or for one year or so, how would he go about applying?

I would appreciate it if you would send me any information you think I can use.

Sincerely,

David Lindsay

David Lindsay
Assistant Professor
Dept. of Political Science

file
VEP - Tax Exemption
& S.C. Tax Exemption

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME:

List of Elected Officials Benefiting from Ford Foundation funds through the VEP (covering the period October 1, 1967 through April, 1969)

REGARDING:

Materials submitted to Ford through Roger W. Wilkins, Officer in Charge, Social Development, Division of National Affairs in support of foundations' tax exemption as ~~[illegible]~~ investigative measures are imposed on foundations through the House Ways and Means Committee of the U. S. House of Representatives.

DATE: April 15, 1969 (Wilkins' ltr.)
April 29, 1969 (PAnthony's ltr. and enclosures)

SEE:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

FORD FOUNDATION: folder marked: ([redacted])
"A List of Elected Officials benefiting by Ford Monies. VEP"

May 19, 1969

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please remove the following name from our mailing list:

City Commissioner E. Hilton Knowles
Deerfield Beach, Florida

PA/km

May 13, 1969

Mr. Boisy N. Waiters
Dania City Commissioner
City of Dania
Dania, Florida

Dear Boisy:

We shall add and delete on our mailing list as you indicate.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

May 13, 1969

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please add the following to our mailing list:

City Commissioner Neil A. Butler
P. O. Box 490
Gainesville, Florida 32601

PA/km

P.S.: Please also send Mr. Butler a copy of the Conference Proceedings.

CITY OF DANIA

DANIA, FLORIDA

April 28, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Souther Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street , N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Would like for you to add the name of City Commissioner Neil A. Butler
of P. O. Box 490
Gainsville, Florida 32601

and send him the "Conference Proceedings" of the meeting held there in Atlanta and other material to bring him up to date.

Also regretfully delete the name of City Commissioner E. Hilton Knowles of Deerfield, Beach Florida from the mailing list for he was recalled from office about a week ago.

Give my regards to Vernon in school.

Sincerly,
Boisy N. Waiters
Boisy N. Waiters
Dania City Commissioner

To: Mildred Johnson

file S.C. V.E.P.

June 4, 1969

Mr. George A. Bowdler
1709 Terraceview Drive
West Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Bowdler:

Paul Anthony has asked me to reply in his behalf to your letter of May 15th.as he was unable to do so before leaving on a two week trip.

Paul indicated at the time he gave this to me that he did not have any especially constructive suggestions to make to you and he asked me if I would consider the matter. I am afraid I can not be much more productive in terms of some job situation that would allow you to remain in your study program where you are.

I have discussed the matter of the amount of your stipend from the South Carolina Voter Education Project with some of my colleagues in the Voter Education Project here. Our suggestion is that you take this matter up with Tom Moss, not at our recommendation, but as an original subject of discussion with him. Should he be in touch with us about the situation we will try to be as helpful as possible.

I am sorry that this reply is so vague and seemingly unhelpful. I very much appreciate your situation as I served a church in South Carolina for four years myself before moving to Atlanta in 1959.

Yours sincerely,

The Rev. John B. Morris
Special Assistant for
Program Development

JBM:mjc

1709 Terraceview Drive
West Columbia, S.C.
May 15, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I would like to stay in the South and continue to work for progressive and liberal efforts, but things are becoming increasingly tougher it seems to me for those who take stands on integration, liberal attitudes on current issues such as Vietnam, constitutional rights, etc. Last year an excellent man with a Ph.D. left Claflin College faculty after bitter criticism from conservative, "Uncle Tom" blacks in influential positions in Orangeburg, who opposed his forthright efforts in the community. This year I was given notice of non-renewal of contract at the same college, late notice at that, with no reason given for the action. Among other things I lived in the black neighborhood near the college. I do not know what pressures were put on the president to get rid of me. Another liberal white professor who was outspoken on open housing and other issues such as segregated doctors' offices also at Claflin in Orangeburg has similar problems, and though he was given a contract for next year is really under pressure to leave for other reasons such as an expected leave for advanced study is not forthcoming now. So it seems that whites who could continue to work and influence by having an economic base in black institutions are being forced to leave whenever the power squeeze can be put on black institutions. Those who are too timid or inactive to threaten the status quo of course are allowed to stay.

I am now in need of some sound andrealistic advice and help. My situation is this: I have become very much involved in the voter education work of S.C.VEP and am currently starting out as research assistant with Tom Moss(part-time) while I am working on an M.A. in Political Science at the University of South Carolina. I would like to continue doing both next fall and finish the M.A. next spring and hopefully continue work on a Ph.D. in Political Science and work on a dissertation(which might even be published) which would materially assist black elected officials in the state(for example, there has not been an authoritative study made of county government in South Carolina since the 1930's and that was done in Chapel Hill!). At any rate I would like to stay and make a contribution to changing the South, but I have six dependents and if I get a job offer from another area I will have to leave.

Apparently I started too late this year to be considered for a fellowship from Southern Fellowships Fund or Southern Education Foundation. Is there any other program that might help me get through this next academic year? Could the currently authorized stipend for research assistant from SRC/VEP be increased from $ 300 a month to $ 400 in this case? Could SRC initiate a program that would keep and encourage opinion-molder whites to remain in the South? Your suggestions and assistance will be appreciated. Enclosed is a resume' and photo in case it might be necessary to have them available.

Sincerely,

George A. Bowden

wep files

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • 387-7050
LLOYD DAVIS, PRESIDENT FREDERICK B. ROUTH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

30 June 69

Mr. Paul Anthony, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia
30303

Dear Paul:

Greetings, good friend, from the Capital City on the Potomac where we are having highs at the 100° mark ! Woweee, it's somethnin !

As I mentioned to you, Ramsey Clark spoke today at the National Civil Liberties Clearing House; he did right well, as you would expect. The most frightening thing he said was that some legislation dealing with foundations would obviously be passed; he did add that the language used by IRS and the House Ways and Means Committee was not "legislative language" and would be modified; he urged all groups to stay in close touch on this matter and to make their positions known lest we lose by default.

One other thing he said that should gladden your heart was,

> "I see Wiley Branton is here. If the proposed legislation is passed the Voter Education Project would be killed. The VEP had greater impact than the '65 Voting Rights Act itself. Without it, the Voting Rights Act would have failed; the mere naked right to vote is far from adequate. There is a very real question if government may work at voter registration or education; VEP can and did a great job."

Not bad praise from the former Attorney General of the United States.

Mary Alice Baldinger said that she had also written you about coming up for Clark's talk; she asked me to say that she, too, was sorry you couldn't make it.

When I called t'other day, Mildred said you were at the doctor's taking some tests ? What's up ?

Warmest and best. As ever, Fred

CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST
Vol. 2, No. 2 Spring 1969

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file - rep. (PA)

The Black Vote in Danger

In August 1965, the first certificate issued under the Voting Rights Act was given to a black woman from Selma, Alabama—Mrs. Ardies Mauldin. There was much appropriate about this event.

First of all, it was Selma and the violence there in the spring of 1965 that led to the Voting Rights Act. Secondly, it was fitting that Mrs. Mauldin lead the way. Her teen-age son was a local youth leader in the civil rights movement. He was a part of the generation that assaulted racial injustice with such vigor in the early sixties. Thirdly, it was fitting that Mrs. Mauldin be the first because she is probably typical of the thousands of black people across the Deep South who have registered with the assistance of Federal examiners since 1961. She herself is neither a civil rights leader nor a "militant." She is not an "activist" in today's meaning of that word. She is simply an Alabama woman who feels that she is entitled to the right to vote the same as anyone else. That is probably characteristic of the 158,000 blacks who have registered through Federal examiners since August 1965.

Last December, Mrs. Mauldin got into the national news when several hundred Negro leaders gave President Johnson a gold-plated replica of her voting certificate. The occasion was a farewell reception for Mr. Johnson. A few weeks thereafter, a research assistant from the Voter Education Project went to Selma to interview Mrs. Mauldin. During the interview, the research assistant happened to mention the scheduled expiration of important provisions of the Voting Rights Act in 1970. Mrs. Mauldin was surprised to hear this and a bit troubled. Thinking back to all that Selma Negroes had to go through to get on the voting books, she declared: "It really would be bad to have to go back."

Mrs. Mauldin, in saying this, again is probably typical of the thousands of black people who have registered under the Voting Rights Act. The vast majority of black people registered under the Act undoubtedly share her feeling that one trip to the registrar's office, Federal or local, should be enough. The vast majority, like Mrs. Mauldin, no doubt are unaware that important sanctions of the Voting Rights Act are up for expiration next year. The vast majority, again like Mrs. Mauldin undoubtedly would be dismayed at the thought of having "to go back."

But that is the prospect faced by Mrs. Mauldin and thousands of other black people in the South as 1969 spins past and as 1970 approaches. That is the prospect faced by those of us who have labored in the field of voter registration in the South, trying to help Mrs. Mauldin and others like her get on the voting books. That is the prospect faced by a promising new crop of black elected officeholders in the South—whose ranks now number nearly 400—as they contemplate the possible loss of thousands of black voters from the registration lists.

There seems to be an impression, in Washington and in the Nation, that the Voting Rights Act has solved all the problems of voter discrimination in the South. We know that such an impression exists because we hear it repeatedly from otherwise well-informed visitors who come to our office from other regions and other countries. Indeed, a highly regarded national newspaper noted in a front-page article as recently as last October that "federal registrars have been signing up *millions* of black voters in the South." We wish it were so. But the actual figure, as I already have mentioned, is in the neighborhood of 158,000.

True, Negro voter registration *has* increased dramatically in the South. In the election of last November there was an increase of nearly one million in Negro registration in the South over the previous presidential election. And most of this increase has come in the States covered in full by the Voting Rights Act—Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia. In fact, black registration in these six States has increased 740,000 since August of 1965, when the Voting Rights Act went into effect.

Now, at first glance this seems a remarkable accomplishment. Black registration in the six States fully covered has almost doubled in three and a half years. The number of black elected officials in the region has gone from about 70 in 1965 to 400 today. No question about it, this is progress—significant progress. But that is only one side of the picture.

In the South, there are more than five million Negroes of voting age. Yet, black registration is just above three million. Thus, even with the help of the Voting Rights Act, nearly two million Negroes of voting age in the South remain unregistered. Only 62 percent of voting-age Negroes are registered in the Southland. Among whites in the region, however, 78 percent of the voting-age population is registered to vote. So, despite the boost given by the Voting Rights Act, much remains to be done before it can be said that black people are full partners in the Southern political process.

Although much of the increase in black registration has come in the six States covered in full by the Voting Rights Act, the situation in these six States still is a bit worse than the situation in the region as a whole. In these six States, only 57 percent of the voting-age blacks are registered. White registration in these six States, however, stands at 79 percent of the adult white population.

This is the situation *with* the Voting Rights Act. Before the Voting Rights Act was adopted only 31 percent of the voting-age blacks in the six States—less than one-third—were registered to vote. So without question, the Voting Rights Act has made a difference. Much has been accomplished with only moderate and partial enforcement of the Voting Rights Act. How much more might have been accomplished if the Act had been fully enforced.

Of 517 counties in the six States fully covered by the Voting Rights Act, Federal examiners have been sent to only 58. Make no mistake about it, black people in the South very much prefer going before a Federal examiner to going before a local registrar. There is a difference in attitude. There is a difference in setting: for many black people fear and dread the local county

Percentage of Voting Age Negroes Registered in Southern States Covered in Whole or in Part by the Voting Rights Act of 1965

	Before the Passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965[a]	Spring 1968[b]
Alabama	19.3	53.0
Georgia	27.4	55.1
Louisiana	31.6	60.1
Mississippi	6.7	44.0
North Carolina	46.8	——
South Carolina	37.3	46.5
Virginia	38.3	——

Source: [a]U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Political Participation*, 1968. [b]*The Annual Report of the Attorney General of the United States, Fiscal Year 1968.* Although 39 counties in North Carolina and all of Virginia are covered by the Act, the Department of Justice does not have statistics on either State. 1968 Voter Education Project figures for North Carolina and Virginia are 55.3 and 58.4 percent respectively.

courthouse, which is for many of them a symbol of injustice and oppression. There is a difference, too, in procedure. As Mrs. Mauldin points out, "It didn't take but a few minutes. I don't know why it couldn't have been like that in the first place."

No Federal examiners have been assigned in Virginia, which is wholly covered by the Act, or in North Carolina, which is partly covered. Federal examiners have been assigned in only three Georgia counties and only two in South Carolina. All the rest have been assigned in Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana.

Federal examiners are not constantly available to register black people, even in the counties to which they are assigned. Federal examiners are available to register people only at intervals. They come and go. For example, there were no Federal registration activities in the South during the final quarter of 1968, despite the approach of important municipal elections in Mississippi.

Finally, in surveying the present scene, I might mention the problem of enforcement resources in Washington. When he came to Atlanta in December to address our historic Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials just before leaving office, the distinguished former Attorney General, Ramsey Clark, pointed out that the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department had fewer than 100 lawyers to enforce not only the Voting Rights Act, but school desegregation, open accommodation, and all the other civil rights laws as well. As Mr. Clark asserted, this force is woefully inadequate for enforcing a single law, or for enforcing Federal civil rights laws in a single State.

Only this month the U.S. Supreme Court upheld an important provision of the Voting Rights Act. But such decisions, as well as the Act itself, cannot be fully meaningful unless the Federal Government is prepared to supply adequate resources for enforcement. No one realizes this better than the black people of the South, who all too often have called upon Washington for help that either was slow in arriving or did not arrive at all.

I personally hope that Congress and the Administration will see that the resources for civil rights enforcement are increased rather than decreased. I know only too well that certain forces for retrogression in the South are sensitive to the slightest relaxation in this area. Whenever and wherever these forces feel the slightest sponginess from the Washington level, you may be sure that they will take advantage of it.

Having discussed the past and present aspects of the Voting Rights Act, let us now turn to the future. Unless Congress acts this year or next year, the sanctions of the Voting Rights Act will go out of existence in August 1970. What then?

Once Southern States are freed from the bonds of the Voting Rights Act, it is highly likely that they will want to do something about their 740,000 new black voters, whose presence on the voting lists is profoundly affecting Southern politics. It is highly likely that these

Education & Literacy Tests

"It would be incongruous to allow a state or county to disenfranchise people for an inability to pass a literacy test, when that ability was denied them as a result of discriminatory state action." Judge J. Skelly Wright, *Gaston County v. United States.*

As a result of the segregated and inferior education provided to Negroes throughout the South, the educational attainment and literacy level of blacks is lower than that of whites throughout the South. This inequality could not be corrected in a five year period but will continue throughout the lifetimes of the persons affected. Moreover, segregated unequal education still continues in the South. Only 20 percent of the 2.5 million black elementary and high school students in the South attend schools with white children.

Aside from the racially segregated character of public schools, the quality of education offered in Negro schools is markedly inferior to that offered in white schools. By almost any measure—value of school property, per pupil expenditures for instructional materials, number of library books per child, number of schools accredited, variety of elective course offerings, length of time for instruction—Negro schools rate well below white schools.

Partly because of these disparities, black sixth graders in the rural South are 1.8 grade levels behind their white counterparts; there is a 2.9 grade level difference in the ninth grade, and a 3.7 grade level difference in the twelfth grade. Thus, the time is not yet in sight when literacy requirements for voter registration will not discriminate against Negroes in the South.

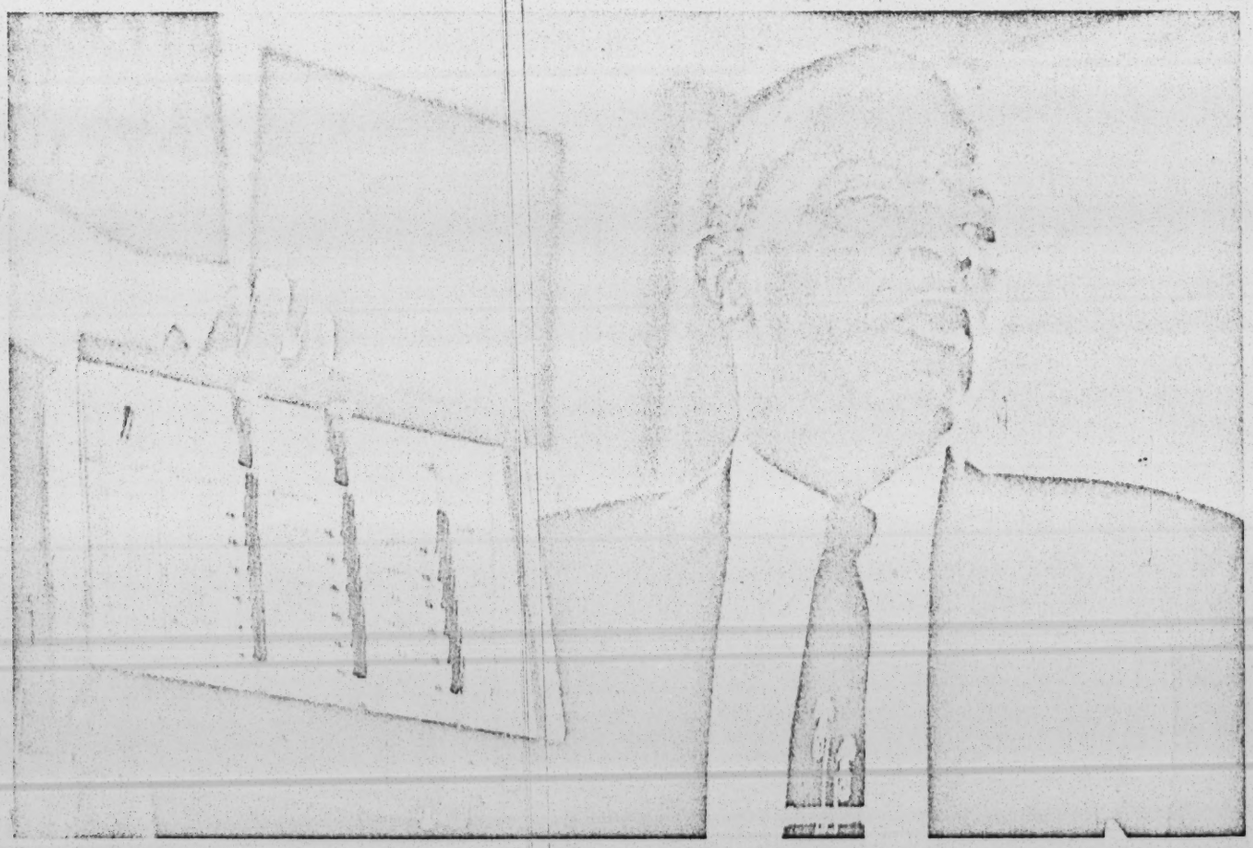
States will require—as South Carolina did in 1967—that all voters re-register. A number of localities in the South—West Feliciana Parish in Louisiana being prominent among them—already have procedures requiring re-registration.

As black leaders in West Feliciana Parish have pointed out, re-registration can be a considerable burden for Negroes who were fearful and reluctant about going to the courthouse in the first place. But once the prohibitions of the Voting Rights Act are removed, re-registration would be a means of reviewing the registration status of those blacks who have registered under the Act. In fact, several States have retained literacy tests in their election codes and thus stand in a position to reactivate these tests once the restraints of the Voting Rights Act are out of the way.

The election of nearly 400 black officials is only one way in which newly registered Negro voters are affecting the politics of the South. These new voters also are changing some of the faces and attitudes of white officeholders. This is occurring in quiet and barely noticeable ways (although sometimes it is quite noticeable) in scores of cities and counties across the South. It is occurring even in such places as Selma and Dallas County, Alabama. As Mrs. Mauldin puts it, the white officeholders "have kind of been pushed up to it since they got so many colored votes."

There are many white politicians in the South who resent being "pushed up to it" by newly registered black voters. There are, of course, some white politicians in the South who have learned to deal comfortably with large groups of black voters. But for every one of them, there are dozens of other Southern politicians who would like to go back to the "good old days" when large numbers of black voters didn't have to be taken into account. Life was simpler when one had to fashion an appeal and a record aimed at white voters only.

It might be argued that the South is changing and that black people need no longer fear white-written election codes and white-run registration offices. To be sure, there have been some slight changes—thanks in large part to the Voting Rights Act and the ever-present threat of having Federal examiners sent in and the influence of newly registered voters. Some registrars (though by no means all) have learned to pronounce the word "Negro." Some have learned to use courtesy



titles when Negroes present themselves for registration. But despite all this, old attitudes and hostilities persist in the atmosphere at many registration offices across the South.

The Voter Education Project from its beginning in 1962 has had the requirement that the registration programs funded by us send us periodic progress reports. At first, of course, the reports were dramatic documents, replete with stories of violence, confrontation, and direct action. The struggle for the ballot made headlines across the country.

There are fewer such headlines today, but the struggle is far from won. Our reports still tell us of registrars maintaining short or irregular hours, of registrars arbitrarily closing their offices without notice, of chicanery being used to keep Negroes from voting, of Negroes being treated discourteously by registrars. We hear over and over, from the 100 or more registration programs that we support each year, that blacks fear economic reprisals if they register—such as being fired or evicted, of losing lines of credit, or being put off the welfare rolls.

This is an excerpt from a report on a program in Alabama: "The local Board of Registrars did attempt to hinder the registering of Negro voters during the drive. When a Negro sought to register they made a point of delaying him, often taking the application of whites ahead of the Negro, even though the whites entered the office after the Negro. If the names and addresses of the two witnesses submitted by a Negro were not listed in the telephone directory, the registrar refused to accept them as witnesses, forcing the Negro voter to return to the registrar's office another time.

"In the case of elderly voters, who might be easily confused, the registrars would ask for proof of age. For those receiving pensions the registrar advised them to obtain this necessary proof from the Department of Pensions and Security office, also located in the courthouse. However, this office would tell the Negroes that they no longer had this proof of age or that the proof-of-age document had been mailed to them just that morning. Thus, the Negro was prevented from registering, with the blame being shifted from the Board of Registrars to the Department of Pensions and Security. This occurred repeatedly, an apparent device to limit the registering of Negro voters."

A report from Mississippi tells of 169 people who had been approached by canvassers but had given one excuse or another for refusing to register. The report continues: "They still have beliefs of what the white man told them in the beginning. They didn't need to register, or if they did he would make them move off his plantation and cut their credit off."

Voter registration can still touch off violence in the South, despite the existence of the Voting Rights Act. Last fall one home was bombed and a shot was fired into another in Leake County, Mississippi. The violence, part of a series of such incidents stretching back to 1961, was aimed at people engaged in voter registration and voter education work. Recently, a report from north Louisiana noted that some of the 55 people who refused to register told canvassers: "You people are trying to get us killed." Although voter registration may be as American as apple pie, it still can be hazardous in much of the Deep South.

Federal presence, or the threat of Federal presence, still is needed also to protect ballots cast by blacks.

Black Elected Officials in the Southern States

	Ala.	Ark.	Fla.	Ga.	La.	Miss.	N.C.	S.C.	Tenn.	Texas	Va.	TOTALS
U.S. Congress	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Statewide Offices	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
State Senate	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	5
State House	0	0	1	12	1	1	1	0	6	2	1	25
Local Offices	70	55	22	18	62	50	17	27	22	18	23	384
TOTALS	70	55	23	32	63	51	18	27	30	21	24	414

Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., April 21, 1969.

The VEP office continues to receive reports of election irregularities of all types. One tells of whole ballots about to be thrown out in a Mississippi county because of a few incorrect markings on them, until a Federal observer intervened. A report from another Mississippi county tells of black voters seeking assistance and being misinstructed by white "helpers" to vote for George Wallace. Still another says: "If the new voters were not actually abused at the polling places, they were thoroughly confused and made to feel ignorant and inferior. This kind of thing spread into the community and many more prospective voters are convinced that politics is a white man's game." And I can report that black leaders in Hancock County, Georgia, are convinced that not the first one of their four black officials could have been elected if their county had not been the first in Georgia to which Federal observers were sent.

It should be kept in mind that these are reports on *post*-Act conditions. We are talking, for the most part, about matters that have been reported in recent months. If conditions can be, and are, this difficult *with* the Voting Rights Act, then we can imagine how difficult they will be if the coverage of the Act is allowed to expire.

So the Act must be extended. But I personally do not wish to settle for that. Enforcement of the Act should be strengthened.

Southern States make the argument that they should not be singled out for coverage in the Act. Their argument is partly valid, partly invalid. Certainly, there is reason to apply the Act in those States which have been most flagrant in denying the ballot to black people. But certainly there is logic also to extending Federal protection to minority groups anywhere in the country who face discrimination in attempting to exercise their right to vote.

Certainly, more effective and widespread use should be made of Federal examiners and observers because of the continuing practices described, both in counties to which examiners and observers have been sent and those to which they have not been sent.

Perhaps the burden of designating counties for coverage should be lifted from the Attorney General. Perhaps designation could be made automatic when nonwhite registration is below, say, two-thirds of the eligible number. This would remove the designation of counties from the pressures and cross-currents of Washington politics. It would spare the Attorney General the burden of deciding where to move in and

where to stay out.

At present the Act permits political subdivisions to petition for withdrawal of examiners when more than 50 percent of the non-white voting-age population is registered. Many counties that have, or should have, Federal examiners have moved past that point since 1965. Among these counties are some of the worst in the South and they should remain designated for Federal examiners and observers. Accordingly, this 50 percent figure should be raised to, perhaps, two-thirds.

There are many other recommendations that could be made to strengthen the Act and its enforcement. For example, the Federal Government should make announcements well in advance and seek to publicize the announcements heavily when Federal examiners and observers are being assigned. Blacks deserve to know when examiners are being sent in to provide them a chance to register. They also deserve to know in advance that there is less chance that an approaching election will be rendered meaningless by irregularities. Moreover, Federal observers should be clearly identified so that whites and blacks alike will know of their presence. The Justice Department should have at all times staff and resources to review changes in State election laws aimed at weakening the ballots of black people.

A case can be made for extension of the Voting Rights Act, or for some law like it, for strengthening of existing voting-rights legislation, and for stronger enforcement of existing legislation. Certain steps are necessary to guarantee the rights of black people in the South to participate fully in the American political process.

We also can demonstrate that there is no decline of interest on our part, or on the part of Southern Negroes generally, in getting people registered to vote. Indeed, we have sponsored, or helped to sponsor, over 400 programs in 11 Southern States during the last three years, the vast majority of which involve voter registration. We intend to keep at the task until we feel that it has been finished. And like Mrs. Mauldin, we hope that we don't have "to go back" and retrace our efforts of the last three years because Congress and the Administration feel that enough has been done to protect the voting rights of black people in the South.

Most of the problems of the ghettos in the North and West have their roots in remote areas of the South. For many years Negroes in the South have been oppressed, starved, disfranchised, and dehumanized. Voting-rights legislation holds out at least the hope of correcting these wrongs within the democratic system. If this Federal support is lost, either through expiration or nonenforcement, no amount of persuasion will ever "bring us together again."

VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.

Mr. Jordan is the Director of the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project. This article is based on his remarks to the National Civil Liberties Clearinghouse in March 1969.

Changing State Voting Laws

Under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, when a State or political subdivision covered by the Act seeks to change its voting qualifications or procedures, it must either obtain the approval of the U.S. Attorney General or initiate a suit in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. If the Attorney General objects to the changes, they may not be enforced until the court rules that they do not have the purpose and will not have the effect of denying to any person the right to vote because of his race or color. If the Attorney General does not object, the new qualifications or procedures may be enforced 60 days after their submission.

The Mississippi Legislature in 1966, in reaction to the increased Negro vote brought about by the Voting Rights Act, passed 12 bills and resolutions which altered substantially the State's election laws. Despite the requirements of Section 5, the State made no submission to the Attorney General and the new laws were enforced. The 1966 legislation, among other things, changed from district to at-large the voting for county supervisors, made the selection of an important county officer in certain counties appointive instead of elective, and increased the difficulty for an independent candidate to gain a position on the general election ballot.

It was not until March 3, 1969, that the U.S. Supreme Court in *Allen v. State Board of Elections* determined that the Mississippi legislation was covered by Section 5 and could not be enforced until after its submission to the Attorney General. Thus, Mississippi Negroes have been deprived of almost four years of Section 5 protection, which now has begun when the Act is a year away from expiration.

THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN

SILLIMAN EVANS SR. *(Publisher, 1937-1955)* SILLIMAN EVANS JR. *(Publisher, 1955-1961)*

AMON C. EVANS, Executive Vice President and Publisher

JOHN SEIGENTHALER, Editor LLOYD ARMOUR, Associate Editor

The news columns shall be fair and accurate and the editorial columns shall be honest and just in the expression of conscientious opinion.—Silliman Evans Sr.

file
rep. gen.

Time for Voters Rights On a Nationwide Scale

THE NIXON administration has dropped a bombshell of sorts into Congress with its first major civil rights proposal, a nationwide attack on barriers to voting.

Appearing before the House Judiciary Committee, Attorney General John Mitchell said the administration will oppose extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act because it is regional legislation.

★ ★ ★

The 1965 act, which expires 13 months from now, applies to seven southern states, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia and 39 counties in North Carolna. Since its enactment more than 800,000 Negroes have been added to the poll books in those states.

A good many northern liberals support a simple five year extension of the 1965 act. During his campagin, President Nixon wooed southern votes by promising that the region would not be singled out for special treatment on civil rights.

Against this background, the administration could have simply balked at the extension. It has, instead, come up with some worthwhile proposals to protect the privilege of voting across the nation.

The administration wants a nationwide ban on literacy tests for voters, which are still on the books in 13 states — Alaska, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Oregon, Washington and Wyoming.

Another part of the package would ban state residency requirements for voters in presidential elections, which barred 5.5 million Americans from the polls last November.

The attorney general also asked for authority to send federal examiners into any part of the country to investigate violations of voting rights and broader authority to challenge local voting regulations.

It was interesting that some of the immediate opposition to the plan came from congressmen representing states with literacy tests. Apparently it is one thing to assure that southern Negroes have the right to vote and quite another to apply the same standards to the black, the poor, the Indians and the Spanish peoples of other areas.

The 1965 act was a needed step in the struggle for equality of all Americans. It has accomplished a good part of its goal, but federal authorities should not let up in their efforts to eliminate voter discrimination in the south.

★ ★ ★

At the same time, additional steps are needed to insure voting rights for other Americans. In an age of instant communications, formal literacy is not an essential measure of the ability to make informed judgments about candidates and issues. Nor is there any excuse for barring those who participate in a mobile society from the polls for one or two years in national elections.

Congress should make sure there is no letup in inforcement of voting rights in the south. But it should not stand in the way of extending even broader rights to all citizens in all parts of the nation.

VEP-69-68

July 2, 1969

Mr. Jake Ayers, Sr.
Washington County Improvement Assn.
P. O. Box 815
Greenville, Miss. 38701

Dear Mr. Ayers:

The Voter Education Project has carefully considered the request of the Washington County Improvement Association for a grant to conduct a voter registration campaign in Washington County, Mississippi. We are pleased to inform you that we have approved your program in the amount of $2,090.00 for a period of eight weeks to run from July 1 to August 26, 1969.

We are limiting the grant to eight weeks subject to review and the availability of additional funds. The amount granted is to cover the following:

a)	Director's Expenses	@ $15.00 per week	$ 120.00
b)	Coordinators	(2 @ $30.00 per week)	480.00
c)	Secretary	(1 @ $30.00 per week)	240.00
d)	Canvassers	(5 @ $20.00 per week)	800.00
e)	Transportation	($50.00 per week)	400.00
f)	Office Supplies		50.00
TOTAL			$2,090.00

Our guidelines require you to establish a separate bank account and forward to VEP a copy of the signature card, and an ample supply of deposit slips and the name and address of the bank. Please submit the following address to your bank: Washington County VEP, VEP-69-68, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303. The

Project will mail a deposit directly to the bank for an amount approximating two weeks cash supply for the program. A copy of the deposit slip will be forwarded to you. You should, however, instruct the bank to mail all bank statements directly to the VEP. These will become a part of our recores, and should you need access to them, they will be available.

A report itemizing all disbursements and enclosing appropriate vouchers for each disbursement is expected each Wednesday of each week. This report is to be certified by the individual responsible for your project reporting by placing his signature in the appropriate space on the weekly report. The Project will audit this report and reimburse the bank account for the amount spent. We are enclosing a copy of the Reporting Requirements of Recipient Organizations. You and other officers of your project should read these carefully and familiarize yourselves with the requirements.

To facilitate the Project's research aims, you are required to submit weekly reports setting forth the following: a) number of persons registered, b) method used in getting persons to the registration office, c) increase of number of new voters in the one week period, d) problems, if any, encountered with local registrars, police, or private citizens, e) threats of intimidation or economic reprisal, if any, f) samples of materials, leaflets, programs. These reports should accompany weekly financial reports. Suggested forms for this reporting are provided. A monthly narrative report also is required.

These funds may not be used to support partisan politics in any manner whatsoever, nor to influence legislation of any kind, nor in behalf of or against any political candidate. You should strongly urge and welcome non-partisan support of your voter registration activities.

Our Director of Research will write you regarding further reporting requirements.

If you have any questions, please let us hear from you.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

July 7, 1969

Mr. Joseph C. Goulden
6416 - 22nd Road, North
Arlington, Virginia 22205

Dear Mr. Goulden:

Enclosed are several pieces of materials related to your inquiry. I look forward to having you visit us here in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures: VEP STATEMENT ON TAX SITUATION
SAMPLE OF VEP GRANT LETTER
VEP GUIDELINES FOR GRANTS
SRC'S TAX EXEMPTION RESOLUTION
~~SRC~~'S LETTER OF TAX EXEMPTION OF March, 1962
WCP

Recd 7/1/69

June 27, 1969
6416 - 22d Road North
Arlington, Va. 22205

Mr. Paul Anthony
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

For several months I have been working on a book on foundations and related organizations, to be published by Random House. A major section of my book will be devoted to an attempt to put into perspective the current controversy over so-called "political activities" of foundations and adjunct organizations such as the Southern Regional Council.

A person I interviewed recently took the liberty of letting me scan an SRC memo dated April 30, 1969, which spelled out operating principles for your Voter Education Project. However, he did not feel privileged to permit me to take notes from the memo, since it did not originate in his office.

I would be very appreciative if you would supply me with a copy of this memo, as well as the IRS letter of March, 1962, granting your exemption under Section 501 (c) (3), and any descriptive literature which you might have concerning Council projects. In my talks with persons at Ford Foundation and elsewhere I have received the impression that the Council is zealous in its efforts to abide by both the spirit and the letter of the law concerning tax-exempt organizations -- what I need now is the chapter and verse of rules under which your grantees operate.

Later this summer I intend to be in the South for further interviews, and will attempt to come through Atlanta. If so, I hope that we can have a chat.

Best wishes,

Joseph C. Goulden

Joseph C. Goulden

MEMORANDUM July 9, 1969

To: Ruth H. Vick

From: Paul Anthony

If I have not already put this in writing, this is official notification that all funds received by the Voter Education Project -- other than those received from the Ford and New World Foundations -- are subject to a 20% overhead for general operations. And, this overhead should be deducted at the time contributions are received.

In the case of Ford, overhead for the total support from the Foundation has already been budgeted, and you have that figure.

In the case of support from the New World Foundation, an adjustment downward will have to be made, since we receive from the Foundation separate support for general operations. That amount will have to be determined in December. Please remind me of this then.

-o-

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

July 22, 1969

M E M O R A N D U M

TO : Kathy Martin

FROM : Eugene McLemore

SUBJECT: Refund from travel check

Attached is cash in the amount of $52.69. This is a refund from the $100.00 travel check I received July 8, 1969.

file
rep - Service Centers
Gen.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME:

Republican Nat'l. Committee
(Mr. Rogers. C. B. Morton)

REGARDING:

Endorsement of Service Centers
for Black Elected Officials

DATE(S):

July 23, 1969

SEE:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

Rep. Nat'l. Ctee

SEE ALSO:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

Ford Foundation, 1969
(sent to Mike Sviridoff - 9/28/69)

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM July 28, 1969

To: Members of the Executive Committee

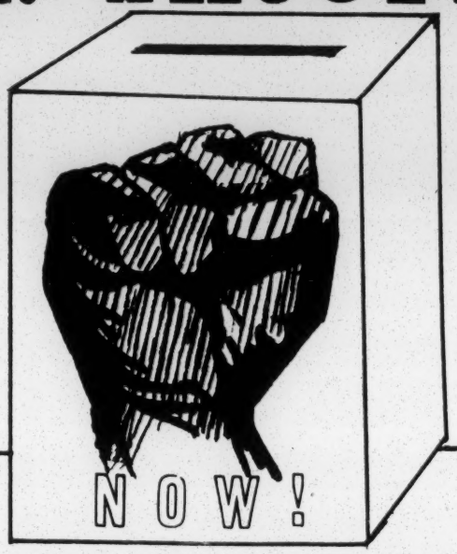
From: Paul Anthony

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to Vernon Jordan from Rogers C. B. Morton, chairman of the Republican National Committee.

The Service Centers for Black Elected Officials at predominantly Negro Colleges -- our major, current effort in the Voter Project -- now has the endorsement of both the Democratic and Republican National Committees.

The V.E.P. Intern News

A PUBLICATION OF THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT SUMMER INTERN PROGRAM



SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST., N.W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

VOL. II --- No. 2 July 1969

THE STOUFFER RETREAT

Sandra Philpot

* * * * *

At the Second Annual Stouffer Scholars' Retreat at Quail Roost, Durham, North Carolina, four college students participated in a panel discussion on "The College Scene Today." The four students were Calvin Rogers, North Carolina Central University, Durham, North Carolina; Edith Ervin, Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama; Sandra Green, 69 Graduate of Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.; and Sandra Philpot, Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina. The three sister members of the panel are VEP summer interns.

The panelists gave a brief run-down of our institution in terms of the setup of the curriculum, problems we had been confronted with, ways and means of how we had attempted to solve them, and our views of the colleges today.

Cont'd p. 2.

Reprint

The Summer Intern Director wrote a letter recently to Marvin Wall, Director of Research, informing him of the program's progress.

Eugene McLemore

Dear Marvin:

We can take great pride in the dedication and skills of the students selected for the Summer Intern Program. This program has definitely established itself as a vital part of the Voter Education Project. After observing the interns for the past six weeks, I have no doubt as to their concern and worth to the communities in which they have been assigned.

For the most part, each intern is living up to the basic philosophy which the program espouses. That is, they are actually becoming a part of the communities in the true sense of the word. In more specific terms, this means that they are attending church, organizing youth leagues, and in some areas teaching black history classes.

Of course, some are experiencing the many frustrations and anxities which characterize voter

Cont'd p. 2.

Stouffer Scholars' Retreat

All panelists except Sandra Green attend predominantly black, but white oriented liberal arts colleges. The education students have been receiving at these institutions, according to the panelists, has not been geared toward adequately preparing black students to help solve the problems of the black community. We agreed that just setting up a Black Studies Program on campus was not enough. The entire curriculum needs to be revamped in order for black students to get the most of their college education.

Due to the fact that Sandra Green graduated from a predominantly white liberal arts college, she has had to deal with situations that many of the Stouffer Scholars had faced or would face in their predominantly southern white prep schools.

Campus violence, a part of the college scene today, was dealt with by the panelist from Bennett. The one campus used as an example was Duke University in Durham, from which the idea of Malcolm X Liberation University stemmed. The black students at Duke realized, after running against the brick wall of racism, that a counter institution, whose purpose would be to provide a framework within which black stu dents could receive an education relevant to the needs of the black community and the struggle for liberation, was necessary. Thus Malcolm X Liberation University will open in October, 1969 in Durham, North Carolina.

As stated in the purpose of Malcolm X Liberation University it will "develop a Black Ideology, crystalize and project positive self-awareness for black people, and create an educational process that builds and diseminates concepts, techniques and concrete skills to the black community."

Cont'd p. 3.

Eugene McLemore

registration drives. Doors have been slammed in their faces, some community meetings have produced only three or four people, some key project personnel have shown lack of genuine community concern, and, in many cases they have discovered that the "so-called" leaders are not leaders at all. Yet, their desire to see black people become politically effective in their communities have not been tarnished or impeded by these negative experiences.

An intern in North Carolina said that "for the first time in my life I am beginning to fully understand the problems confronting black people in this country. Prior to my intern assignment, it was easy for me to use high lofty phrases and generalize rhetoric and my expression of problems faced by the black community. Today, however, it is a different story and I hope to return home and be just as effective there as I have attempted to be here."

One intern was assigned to her home community; she thought that she had returned to a model community for voter registration. However, this assignment gave her the opportunity to know her community for the first time. She didn't have any idea that the black people in her community had so much fear and apathy toward voter registration and political participation. This caused considerable frustration, so much in fact, that she pondered with the idea of dropping out of the program. Of course, she did not and has become one of the most effective interns we have.

From North Carolina to Louisiana, VEP Summer Interns are "doing their thing": and in this instance, "doing their thing" means helping black people become politically potent. Having to canvass at 105° plus, attending nightly community meetings in various sections of a county is not an easy task.

Cont'd p. 3

Stouffer Scholars' Retreat

This, and other institutions with the same ideology is what black brothers and sisters need in order for us to receive a relevant education.

When asked by Brother Vernon Jordan, Jr., Director of the VEP, who was moderator of the panel, we gave our expressions about SDS, representation on boards of trustees and permissions. The general consensus of the panel was that there is no need for SDS trying to speak to the needs of black people and make decisions for black people, or with them. No coalitions should be formed with white liberals and groups such as SDS in our revolutionary struggle. Black people are quite capable of doing "our own thing."

In terms of representation on boards or communities that make decisions that affect student life, be it in the classroom, or on or off the campus.

# # #

A SOLUTION

Utilize and synthesize
to realize
THE PROBLEM: years of
deception
frustration
castration
vacillation
mis-education
forced integration
social degradation
brutal segregation
racial exploitation
intellectual masturbation
MUST LEAD TO postulation
on a new situation:
Liberation through Africanization

---Kerry Holman

Eugene McLemore

But these dedicated students have taken on the responsibility of working with and for communities across the South and they are doing it admiringly.

Sincerely,

Eugene McLemore
Director
Summer Intern Program

# # #

HOW PROUD I AM-------
TO STUDENT INTERNS

How proud I am
How great I feel,
To know Student Interns
Are for real.

We are growing quick
We are growing fast,
And we are understanding
Blackness as a fundamental task.

Some of our naturals are thick
And some are thin,
But our love for Black people
Is as strong as a hurricane
wind.

How proud I am
How great I feel
To know Brothers and Sisters,
Who are for real.

---Charles Whitaker, Jr.
Newberry County, S. C.

# # #

A MESSAGE ON ALLEGIANCE

By

Tap Taplin

# # # # #

Voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training, the three objectives of the Voter Education Project are unquestionably means to better the welfare of black people within the existing power structures. As interns we have committed ourselves to these aims, but I think that it is important that we begin to make some distinctions. An important aspect of our job is to remind black elected officials that they represent black folk. They have nothing to gain by protecting the existing power structures when it does nothing to aid black folk. If a man has to take a stand in defense of his people, a stand that opposes the system then the job can be sacrificed. Black elected officials must recognize that it is only with black votes and limited liberal white strength that they have those offices.

This is not an unjust accusation, but a reaffirmation of our first commitment to the black people of the South. I think some black elected officials have shirked that commitment in defense of a "breakthrough." Recently a black judge was appointed by one of our Southern Governors. At the National Democratic Party Hearings on Reforms in that state, this judge refused to publicly testify to the discriminatory practices of that party in the state. This refusal was not because the judge did not recognize how unjust the Democratic Party was in Louisiana, but because he did not want to antagonize the Governor, who had just appointed him. It made no difference to him that all the black leaders who had pressured the Governor's office for this appointment were there testifying. This particular official should be reminded that he faces no dilemma.

His office exist for a black man because of pressure from other black men.

Last summer three black police jurors once had occasion to be called into consultation with a white judge, long known to be the political boss in that area directly before an important police jury vote. They should have nothing to be consulted about. Their only consultation should have been with the black constituency that they represented. At election time black elected officials have to answer to a black electorate, and no matter how many "consultations" those police jurors had with the white judge it will not keep them their jobs. Of course if it did then they should not want a seat on the police jury.

The only vested interest that black officials have is the welfare of black people. One black elected official told me that he could not be seen with a group of welfare demonstrators, all black, on the steps of the state capitol because it would damage his image. What image is he worried about? We have not reached the point of political sophistication where we can start to defend our image for white folks. It does not make a bit of difference how we appear before them. When election time comes around the only image they see is that of a black man.

As interns our own objectives should always classify as paramount the welfare of black folk. This would mean that we will not work to increase registration only to strengthen the lid of repression and oppression over black people. Mr. Jordan pointed out at the beginning of our program that we claimed to crave a "black experience," but I wish to remind him that the experience is not to sell our own commitments short. Black political participation is only valuable to us in the context of a political system that can benefit black folk. We are not out in the field working to create a class of officeholders who are nothing but white folk's political janitors.

Fellow interns we must serve as the conscience of these men who our people elect to represent us. When we see that an elected official, a leader, begins to adapt the values of the system, over the values of black folk, he must be brought back home. In a time when many of our people have decided to abandon efforts for even the tangible results of registration because they are affiliated with a repressive system, we cannot let the few scraps of evidence of success we do have appear tainted in any way. No, Mr. Jordan, we are not "just rhetoric" for nine months of the year either, but we will refuse to commit ourselves to black political participation in the South if that is to mean that black elected officials forget who they represent.

# # #

WE TELL IT LIKE IT IS

Murdock Smith

. . .In Lee County, Arkansas

It appears that the best thing that could happen here wo would be the creation of some issues over which the black people could get together and work together. At times I have been sorely tempted to call Atlanta and ask to be withdrawn for I felt that the money could be better spent elsewhere, but now I do believe that it is here in a place like Arkansas that the real battle will come. The white people here have been very 'smart', though I do not know whether it is intentional or not, they have given just enough to keep the black people from effectively organizing. In a situation such as it is in Mississippi, Alabama, or Louisiana, in my opinion, more readily handled

Cont'd p. 7

Pat Ware

. . . In Laurens, South Carolina

Our greatest difficulty seems to be convincing our people that it isn't senseless or useless to go to the polls and voice your choice. They cannot seem to understand that they can and must affect changes in their own community. Instead of getting together and forgetting personality differences, they seem to be compelled to continue to bicker among themselves. This difficulty to make the people see the need of organization and the need to accept the responsibility for their own destinies has caused me much anxiety. The need for citizenship classes for the people are apparent. Unfortunately, the people in this town have tended the civic meetings (at least the ones I attended) very sparingly. These meetings just don't seem to be their

Cont'd p. 7

Murdock Smith

for in such states the racial co-option has been and still is very strong and powerful and very apparent. In those states the black people know who their 'enemy' is and has a definite objective, while in a state such as Arkansas the lines are not as clear, it may be that the black people realize who their 'enemy' is, but it is more that they feel that time will bring change---but time is very rapidly running out, if not already totally gone. The people here cannot or will not get together and work together to gain their full rights, in all fields, this may be the result of many years of conditioning or resignation to the fact that the white people here do not want them to participate in political affairs. The greatest difficulty in beginning to solve the problem here is to assist in the realization that the black people must express a unified voice in all issues, a solid voting block which could effectively bring about their desires and demands. As to what could possibly change this situation I do not know, except a continuing effort through stressing the importance of working together.

Pat Ware

groove. Of course there are probably reasons for this I don't know about. Maybe and probably our communication techniques aren't very effective. There seems to be a trend in the black communities of many of the little towns of Laurens County towards prosperity. Too many of the people seem to have become complacent and to have accepted what they have as the zenith of achievement. Too often after knocking on the door of a relatively new, nicely furnished home we have been told "No, I'm not registered. It doesn't do a thing but stir up trouble, besides I'm doing just as well or better than a lot of people who are registered." What do you tell such a man? You stand dumbfounded for a couple of seconds because you know he has children who will or are already attending public schools and he pays property tax and all the other taxes for which he is content not to try to influence how they are spent.

# # #

In political work, "quite often "caution becomes cowardice," indifference becomes complicity, pity becomes castration, and right without might becomes wrong.

# # #

Edith Erwin - - - - Franklinton, North Carolina

Desegregation in the public schools has brought with it the usual problems. Parents complain that their children are all placed together, usually with a black teacher. On the buses, the black students oftentimes have to sit together, usually with a black teacher. One parent cited an example where her six year old daughter was made to sit in the back of the bus, but a teacher who was also on the bus. The child had been sitting where she pleased before that. In addition to the previously mentioned problems, there is also the problem of black principals being replaced by white ones.

Black students in one area, the Youngsville township, cited problems they have encountered. They have no representation in student

Edith Erwin

government affairs, no participation in extra-curricular activities, and other minor problems. To try and counteract these problems, the students have formed a Black Student Organization in hopes of alleviating some of the same problems in September.

Measures are now being taken to negotiate matters with the school board. This meeting will probably take place around the latter part of August.

# # # # #

KATHLEEN KNOX

Rock Hill, South Carolina

I have also become emotional a time or two when I see the small children and how they are oftentimes suffering. One home that I went to in the rural, about 10 miles on the outskirts of Rock Hill revealing the horrors of poverty, neglect and malnutrition working in full force, brought tears to my eyes. When we called at the house to pick up the mother , who is the head of the household of 4 children, she was ready and waiting. She asked us to excuse the appearance of her kitchen because she had not been at home all day. There were two girls, one seven weeks old and the other girl 18 months of age and two boys (ages: 8 and 10).

Upon entering the house there was a distinct odor which I realized in a few minutes was coming from the baby. The little baby was so small until I was afraid at first to handle her for fear of hurting her. Flies were all around the baby as she lay on the couch and when she attempted to cry, there was only

Cont'd p. 9.

LORRAINE TAYLOR

Grambling, Louisiana

I have been through a lot experiences this summer. I experienced seeing and hearing some things I've never seen nor heard before and I don't think I will ever see or hear again.

While canvassing one day I started a conversation with a middle aged lady. She told me that one day a White man wanted to get her attention, so he addressed her as "Nancy." She immediately replied by saying "My mother didn't name me Nancy and I do not wish to be referred to as Nancy. He changed that quick, then decided to answer his question.

One man wasn't going down to register until he found out a Negro was running for office. He said it would do no good to be a registered voter if some of our people couldn't run for office. He also said he knew full well there were many educated Blacks who could hold some of these offices and he feel they should be given a chance. This was an elderly man speaking.

Cont'd p. 9.

Kathleen Knox

a muffled sound---not the cry of a healthy baby. Her skin was and had a spotted appearance. The 18 month sister presented a picture of the other physical extreme. Her body was fat and puffy---I gathered from eating such things as cheese puffs which provided the 3 older children with a meal while I was there.

The baby began to cry and holding her was not the solution. I asked the oldest child if she might be hungry. He told me that she had not eaten since early that morning. That really got to me because I had learned from my mother---a pediatrics nurse---sometime ago that a baby that young should be fed every 4 hours. Why had this little girl who needed nourishment so badly suffered until 6:00 in the evening was the question which went continuously through my mind. I got up and went to the kitchen and prepared her a formula which she was gulping so fast until I was praying that she would not choke. The baby fell asleep and I spent the rest of my time playing with the other 3 children. The situation puzzled me! I realized that the situation was due to our social structure. Why does a black woman and mother have to spend all of her day working in a field with hardly any pay and have to neglect her children? In this situation, I then asked myself, "Does she have a choice?" I concluded that this young black lady due to the injustices found within our structure must try to provide for her family the best way that she can. However, these are the injustices that we as young people and leaders of tomorrow must not let stand.

Lorraine Taylor

I've witnessed grown men running and hiding so we wouldn't see them. When I look at all this and really think about it, I'm glad I was a part of all this or I should say I'm glad that I had a little to do with trying to improve the Black communities.

I went to a home where the people were putting up peas so they would have some type of food in the winter.

We went to pick up a lady on Sunday to take her down to the courthouse to register. She got in the car with a big bottle of pills in a bag. She said that the bottle of pills and two small bottles cost her forty-dollars.

It was for her grandson who had polio. She said if she have to pay forty-dollars for medicine what will they be able to eat. Her grandson only gets forty-dollars from the welfare.

While we were taking her down to register, we stopped at a drugstore in downtown Ruston. We checked the price of the medicine there and it was approximately twelve or thirteen dollars less than what she had paid for it.

Then we visited a home where a very elderly coupled lived. They grew many types of vegetables which a White man would buy.

We asked them would they go down and register. They said the white man told them they were too old to register.

We immediately changed that and took them down to register.

"ALL BECAUSE OF THE DOLLAR"

All because of the dollar, men lie, steal and kill and even you will do the same for a dollar.

All because of the dollar, there is hunger in the land and theres' hell in the eyes of the have nots who cannot get the dollar that is so much needed.

All because of the dollar, War is carried on; guns are made; blood runs like water; men cry like babies and bombs are dropped on high class animals.

All because of the dollar, teachers lie like hell; some make off the wall statements; students cheat and some buy the teacher. Plus some just don't give a damn;education is in a fix.

All because of the dollar, people commit suicide; folks take some kind of pill or drug; some drink alcohol while others sex themselves out of this world.

All because of the dollar, I hate you; you hate me; Blacks hate Whites; Whites hate Blacks and everybody hates somebody or dislikes them.

All because of the dollar, the White House is in a fix; The President is all mixed up and Congress sets back on their hindparts not giving a damn;oh yes! "they give a damn about taking all the poor folks money and leaving the rich alone."

All because of the dollar, Justice sold out to Injustice; Right fainted when Wrong stepped in; Hate ran Love out of business; Peace gave birth to world wars and man himself has become a thing that money controls.

All in all, we will see the dollar bring us to our destruction, and nobody cares about the disease that is eating the inside of America up. Oh! what a cancerous dollar. The dollar, the No. 1 killer in America.

--- Jesse Franklin

Wilson, North Carolina

MILLENNIUM ?

I've grown weary
Of hearing empty words
Of seeing wingless birds
Of feeling cold callous hands
Of being nothing to the world.

Sunrise!
Just a streak, signals another
False hope.

Sunset mingles with Darkness
The cold sets in
The path home becomes blurred
I can see very little besides nothing
Oh but how I feel
The piercing pain
Of putrid progress.

----Weldon Rougeau

Voter Education Project, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director

Weldon J. Rougeau, Field Director

Eugene McLemore, Director, Summer Intern Program

Free rep

Ret to Mr. Fox for regards

Chartered 1864

MERCANTILE-SAFE DEPOSIT AND TRUST COMPANY

TRUST DEPARTMENT

13 South Street

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21202

RECEIVED SEP 8 1969

CARLETON H. PETERMAN
Senior Vice President

September 5, 1969

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

In the name of Dr. H. Frank Forsyth, we enclose check to your order for $7,635.16, representing reimbursements of expenses pursuant to the Stouffer Foundation Scholars Retreat.

Sincerely yours,

C. H. Peterman

C. H. Peterman

cek
encl.

$7,635.16
9-8-69
KGM

Check w/ Issa for list of other Senators to whom this was sent

NM

October 30, 1969

The Honorable Paul J. Fannin
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Fannin:

Enclosed is a statement relative to the funding of voter registration programs which we shall release in Washington later today.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

VEJ/km

Enc.

STATEMENT OF:
VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.
DIRECTOR, VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

NOT FOR RELEASE PRIOR
TO 3:00 P. M. THURSDAY
OCTOBER 30, 1969

==========

The Southern Regional Council has had a Voter Education Project since 1962. The primary purpose of this project is to give those vast numbers of black people who have been denied the ballot an opportunity to become a part of the political process in the South. During all of this time we have looked to Washington as a friend. Many times we have reported our difficulties to the federal government and called upon it for help. As Director of the Voter Education Project, I am here with several black elected officials from the South to protest the grave threat to black political participation raised by an action of the Senate Finance Committee.

Today we see the friend turning upon us and becoming an ally of the racists we confront daily in the South.

Earlier this week the Senate Finance Committee placed in its version of the tax reform bill a prohibition against tax-exempt funds being used for voter registration. This is not a tax reform action. It neither adds to nor reduces the public treasury. Nor is it a measure that will prevent partisan political activity. Black people, like all other citizens, vote self-interest and frequently Southern blacks have to vote survival. This action of the Senate Finance Committee is a punitive measure. It favors those who profit from a restricted electorate and who fear the judgement which might come from truly democratic processes.

We maintain that encouraging the largest number of citizens to participate in and thereby strengthen the democratic process is as beneficial and is as essential to American society as medical research, libraries, or any recognized charity. For Senators of the United States to go on record as denying this fact is a national tragedy.

It is distressing that many congressmen appear not to have thought the issue through. Willingly or unwillingly, those who support this measure without thinking of its implications align themselves with those backward forces in the South who, from racist motives or inhuman callousness, have long opposed the black vote.

Why is foundation money being singled out in this prohibition against the financing of voter registration drives? It is because blacks and members of certain other minorities must depend upon foundation funds to overcome the weight of centuries during which public monies and public offices were used in open efforts to deny them the ballot.

The rich and those of the middle-class do not need foundation money to help them. This legislation is directed accurately and in deadly fashion against those who need help.

Make no mistake about it: Black people in the South cannot continue to make the sort of registration gains they need to make without organized registration programs. And make no mistake about it: These organized registration drives would not have existed, and cannot exist, without generous foundation support. Black people in the South, being for the most part extremely

poor, cannot raise among themselves the sort of money it takes to conduct registration programs for the poor and disadvantaged who must overcome decades of oppression. Make no mistake about it: If this action of the Senate Finance Committee is allowed to stand, registration work among black people in the South will come to a virtual standstill.

There are many people in the nation today--young whites as well as blacks--who feel that the American political system is not really open to their aspirations. There are many who will see in this action of the Senate Finance Committee a determination to slam shut the door to political participation which only in the last few years has been opened to black people in the South. There is much political alienation in the land today, and this Committee action would enormously increase that alienation. If that occurs, no amount of tax revenue raised by this bill or any other bill would offset the political and social damage to America.

With a deep sense of indignity, with a deep commitment to democracy, and with a determination that black people will find freedom through an open political system, we come to Washington today to oppose the action of the Senate Finance Committee. We are here to denounce that action and to appeal to the Committee to reconsider this incredible decision.

MEMORANDUM October 31, 1969

To: John Morris

From: Paul Anthony

I have talked with Dr. Chandler of Jefferson State Junior College on the phone and would appreciate it if you would send him any of the information you have available which he requests, and share his willingness to cooperate with appropriate persons in the service centers at Miles College.

cc: Dr. J. King Chandler, III

A PROPOSAL FOR

COMPREHENSIVE SUPPORT OF BLACK OFFICIALS IN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE SOUTH

Prepared by:

Voter Education Project

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy
(Clark College)

Atlanta, Georgia

November, 1972

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The November 1972 elections represent another milestone in the increasing number of black Southerners elected to public office in the South. Parallel to the emergence of the black elected official is the increasing presence of black Southerners in appointed positions in Southern units of government. This increasing presence, however, is still proportionately small, and the goal of substantial representation at all levels of governmental decision-making will depend in significant measure on the performance of the current pioneers.

The black public official is operating today under severe handicaps. He lacks the experience and know-how of decades of participation in the governmental process. He lacks access to research and training resources which today are recognized to be of critical importance to effective government in a complex society. And where he has technical access, he lacks confidence in the good will of predominantly-white oriented resources.

Effective government in the South, at all levels, requires a government in which all citizens, black and white, have representation and involvement. If the black Southerner is to speed up the effectiveness of his involvement, he needs substantial assistance, and he needs it as quickly as possible.

This proposal sets forth a program for insuring competent research, training and technical assistance for black Southerners in government in the region. Although the impact of this program would reach into every level of black participation, emphasis is placed throughout on the elected official, whose responsibilities and needs are greater.

BLACK PUBLIC OFFICIALS IN THE SOUTH*

Emergence of Black Officials

One of the most remarkable developments in this troubled nation during the last few years is the emergence of an increasing number of black public officials in the South. In 1965 seventy-two black officials were identified, and many of these were in all-black towns. By the end of 1968 the number had leaped to 388. In 1970 the number grew to over 650. In 1972, prior to the fall elections, there are more than 950 black officials.

Each year more blacks are running for office, and more are being elected. It is likely that there will be more than 2,000 black officials in the South by 1975, with the list growing all the time. Some idea of the potential increase in black officials can be gained by observing that blacks constitute 20 per cent of the population in the South, but they presently hold only about 1.2 per cent of the elective offices, ranging from .03 per cent in Texas to 2.7 per cent in Mississippi. While it is true that blacks still hold only a tiny fraction of the public

*The emphasis in this proposal is on black officials, but public officials from other minority groups - Chicano and Indian for example - have similar needs and should be included in the program proposed herein.

offices in the South, the change that is taking place can be further illustrated by noting that over forty per cent of all the black elected officials in the United States are located in the eleven Southern states of the Old Confederacy, where few black citizens could even vote a short time ago.

Variety Among Black Officials

There is great variation among these black officials - in their education, their experience, their ideology, the size and nature of their constituencies, and the circumstances under which they must operate. Many of these officials did not attend high school, while some have college and even graduate degrees. Some of them have been small farmers or blue collar workers all their lives, while others have become successful lawyers or managers of businesses. Some of the officials could be labelled radical, some liberal, some conservative, and some even reactionary in their politics. Some of them are justices of the peace in sparsely-populated rural counties or city councilmen in hamlets of a few hundred persons. Others are vice-mayors of some of the largest cities in the South or members of state senates. Some represent the only black presence on an otherwise white city council or school board. Others serve on governmental bodies where blacks constitute a majority, including four county commissions. There are also a number of all-black towns, and plans are being made to incorporate more such areas. Some of the black officials work with generally cooperative white colleagues and have access

to considerable resources, while others must deal with hostile whites, who deliberately try to sabotage or isolate black officials.

Problems Faced by Black Officials

All of these officials, from the grade school-educated justice of the peace in backwoods Alabama to the successful and sophisticated attorney who serves as vice-mayor of Atlanta, are having problems in conducting their offices as effectively as they would like. The size and nature of the problems vary between officials, but all are serious.

Many problems are related to the official's lack of experience and his unfamiliarity with the powers and procedures of his new position.

* A newly elected coroner may not know how to fill out a death certificate or what steps to take when a death occurs under unusual or suspicious circumstances.
* A new school board member may not know that he has the right to demand certain information from the white school superintendent about conditions which adversely affect black children, or he may not be familiar with the budgetary process and may unintentionally approve policies and programs which properly informed, he would oppose.
* A city councilman may believe that a city department is discriminating against black citizens but not know what

action he can take to produce necessary changes. The city councilmen in an all-black town may not know how to petition the county commission for tax exemption for the industry they are trying to attract. A mayor may not be familiar with the management and financial procedures needed to administer his office effectively.

* A county commissioner, living in an area of low employment, few medical services, inadequate sanitation system, and no recreational facilities, may not know how to seek federal grants designed to alleviate such conditions. He may not know how to petition the state highway department to modify its width requirements so that more roads in the black community can be paved. Or he may not know how to use the commission's financial power to influence the county school board to stop their discriminatory practices.

Many other problems stem from the harassment inflicted upon black officials in some areas.

* A newly elected chancery clerk may be given absolutely no help from the white incumbent and even be denied access to the office until inauguration day, when the entire staff walks out without a word.
* A school board member may be tricked by his white colleagues into voting for the virtual giveaway of school property to a segregation academy or voting against the acceptance of federal programs which would aid black children.

* A city councilman may find that his white colleagues meet in secret caucus to decide all questions prior to their official meetings, which are thus turned into empty formalitites.
* A justice of the peace may discover that other law enforcement officials illegally narrow his jurisdiction and cheat him out of cases to the point at which he has virtually no job at all.
* A county commissioner may be unable to obtain trustworthy advice from the white county attorney.
* A court clerk may not be appointed by the circuit judge to handle chancery cases, which had heretofore been assigned to the former white clerk.
* The urban city councilman or vice-mayor may be unable to secure cooperation from a city department when he begins to question whether their practices are equitable to all citizens or when he otherwise pursues issues which are unfamiliar or disagreeable to the tradition-bound bureaucrats.
* Black officials of many kinds may find themselves accused of mismanagement of funds, which in fact occurred during the tenure of their white predecessors.

Still other problems grow out of the black official's lack of access to needed information or resources.

* The sophisticated attorney serving on the school board

in a large city may be quite knowledgeable about the duties of his office, but not be fully effective in his job, because he is unaware of innovative programs being used elsewhere to deal with the same kinds of problems which he sees going unattended in his own system.

* The city councilman or county commissioner may not be informed that new resources for health care or job training are available from the federal government, and he loses the opportunity to try to persuade his colleagues to apply for such funds.
* The black state legislator may be overwhelmed by demands and responsibilities, unless he has staff assistance beyond that normally available to white colleagues, because there are so few blacks in these bodies and those who are elected have to serve constituencies much larger than the district in which they are elected.

The foregoing examples represent but a small sampling of the types of problems which black officials are experiencing today in the South. As these illustrations suggest, many black officials are not presently accomplishing the results which they would like or their constituents expected.

Results of the Election of Black Officials

The election of black officials has, of course, produced some significant results for black southerners. It has been of

great symbolic importance to have blacks occupying public offices which previously were the exclusive preserve of the white society. There have also been some concrete improvements achieved by black officeholders. This is perhaps most dramatically illustrated by the improved treatment of black citizens when blacks become sheriffs, town marshals, and magistrates. And, though it is not so easy to measure, there must be instances where the actions of city councils, county commissions, and school board are in fact more equitable because of the participation of black members. But these accomplishments are not enough.

Consequences of Ineffective Officials

Ironically, the present joy over black electoral victories could be the prelude to a great embitterment. It is not alarmist rhetoric, but simply common sense, to raise the question of what will result if the long and costly struggle for full citizenship and political representation should prove to be an empty achievement. During the 1960's southern blacks invested a great deal of faith, work and suffering in overcoming the barriers to their participation in the political process. But what will be the reaction, both among those three and a half million blacks already registered and among the approximately two million blacks still unregistered, if the election of blacks to public office makes no substantial difference in improving the welfare of their

constituents? What hope is there for blacks, or for anybody, in this society if a patient and faithful adherence to the rules of a democratic political system leads only to frustration and a recognition that all their efforts were based on a cruel hoax?

The long and arduous struggle by blacks for political participation, as well as the requirements of a just and democratic society, demand that black citizens receive more benefits from the governmental system than they are presently receiving. Of course, black political participation can have positive influences on the output of the political system in ways other than the election of black officials. For example, the increasing black electorate may have substantial effects on the way white officials respond to the interests of black constituents, and this is a highly desirable and acknowledged goal. But it is unquestionable that now and probably for many years the chief means of changing the southern political process into a more responsive and beneficial one to blacks is through effective black public officials.

Thus, in addition to the need to elect additional blacks to office, there is a critical need that black officials be truly effective in their offices. Black officials must demonstrate that their election means a better life for their constituents. If this is accomplished, then the continued movement of blacks into

the political process through registration and voting and the election of more officials, black and white, who are responsive to the needs of black citizens, will follow.

Whether or not southern black officials can be effective in making the machinery of government respond positively and meaningfully to the needs of black citizens depends upon many things, some of which may be independent of anything which these officials do. But certainly the manner in which these officials perform the duties of their offices is a crucial element in determining the answer to this question. Poor performance by these officials will be sufficient to provide a negative answer. The more fundamental question of whether the groups and individuals who exert the major influence in this country will share the country's resources equitably with blacks will be conclusively answered only after all preliminary conditions, such as effective performance by black officeholders, have been met.

Need for Assistance

To be effective, black officials must receive assistance. Assistance is needed, first of all, because of the past failings of the American political system, which barred blacks from participation in that system. Assistance is needed, secondly, because the resources normally available to white officeholders

are still not nearly so accessible to black officials.

Most of the black officials now being elected in the South lack any previous governmental experiences. This does not mean that these men and women are lacking in ability. Many of them are unusually talented, and few, if any, are less able than the whites they replace. It does mean, however, that these new officials need information and training programs on the duties and procedures of their offices. This is especially true since many of these officials operate in hostile environments where their mistakes would be given unusual attention. They also need aid in locating the outside resources which can make their offices more productive and aid in manipulating the procedures involved in tapping these resources.

PREVIOUS EFFORTS TO ASSIST BLACK OFFICIALS

During the past few years several efforts to assist black officials have been made, most of which provided some valuable contributions but fell far short of meeting the total needs.

Voter Education Project

The largest program of assistance in the South was conducted by the Voter Education Project. After sponsoring several conferences for candidates and elected officials, VEP established service centers for elected officials on the campuses of five predominantly black colleges: Clark College in Georgia;

Tougaloo College in Mississippi; Southern University in Louisiana; and Miles College and Talladega College in Alabama. Except for the Tougaloo Center, which opened in 1968, the centers began operation during the first half of 1969. The Talladega Center was closed after one year, but the other four operated until the summer of 1972, when the grant supporting them ran out and other funds were not obtained.

The staffs of these centers consisted of a director, a secretary and occasionally some student interns. Although there were considerable variations in the way the individual centers operated, in general they conducted the following activities: organized workshops on the duties of office and on federal programs, did research on certain problems confronting officials, distributed information to officials, supervised student interns, and referred officials to other resources.

The Voter Education Project also had three state offices -- in Arkansas, North Carolina, and South Carolina -- which provided to officials in those states some of the same assistance as the service centers did in their states. In addition, the Atlanta VEP office organized several conferences for officials, provided some interns, and arranged for some professional consultant services.

SEDFRE, the Joint Center for Political Studies and Other Organizations

Another organization which has provided assistance to black officials in the South is the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, Incorporated. They have sponsored some conferences for officials, but perhaps their most outstanding programs have been the placement of full-time aides with the officials of Greene County, Alabama, and Fayette, Mississippi. These aides have worked in a variety of ways with the county commissioners and school board members in Greene County and with the city administration in Fayette.

The Joint Center for Political Studies, although its focus has largely been outside the South, has sponsored a few meetings and provided some consultant services on federal programs to officials in this region. Several other organizations--such as the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, and American Friends Service Committee -- along with a number of individuals, have also provided services to some of the black officials in the southern states.

White Institutions

There are, of course, a number of predominantly white institutions and programs in the South whose purposes include providing assistance to public officials. It should be stressed that, for a variety of reasons, these resources have not been of

substantial help to black officials and are not likely to be in the near future. This is not to suggest that the whites who operate these programs deliberately discriminate against blacks, although there is still some of this in places. However well intentioned they may be, most of these programs do not have the experience, the necessary resources, the kind of attitudes, or the sensitivity to deal very effectively with the needs of most black officials.

Some whites simply are not interested in making their resources available to blacks. Some, who may be interested, do not know the techniques needed to accomplish their purposes. For example, a university-sponsored bureau of public administration may send letters to newly-elected black officials, offering in a rather general fashion the assistance of the bureau. The black officials, not being familiar with the bureau or the kinds of specific aid available and generally mistrustful of all white institutions, do not reply. The bureau feels rebuffed and makes no further effort to offer its assistance. Another problem is that some whites treat the blacks in such degrading or paternalistic manner that the relationship cannot develop into a fruitful one. Another problem is that few, if any white institutions, are designed to provide the range of services needed by some black officials. White officials are assisted by an extensive informal network of

associations, interests, and resources which are not available to black officials, who therefore require certain kinds of assistance which whites do not need from the formal institutions designed to serve public officials.

The barriers to white institutions effectively serving the needs of black officials will become even clearer in subsequent sections which describe the problems involved in assisting black officials and the kinds of assistance they need.

NEEDS WHICH FUTURE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS MUST MEET

No one would claim that the services mentioned above, though quite useful in places, have been adequate to meet all the needs of the ever growing number of black officials in the region. As indicated, most of the VEP programs have been terminated, and most of the others are either occasional or very limited in scope. If the obvious and pressing needs of the southern black officials are to be met, new and more comprehensive programs must be created -- and quickly. In designing these new programs, a number of lessons derived from the previous experiences should be taken into account.

Developing Rapport with Officials

Contrary to what some people had assumed earlier, most black officials do not readily initiate requests for assistance.

It is necessary for the organization offering assistance to develop considerable rapport with most officials before they will discuss some of their real problems and seek or accept assistance in dealing with these problems. The experience of the Voter Education Project and other groups clearly indicates that such rapport cannot be achieved through correspondence or a hasty visit, but instead requires sufficient time and contact to allow the officials to become familiar with the organization and feel trust in it. There have been many instances when persons with important skills to offer and presumably the best intentions in offering them were virtually ignored by officials who could have genuinely benefitted from the services which were offered. On the other hand, there are instances when after a period of weeks or months, and several visits, a person offering assistance began to receive numerous requests for help. Many black officials, assuming public office for the first time and frequently after a long struggle, are understandably and justifiably cautious in disclosing to others their problems and needs. Furthermore, the experience of blacks in this country argues strongly that they should exercise suspicion towards generous but unexpected offers of help from strangers, white or black.

Thus, any realistic efforts to provide serious assistance to black officials in the South must take into account the absolute

necessity for a strong outreach component. No matter how eager an organization may be to assist or how much help they have to offer, their program is not going to be widely successful unless it has the capacity to develop genuine rapport with the officials.

With black officials in large urban areas, the problem is somewhat different. Generally more educated and sophisticated than officials in small towns and rural areas, many of these men and women have to be convinced that an organization has the skill and resources to render a truly desirable service to them. Usually these men and women are quite busy and will give little attention to an organization until this persuasion is accomplished, and the burden of proof is on the organization.

Increasing Officials' Awareness of Need

Another difficulty in assisting officials is that many of them do not know exactly what kind of assistance to ask for. There are, of course, instances where an official's pride discourages him from admitting that he needs any help, but this is not the major problem. It is rather that the official is unfamiliar with his office, or the full potential of it, and thus is not aware of all that he needs or could use. To help these officials, an organization must be able to perceive unexpressed needs and suggest to them, albeit in a subtle and respectful manner, how they can benefit from certain kinds of assistance.

In varying ways, this applies to almost all officials.

There are several types of assistance which are needed.

A. Providing Orientation to Office

The first need is to provide newly-elected officials with an orientation to their offices. While most officials have a general understanding of the office they have won, this understanding is frequently quite superficial. Most of them need a great deal more knowledge about the powers and procedures of their new offices. This orientation should begin between election day and inauguration day. These initial sessions can give a general introduction to the offices, including the presentation of materials which the officials can take home with them for further study.

But the orientation process must continue after the officials take office. The process cannot be completed before inauguration day for several reasons. For one thing it would be difficult to find sufficient time; these officials are tied up with other jobs, and the holiday seasons between November and January further limit the time which can be given to such training. Another reason is that some of the instruction will not be fully effective until the official experiences the actual demands of the job. Inevitably, then, the officials need to receive "on-the-job" training, and it may take a number of weeks to complete this,

since only a limited amount of time each week will be available for instruction.

B. Assisting With Special Problems

While the first step in assisting officials is a general introduction to the formal powers and procedures of their offices, there is also a need to assist them when they begin to confront some concrete difficulties. Especially when they encounter unusual problems which fall outside the normal functioning of the office, they may need help. For example, a new justice of the peace may know the definition of his powers, but may need aid when faced with a particular jurisdictional dispute with other law enforcement officers in his county. A court clerk may have learned the way her office is supposed to operate, but then may discover that part of the system used by the previous clerk does not fit this model. A county commissioner may suspect that the technical rationale he is given for a water and sewer system which largely omits black areas is wrong, but he may need help in assembling the data needed to effectively attack this plan. In these and countless other situations there is a need for an organization which can provide expert assistance to these black officials.

Obviously, the problems of new officials are magnified when they also must deal with overt harassment by resentful

whites. While there have been instances in which white officials have been geniunely cooperative with newly-elected blacks and have assisted them in learning their new jobs, such occurrences have not been frequent. The most common practice has been for whites to ignore their black successors, and for whites to provide no real assistance to black colleagues. And, worst of all, there have been instances when whites have deliberately tried to make the job as difficult as possible for black officials.

C. Providing Information to Officials

Although many black officials in large cities can also benefit from orientation programs, they generally are better acquainted with the duties of their offices. But they, too, need considerable assistance as they try to pursue their jobs in an effective manner. The urban city councilman may be thoroughly familiar with his formal authority over a city department, but he may have great difficulty in securing adequate information from a city department when he begins to question some of its practices, and he may require independent sources of information. Likewise, the urban black school board member may know all about the way Title I programs are supposed to work, but he may be largely at the mercy of the superintendent in trying to find out exactly how those programs are in fact operating in his city. These officials may be just as knowledgeable

about their roles as public officials as any of their white counterparts, but the normal sources of information and other assistance within the system's bureaucracy may not be of the same value to them as to white officials. In such situations, the black official cannot really be fully effective without some outside forms of assistance.

There is also a need to distribute general information to officials. Not only do they need to be informed about resources which are available, but they need to be told, or reminded, of changes in laws and regulations pertinent to their positions, of important dates and deadlines, and any other kind of information which will help them do a better job or avoid mistakes and complications. This need applies particularly to those officials with lesser educational backgrounds or in isolated locations.

D. Assisting in Acquisition of Outside Resources

Another need of many black officials is to move beyond a mastery of their routine duties and learn ways in which an active and imaginative use of their office can bring greater benefits to their communities. For example, city councilmen, county commissioners and school board members need information on federal, state and private programs available to communities such as theirs. In fact one of the primary concerns of most black officeholders is how they can secure the outside resources

to improve the standard of living among their constituents. This is true even of officials who occupy offices which are not formally involved in serving these functions in that community. Because they are concerned community leaders, officials such as constables, court clerks or sheriffs may be interested in such programs as economic development, education or recreation.

To provide assistance in securing the needed outside programs, it is necessary to acquaint officials with available programs, help them determine whether their community is eligible for the program, help prepare the appropriate applications, and then sometimes guide the application through the required bureaucratic channels.

In acquainting officials with such programs, it is usually inadequate just to send them the formal descriptive literature of the programs. A simple written description may help spark their interest, but it is usually necessary for someone well acquainted with the programs to talk directly with the officials and discuss the possibilities and regulations of the program in relation to the official's own community. Workshops can serve this purpose for a number of officials at the same time. There have been instances in the past when officials have been sent printed information about federal programs, but they made no real effort to investigate the programs until after they had

attended a conference at which the programs were discussed and someone could answer their questions.

After an official has determined that he is interested in a program and that his community is eligible for it, it is crucial that he receive assistance in preparing an application. In addition to the fact that many officials are already overworked to the point at which they simply do not have the time to prepare an application, and there may be no one else in the community to do it, sometimes the complexity or the appearance of complexity in preparing the application may prevent the community from completing the process. In other instances an application may eventually be completed by someone in the community, but only after an inordinately long time.

It is to be expected that officials with little formal education may have difficulty in preparing applications, but the circumstances described above also prevail among college educated officials. These men and women usually hold one or more jobs in addition to being an elected official, and as a leader in the community, they are unavoidably involved in many other activities besides their official duties as an officeholder.

Still another need in this process is for someone to shepherd the application through the bureaucratic channels that it must follow after it is prepared. Sometimes an application

is unacceptable for funding for one minor technical reason or another, but the community may wait for months without knowing this and taking steps to rectify it. Someone more familiar with the bureaucratic channels could prevent these long delays and unnecessary disqualifications. Moreover, although blacks have precious few points of influence in governmental bureaucracies, the few opportunities for aiding the chances of one of their proposals should be exploited to the fullest.

However one may try to explain the reasons, experience has shown that it is unrealistic to expect governmental bureaucracies to provide the necessary assistance to poor black communities to allow them to take advantage even of those government resources specifically designed for such localities and situations. There have been exceptions to this in a very few special situations, but the general point is indisputable. If black officials are not provided with the needed technical assistance from other sources, then few of the drastically needed resources are going to come to their communities.

E. Assisting Black-Controlled Governments

When blacks constitute a majority of a city or county governing authority, their needs are both greater in scope

and of far more significance than when blacks occupy only a minority of the positions on such boards.

These counties and towns, where blacks hold real power over significant governmental institutions, are the prime testing grounds for what it can mean for blacks to participate in the political process. If these officials fail to perform effectively, then not only will their own constituents suffer, but the whole movement toward greater black political power will be seriously hurt. If they succeed in bringing a better life to their communities, then their constituents will benefit immediately and the entire society will benefit eventually.

The black officials in these circumstances need all the kinds of assistance which other black officials need, but they need more of it. The assistance must be more intense, more sustained, and more varied. From the start, assistance should be available on the whole array of functions performed by a county or city government, and it must continue for a considerable amount of time.

F. Summary of Services Needed by Officials

The comments on the preceding pages give only a slight indication of the kinds of needs which southern black officials have and the kind of services required to meet these needs. A program designed to respond effectively to these circumstances

would have to have the capability to do at least the following things:

1. Develop close rapport with the officials in the field
2. Provide expert advice on the operation of local government offices
3. Provide legal assistance
4. Assist officials in seeking government and private grants
5. Provide the kinds of research needed to solve some of the problems which confront officials or to propose new programs and policies.
6. Keep officials informed of pertinent information regarding their jobs
7. Refer officials to other appropriate sources of information and assistance
8. Respond immediately to crises
9. Provide sustained, long-range assistance
10. Anticipate and prepare for yet unarticulated needs.

Although some black officials in the South have received aid from existing programs - notably VEP, SEDFRE and the Joint Center - none of these agencies are prepared to meet in quality or quantity the expanding demands. And the very concentration of black officials in the region argues for assistance from regionally - based programs.

PROPOSED NEW PROGRAMS TO SUPPORT BLACK OFFICIALS IN THE SOUTH

A new system of providing assistance to black officials in the South is needed. This system should incorporate all the capabilities just discussed, ranging from direct field contact with officials to highly technical research and policy analysis of current issues in government.

It would be self-defeating to include all these capabilities in one organization. We propose a system that would include (1) special institutes in a number of states with large numbers of black officials, with each institute having the capability to establish close working relationships with communities where black officials serve, and (2) a regional institute which could provide resources in support of the state programs, provide graduate training, sponsor specialized training and technical assistance for those working with state programs, and conduct research and policy analysis of issues of general interest to black and poor Southerners.

We explicitly understand the complexity of the program we propose. We know that resources to develop a number of state programs simultaneously will be difficult to secure, but yet we believe that a significant start must be made on one or two state

programs immediately. We believe that there must be close relationships between the state programs and the regional program, but these relationships must be nurtured as both programs are developed, not made dependent on the initial creation and maturation of the regional program.

These programs will be designed not just to meet the current needs of black officials, but also to develop resources and strengthen institutions which can insure that black citizens and officials will be better equipped in the future to secure their rightful place in this society. The number of blacks trained to provide technical assistance to communities around the South will be greatly expanded. Black educational institutions will be encouraged to involve their resources much more extensively in the black communities around them, and the resources of these institutions will be increased. New institutions and programs will be created to complement and assist existing ones.

While the primary emphasis of this proposal is on assisting black officials and black citizens, it should be noted that the programs to be developed will also make substantial contributions to many white citizens. The research and policy studies conducted by the regional institute should have an influence on public programs which will benefit poor whites as well as blacks. The assistance to black officials will, of course, lead to better public service for both white and black constituents of that

official. Some of the assistance programs can provide direct services to white officials. And, the creation of services for black officials may stimulate predominantly white institutions to improve their services to white officials, as happened recently in Louisiana when a training program for black justices of the peace led the state to institute training programs for all justices of the peace, which they previously had not provided.

The regional institute will be created first, with the capacity to provide some Technical assistance to limited classes of elected officials. One of its initial functions will be to assist in the development of state programs, together with the Voter Education Project and the Southern Regional Council. As these state programs become established, they will become increasingly independent of the sponsoring institutions and will become affiliated with educational institutions in their respective states. Although the funding for the state programs may initially come through the Southern Regional Council, it is expected that they will develop the capability of obtaining their own funding in future years.

Three institutions with long and extensive experience in the South, especially among the black communities, will be the primary sponsors of the creation of this new system of assistance -- the Voter Education Project, the Southern Regional Council, and

Clark College. Numerous other institutions and organizations will also be involved in the operation and future development of the programs.

The Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy, situated at Clark College, is concerned with developing opportunities for faculty, students and the community leaders in the formulation, content and implementation of public policy affecting people in the South. The Center serves the entire Atlanta University complex. Among other things the Policy Center houses community action programs, sponsors forums and seminars, supports research, assists elected officials in Georgia and sponsors a curriculum in Public Policy Studies open to both graduate and undergraduate students at the Atlanta University complex.

The Southern Regional Council, Inc., (SRC), a private, non-profit, human relations organization, was established 28 years ago to help "attain the ideas and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South."

With the changing circumstances of the '70's, SRC has reexamined its assumptions, structure, and functions in the light of new imperatives. The Council defines its task as one of alerting, sensitizing, educating, and mobilizing Southerners on the issues which will determine how well this region develops and produces opportunity and a better quality of life for its

people. The Council's special concern is justice, equality, and real opportunity for the black Southerner and the poor Southerner. Working through task forces of its members and other concerned Southerners, SRC is assessing the region's problems, and will be monitoring national policies and programs that affect the South, documenting ways in which delivery systems fail Southerners, assisting organizations in demonstrating better ways of administering essential services, and establishing a network of communication between SRC and others who share its goals.

The Voter Education Project, Inc., a private, and partisan corporation, assists minority political participation in 11 Southern states. It was created in 1962 as part of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and was separated from it in 1970, largely as a result of the 1969 tax reform law, to become an independent corporation.

Initially, VEP was established to investigate the causes of low political participation by blacks and to involve more minority group members in the political arena. In the first phase of operation, VEP funded local voter registration drives, largely through major civil rights organizations. Program areas now include four major activities - Voter Registration, Citizenship Education, Assistance to Black Elected Officials, and Research. In its present phase of operation, VEP works directly with

indigenous groups at the local level.

The activities and perceptions of the Voter Education Project are central to the functions of the technical assistance program. VEP, with its various service centers, pioneered in creation of technical assistance to elected officials on a systematic basis. Much of VEP's experience is incorporated in recommendations for the expanded program which is outlined in the body of this proposal. Through its voter registration drives and state tours. VEP has built up a network of people in the various Southern states, many of whom may be relied upon to make important and lasting contributions in the development of the state delivery systems. As we note elsewhere, sponsorship of the program will be shared jointly among three organizations, but much of the thrust and development of technical assistance programs will be made possible through the continuing work of VEP in voter education and registration.

The details of what the state programs will do, how they will develop, and how they will be related to one another will be explained in the following sections.

STATE PROGRAMS

Establishment of State Programs

As the regional program is beginning to develop, concurrent efforts to develop the first of the state programs must begin. Need is so great across the South for basic assistance and training and, at the same time, for more general research and analysis of public policy that neither the regional institution nor the state programs can be delayed. Their interdependence is clearly apparent. A firm beginning of the regional institution will facilitate training for state staffs at the same time that realistic needs of states will help formulate the direction the training program should take. Assisting in supervising field experience or on-the-job training of state staffs will help define major areas of public policy concern for the regional institution, and the practical matters of what kinds of information and what types of research are needed will be clarified. Such an initial relationship will be encouraged by the three sponsoring institutions, and the independent but interdependent organizations that develop will provide a stronger network of institutions to serve public officials.

Setting up the state programs will be the responsibility of an ad hoc board put together by the three sponsoring institutions, SRC, VEP, and Clark College. Members of this board will be elected officials, representatives of higher education

institutions, staff and/or board members of the sponsoring institutions, community leaders, and representatives of other pertinent agencies. While the grant for the state programs will initially be handled through the Southern Regional Council, as fiscal agent, and salaries paid directly by SRC, the ad hoc board will assume responsibility for initial policy and program. As soon as an office in a college is established, funds will be channeled through the college.

The ad hoc board will have the following responsibilities, to be accomplished with the help of the three sponsoring institutions:

1. Because it will be impossible to initiate more than one state program at a time, the ad hoc board will select the first state in which a state program is to be established. As the first state office begins to take shape, the board will select an additional state, and so on. Although it is desirable that each southern state have an office, it is recognized that chances of obtaining enough money at the outset are slim. Therefore it is proposed that four states be chosen initially for programs, with other states being added after the first programs are underway and additional funds are available. The criteria for selecting states will include: (1) a large number of black officials;

(2) a lack of, or relatively few, resources, to assist these officials; and (3) the presence of circumstances which will facilitate the development of an effective program. Tentatively, states which may be included for consideration are Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. It is probable that the regional institute, since it is to be located in Atlanta, could serve the state of Georgia through providing a field representative who could work directly with the staff of the regional institute.

2. The ad hoc board will negotiate with an educational institution in the state to become the initial sponsor for the program, but it will not seek immediate commitment for institutional support. The state office will be established, wherever possible, on the campus of a predominantly black college or university within the state. If no black colleges are located in the state or if none can perform this host function, the state office will then be situated on the campus of an institution with substantial minority enrollment. The experience, interest, and capacity of the college in operating public interest kinds of programs will be determining factors in the choice of a location.

3. The ad hoc board will recruit the initial staff for the first state program and provide for up to three months of training for that staff as a unit. Some of the training will be handled by classes organized in Atlanta or in the selected state, but utilizing the resources of the regional institute, universities, other institutes, and elected officials to give a thorough understanding of the processes of state and local government and the functions the staff will perform for elected officials. Training in Atlanta will be followed by on-the-job training in the states selected until the board concludes that the staff is ready to begin operation. It is likely that after staffs have worked in their states for awhile, they will be able to receive additional or more specialized training for which they see a need.
4. After the state program has been initiated, the ad hoc board will choose an advisory committee in each state, of similar composition to the ad hoc board, to assist in establishing the kind of program needed in the particular state, and to begin, with the ad hoc board, negotiations with the sponsoring institution for incorporating the program into its institutional program.

Such an advisory committee might then become the permanent advisory or governing committee under arrangements worked out with the affiliated college or university.

5. While the initial funding for individual state programs will be the responsibility of the three sponsoring institutions, with fiscal policy control in the hands of the ad hoc committee and administrative fiscal arrangements made through SRC, after a state office is well established in its own operation and with its affiliated college, it will begin to raise its own funds. As it develops this capacity, it will operate entirely independently of the ad hoc board.

Field Activities

The first function of the state program will be to develop rapport with the individual black officials. Through an active field presence, the state staff will become thoroughly acquainted with all officials, the kind of social and political situation in which they must operate, their particular needs, and the best ways of providing services to them. By winning their trust and respect, the staff can define more accurately and thoroughly the real problems of these officials and generate among them a receptive and cooperative attitude, so that effective assistance

can be given. In time the relationship between the officials and the staff should result in officials' initiating requests for help from the state program whenever they have problems.

The staff must be capable of providing a great deal of assistance themselves. They must be quite knowledgeable about the powers and procedures of the various local offices which blacks hold, and they must be familiar with the general structure and operation of the state government and how this relates to specific local offices. They should be able to assist officials on most of the routine problems which are encountered. When special problems of unusual difficulty or requiring special kinds of expertise arise, the staff must be able to recognize the nature of the problem and know where to turn to find the right kind of help. In some instances they will locate these resources in their own states and act as liaison between the officials and the resources. In other instances, the state staff can call upon the regional institute to provide an expert staff member or they can contract directly with an outside consultant to deal with the problem.

In their regular visits with officials, the staff will learn of many problems and will be ready to respond to them on the spot. The staff will also have to serve as a kind of crisis trouble shooter, going to the scene of a particular problem when

they hear about it, either from the official or someone else, and providing immediate assistance.

Orientation and Training Programs

The state office will provide orientation programs for all officials. These programs will present thorough instruction about the duties of office, respond to the particular problems which the officials are beginning to face in the actual performance of their duties, and suggest ways in which an official may creatively use his office to the greater benefit of his constituency. These training programs may take a variety of forms. They will have to be organized in such a manner as to permit the officials, whose jobs may prevent them from leaving their community at certain times, to participate. They may have to be scheduled for a series of weekends, or meet one night each week for several weeks. Also the same program may have to be held in several locations around the state. Otherwise many officials would be unable to attend.

Because of these circumstances, it would be particularly difficult or expensive to bring in outside experts to conduct all these sessions. On some topics it will be necessary to utilize outside experts, but the state staff must be able to conduct most aspects of these training programs. When special assistance

is needed, the state staff can arrange for the regional institute to send in resource persons, when available, or they can locate elsewhere the appropriate resource people.

It is tempting for someone to suggest that training programs such as the above are too cumbersome and expensive and that if the black officials really wanted instruction and assistance, they would make the necessary arrangements to attend centralized programs. It must be stressed that such a suggestion is unrealistic. The experiences of organizations involved in providing technical assistance to elected officials clearly demonstrate that such approach will reach only a limited number of officials. If a program is truly serious about assisting black officials, it must accept the difficulties involved and use approaches which will get around these difficulties, no matter how inefficient, expensive, or tedious these may appear.

These training programs will focus not only on the formal powers and procedures of particular offices, but also on other matters which will assist the official in doing a better job. For instance, some officials will need instruction and practice in parliamentary procedure. Some will need assistance in office management, in keeping public records, in the budgetary process, and so forth. Still another type of training will deal with effective tactics and strategy for officials who work on multi-member boards, particularly if these boards have white majorities.

SEDFRE, the Joint Center for Political Studies and Other Organizations

Another organization which has provided assistance to black officials in the South is the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, Incorporated. They have sponsored some conferences for officials, but perhaps their most outstanding programs have been the placement of full-time aides with the officials of Greene County, Alabama, and Fayette, Mississippi. These aides have worked in a variety of ways with the county commissioners and school board members in Greene County and with the city administration in Fayette.

The Joint Center for Political Studies, although its focus has largely been outside the South, has sponsored a few meetings and provided some consultant services on federal programs to officials in this region. Several other organizations--such as the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, and American Friends Service Committee -- along with a number of individuals, have also provided services to some of the black officials in the southern states.

White Institutions

There are, of course, a number of predominantly white institutions and programs in the South whose purposes include providing assistance to public officials. It should be stressed that, for a variety of reasons, these resources have not been of

The officials need to learn about the politics of office-holding and government adminstration; as well as the formal duties of office.

Preparation of Materials

It will be necessary in many instances for the state staff to prepare materials for the workshops and manuals for the officials to use in their offices. Up-to-date manuals on many offices in these states do not exist, and some of those which do exist are too complicated for the novice official, particularly if his educational background is not strong. With the experience of participating in training programs and using simplified manuals, an official will be able to use increasingly complex materials as he goes along. The staff of the regional institute can help in the research and preparation for some of the materials needed by the state program but it will be necessary for the state staff to tailor the information provided by the regional institute to the specific requirements and practices in their states, and they will have to assume full responsibility for preparing materials on the numerous local topics which the regional institute has not dealt with. For example, the regional staff may prepare materials on the operation of city councils, county commissions, or school boards which will be of value to such officials in all states, but it will be necessary for the

state staff to add the specific regulations and peculiarities which exist in their individual state. Furthermore, there will be offices or practices in each state which may not have the general interest to warrant the regional institute's attention.

Research and Staff Assistance

For some officials, such as state legislators and councilmen in large cities, who must stay informed on a large number of complex and rapidly emerging issues, the state program will provide research and staff assistance. Student interns working under the supervision of staff members of the state program, can be assigned to them. Together, the interns and the state staff can assist the official in keeping abreast of the many issues on which he has to act. They also can research the questions of particular interest to the official, provide him with the material he needs to sponsor legislation, investigate conditions in the state, or otherwise help him bring to public attention movements and conditions which are of crucial importance to black citizens. It must be emphasized that the assistance provided a state legislator, or any type of official who in effect legislates, will never attempt to influence his views or actions. Instead the assistance will be in response to specific requests from the legislator or will be in the form of objective, non-partisan information.

Assistance with Federal and State Aid Programs

In addition to sponsoring the programs designed to train the officials on the duties of their offices, the state staff will also organize courses on federal and state assistance programs. These courses will be concerned with programs relating to water and sewer systems, economic development, neighborhood facilities, health care, recreation, beautification, urban renewal, housing, day care centers, job training, adult education, school lunches, compensatory education, and so forth. After workshops are held, the state staff will go into particular communities and help prepare applications for some of these programs. They will help gather the necessary data for the applications, help the local officials and residents define just what kind of program they want, and help them find matching resources, when these are required.

The state staff members cannot, of course, be expert on all the programs in which the officials may be interested. But the staff can acquire a considerable familiarity with the programs and can work under the direction of experts affiliated with the regional institute or other professional consultants. The outside expert will have to visit the community on occasion, but the state staff can do much of the work under his guidance without his presence.

Distribution of Information

Another function of the state program will be to distribute useful information to the officials. Such distribution can sometimes be accomplished by a simple mailing, but on some particularly important or complex matters it will also be necessary to follow up the mailing with personal communication, either through individual visits or larger meetings. Among the types of information which the staff might communicate to the officials are the following: changes in election laws or the laws regarding the conduct of their offices; new programs which state, federal or private agencies are offering; changes in existing programs which are of interest to these officials; reminders of when important deadlines and filing dates are coming up; and so forth. To supplement the notices on some of these matters, it may be necessary for the state staff to prepare materials which make the meaning or significance of the notice clearer.

In order to keep black officials informed of certain developments which are of importance to them and the black community in general, it will be necessary for the state staff to monitor the activities of certain state and federal agencies. While it would be impossible for the staff to investigate all governmental activities, they will be able to rely on the research coming out of the regional institute to alert them

to some of the specific activities which they should keep an eye on. For example, the regional institute may do an in-depth analysis of the various kinds of programs available to the state under the federal revenue-sharing act. Then the state staff can look into exactly what the state is doing or what individual communities may be allowed to do.

Another example would be for the state staff to inform officials about national investigations regarding use of Title I (ESEA) money and, upon request, cooperate with the officials in an investigation in how state Title I funds are being used.

Liaison With Other Agencies

There will be occasions when the state staff must serve as liaison with various agencies and persons in the state. Sometimes an official may want to voice a complaint or make a request to an agency, but may want or need someone else to assist him as spokesman. Either because they do not know the particular agency official, or because they are uncertain of their knowledge of the agency and its procedures, or because they are concerned that they would otherwise be ineffective, some officials in the past have requested others to do such things as speak to state legislators about a problem, ask the highway department to alter a ruling, ask the county commission to install a better traffic control system in their neighborhood, ask the county health department and commission to remedy an unsafe water supply,

and so forth. Someone on the state staff must be able to act as spokesman or advocate for some officials on matters of this kind, or the complaint or request may not be made, and the community will lose. State staff members may also need to serve occasionally as negotiator or trouble shooter when an official gets entangled in a controversy with other local or state officials.

Faculty and Student Assistance Programs

The state staff will also organize and supervise student internship programs. While the regional institute will be sponsoring programs to provide interns to some officials throughout the region, the state staff will encourage local educational institutions to develop programs allowing students to pursue activities which will benefit officials in that state, as well as make the students more aware of the problems of their state's black officials and the possibilities of future public service careers. The state staff will also encourage faculty members to become more involved in projects which will assist the officials. In other words, the staff will try to stimulate local colleges to become more involved in the needs of the communities around them and make available to these communities some of the resources which the institutions possess, but are not now sharing as fully and effectively as they might. Some of the faculty and students might work directly with officials,

while others might assist the state staff in its research, preparation of materials or other functions.

Staff of State Office

In order to perform the functions outlined above, which is far from a complete listing of the needs they will have to serve, the state programs will require a staff of at least four persons: a director, a field representative, a researcher, and a secretary. The director will of course be responsible for the overall operation of the program, from program planning to day-to-day administration. He will serve in most cases as the liaison between officials and the representatives of government agencies and other organizations, both in matters of normal business and in crisis situations. He must have sufficient standing to win the acceptance and respect of faculty members and students, as well as the personnel in other organizations which have resources which may be useful to the officials. Although he will have numerous responsibilities which will send him other places, it is also necessary that he spend a large amount of time in the field, visiting and working directly with the officials.

While the director will spend some time in the field, the field representative will spend most of his time visiting officials in their home communities. He will have the major

responsibility of creating and maintaining a good relationship between the officials and the state program. In addition to providing on the spot assistance, he will communicate the needs of the officials to the state, and sometimes regional office, so that other assistance can be arranged. Along with the director and others, he will help organize and conduct training programs, and assist in preparing applications.

The primary responsibilities of the researcher will be to provide the information needed by other staff members and by officials. He will respond to specific problems of individual officials, as well as investigate matters of interest to various types of officials in general. He will prepare manuals and other materials needed by the staff in their work with officials, and he will keep close watch on such things as election dates, filing deadlines, electoral law changes, and so forth. He will also assist in the data collection needed by some communities in the preparation of applications for government programs.

The secretary will assist all the other staff members and run the office when others are out, so that an official will always be able to reach someone in the office during regular hours when he has a problem.

Consultant Services

In addition to this staff, it will also be necessary for the state program to have substantial resources to engage professional consultation when the need arises. Inevitably, there will be numerous occasions when special kinds of expertise is required to help an official. The regional institute will embody some of the needed expertise, such as legal services and grantsmanship experts, but this capability at the regional level will not always be available when needed, and sometimes it will not be adequate for the local needs. For example, even though there may be a lawyer on the regional staff, he may not be able to respond immediately to a crisis occuring in a particular community. In addition, the nature of the problem may require the sustained involvement of a lawyer, which may be an unwise use of the regional staff member's time. Furthermore, the regional lawyer will not be admitted to the bar of most states, and a local lawyer will have to be used when a matter goes into state court. Another example would be the occasions when a very special need arises, whether it be in seeking a grant or in performing some highly technical function of an office, and the expertise of the regional office is not broad enough to encompass the needed assistance. And there may be instances

when a regional staff member is capable of dealing with a problem, but he is inextricably involved in problems elsewhere at the time when service is demanded. It is absolutely crucial that the state office be able to engage the required consultation at the time when it is most needed, and this means it will have to have the funds to do this.

REGIONAL INSTITUTE

The regional institute will be affiliated with Clark College in Atlanta and through it, the Atlanta University complex. Clark has been chosen by the constituent institutions of the Atlanta University complex to develop, through its Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy, extensive programs in public policy which include the provision of technical and research assistance to minority elected and appointed officials. While the Institute will, in the first instance, be affiliated with Clark, broad policy for its operations and development will be made by a board consisting of representatives from the College, The Southern Regional Council, the Voter Education Project, and other groups chosen and individuals for their experience and expertise in the area of providing technical assistance to officials. (If all parties agree, this may be the same board that sets up the state programs.)

The regional institute will develop programs to assist black officials and communities directly and to assist others who will be working with these officials and communities directly and to assist others who will be working with these officials and communities. Its training activities will range from the creation of a public administration degree program to short courses on specific programs for community workers and officials. Its research activities will range from long-range public policy

analysis to investigations of particular problems currently facing local officials. The institute will become a repository of resources and information to which the state programs, individual officials, and community organizers can turn for assistance when they need it. Although its primary concern will be to assist blacks, its activities will also make valuable contribution to white groups as well.

Public Administration Degree Program

Under the auspices of Clark College, through the Atlanta University Center, the institute will develop degree programs in public administration. This program, of course, will not be restricted to black students, but its primary purpose will be to train a large number of blacks to take important administrative positions throughout the region. It is expected that some of these graduates will go to work with state governments, large county governments, or large city governments. But also it is expected that some of the graduates will take positions with small towns and rural county governments, where blacks hold many offices.

Most of the larger city and county governments, as well as the state governments, presently employ some blacks, but there are very few blacks in important public administration positions anywhere in the region. A change in this situation

is necessary if these governments are to be truly representative and the interests of blacks are to be given their proper attention. More blacks in government jobs are also required so that black citizens will have greater trust and confidence in the actions of these governments.

While there are still barriers in many places to black employment and advancement in public service careers, there are also instances when an insufficient number of blacks with the requisite skills are available for certain positions. For example, the director of the recently-formed Atlanta Regional Commission recognizes that he must have black professionals in a number of key positions in his organization if that organization is to have the credibility among black citizens which it must have to serve its basic purposes. He has had difficulty in finding a sufficient number of qualified applicants. Very few blacks have had the opportunity to receive this kind of education in the past and there is keen competition for those who presently possess the desired credentials.

The Atlanta Regional Commission is not the only organization which finds itself recruiting a labor force which is almost non-existent. Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA) has, after prolonged and sensitive negotiations,

agreed to hire a number of black men and women in policy-making positions within the organization. Once again insufficient opportunities for training have left blacks ill-equipped to fill these and similar visible and important positions.

In the small towns and rural counties, where black political power is making some dramatic gains, there is an urgent need for professionally-trained black administrators. In several instances already predominantly-black local governments have had to use talented, but professionally untrained people to fill these positions. A good example of this is Greene County, Alabama, where trained southern black administrators could have been of tremendous assistance to the newly-elected black officals. Trained people were needed to serve as administrative aides to the county commission, the school board, the probate judge, as well as newly-created agencies, such as the housing authority. Of course there is still a need for such administrators in that county.

Also places such as Mound Bayou, an all-black town in Mississippi, could very benefically use a young black administrator. There are dozens of other opportunities right now, and in the future many more of the 102 majority black counties and the numerous majority black towns in the South will be electing majority black governments.

Special Character of this Public Administration Program

A number of educational institutions and special fellowship

programs are now trying to encourage more blacks to enter public administration and related fields. While this is a positive step, the program of the regional institute will offer features which these institutions cannot match. First of all, it will be easier to encourage more southern black students to attend a predominantly black school in the South rather than a huge, predominantly white university far from their homes. Thus a larger number of students could be brought into this field of study. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, the degree program in Atlanta will offer the students a type of training which they could not receive elsewhere and which will be of considerable attraction to many of the potential students.

The students in the Atlanta program will receive all the kinds of training required for them to compete with the graduates of other schools, but their education will have a strong emphasis on field work with black officials. As a vital part of their training, they will be assisting black officials and will be able to perceive the importance of working with such officials in their subsequent careers. Thus the program not only will attract more blacks into public administration, but it will also encourage them to take positions where they can be of special help to black officials. This means that the program will have a greater emphasis on the needs of small towns and

rural areas than most other public administration schools.

As mentioned above, one of the prominent features of the public administration program will be its emphasis on field work. Both faculty and students will be involved in a number of activities directly related to current needs of black officials. Faculty members will possess expertise in areas which will be useful in solving many of the officials' problems. The faculty will act as a resource to which state staff members can turn for help, and, on occasion, they will work directly with officials. The curriculum for the students will include a considerable amount of work directly with officials. Students will serve an internship with officials or with a related agency. It is expected that in some courses the professor will take several students, or perhaps his entire class, into a community and work on a problem there. In other courses some of the assignments in Atlanta will involve work which can be of benefit to officials; for example, students may be assigned to research a particular program and prepare a manual which officials could use to become better acquainted with that program.

Other Training Programs

In addition to the degree program in public administration, the regional institute will conduct other closely related training programs, some for officials and some for those who will be assisting officials. As indicated earlier, the regional institute will assist

in training the staffs of the state program before they assume their positions, and will continue to provide short training courses on special aspects of their work after they have gone into the states.

The institute will also encourage other persons, such as community organizers and employees of other appropriate organizations to take these training courses, which will be concerned with various ways to improve conditions in black and poor white communities. This will have the effect of spreading useful knowledge and skills much more widely throughout the South than would otherwise be possible. These courses will cover a broad range of subjects, such as housing programs, economic development schemes, and innovative education programs.

Internship Programs and Faculty Fellowships

In addition to conducting the internship programs which will be part of the public administration degree program, the regional institute will also work with other institutions in placing students with black officials and supervising them in useful kinds of assistance to these officials. There are an increasing number of undergraduate schools with cooperative education programs, which allow a student to work a full term or longer away from the campus. In addition, there are increasing opportunities for student in professional schools -- such as

public administration, planning, and law -- to serve internships. In order for these interns to provide the maximum service to black officials and to derive the maximum educational benefit from the experience, the internship programs have to be carefully planned and supervised. The regional institute, in conjunction with the state programs can serve this function. In some instances, the institute will give the students specialized training before they go into the field. For example, if several communities have indicated a desire to apply for certain kinds of federal programs, a group of students could be trained in the procedures of preparing such applications and then go into these communities to perform this service. While the students would not be able to complete the entire process by themselves, they will make it possible for the skills of the state and regional staff members to be spread much further in a short time.

Legal Aid

The institute will need staff members with certain fields of expertise who may also teach in the public administration degree program. Among the type of people needed are lawyers and specialists in "grantsmanship". As indicated earlier, it will not be possible for a lawyer at the regional institute

to handle all the legal problems which arise for officials. Instead the institute lawyers will deal with problems which are of pertinence to a large number of officials, as well as provide assistance to the state staffs or local lawyers when special occasions demand this service. For example, an institute lawyer might investigate some of the problems of local government which would be helpful to city councilmen and county commissioners throughout the region, and occasionally he might go to a particular town or county to advise the officials there when they have a special problem which falls within his sphere of expertise, and no other person is available to assist. The institute lawyer can also give advice to state staff members when they need such counsel, and he can supervise law student interns in special projects.

Specialists in Grantsmanship

The specialists in grantsmanship will of course advise the state staff on the availability of federal programs and how communities should go about seeking these grants. When necessary, these specialists will go to local communities to assist in preparing applications, although it is expected that the state staffs will do most of the preparatory work on these applications. The regional specialists will also help process the applications after they have been submitted. This means they will have to be familiar with key personnel in the various bureaucracies, and they will shepherd the applications from point to point in the

process of review. It is also expected that they will be privy to the kinds of information which will indicate what kinds of programs and what kinds of proposals have the best chance for funding at any given time. They will keep abreast of new opportunities in federal programs and will alert the state staffs and the local officials on these new possibilities.

Policy Studies

One of the most important functions of the regional institute will be the examination of long-range public policy questions. The institute will examine current policies of federal and state governments, as well as certain non-governmental organizations, to see what their real goals and effects are. Of even greater importance will be the program's concern with creating alternative policy proposals which will better serve the interest of black citizens and poor citizens generally. The institute will try to map out strategies which can lead to better uses of present programs, and it will propose new programs to serve needs which are now being ignored or misconceived.

Presently, most of the ideas for public programs, and the research which is used to document the need for such programs, is coming out of predominantly white institutions which, however, well-intentioned, are biased in their values and in their perceptions of needs. The regional institute will be approaching

public policies from the perspective of black people and poor white people, and this perspective will be maintained and reinforced through the institute's close working relationships with local communities throughout the region, through the state programs and otherwise. It can thus bring a viewpoint and a sensitivity which is missing in those institutions which currently influence the course of public policy in this society. Through this contribution, the institute can perhaps help bring about more effective and more equitable policies, which ultimately will be to the benefit of everyone.

These policy studies can sometimes have immediate impact also. In examining current and forthcoming programs of the federal government, for instance, the regional institute will be able to alert state programs of new opportunities and help them plan ways to use these opportunities to their best interest. The significance of this can be illustrated by imagining how much better use could have been made of funds available during the past few years for day care programs, if at the beginning of this period, some institute had thoroughly examined the possibilities of such programs and helped black and poor white groups develop strategies and proposals for implementing these possibilities. And there are numerous instances when states and localities fail to ask for funds which the federal government

has appropriated. The regional institute could advise black communities and poor white groups of how they could attempt to obtain some of these funds.

Other Research Interests

The regional institute will also conduct a number of other research projects, in addition to the policy studies described above. One area of study will be concerned with the problems of local government in the South. The institute will examine some of the major weaknesses of the structure and functioning of these government units, and it will investigate possible innovations which will improve their services, particularly with regard to black and poor citizens. Some of these studies will be examinations of the basic nature of these problems, but the institute will also direct some of this research effort toward particular concrete problems being faced by black officials. Thus a study of municipal government will not just look at the actual and potential powers and restrictions of these units and their relationships with county, state and federal governments, but it will also be concerned with producing information which will be of direct assistance to black city councilmen, as they go about the day-to-day business of being an effective public official.

Both to support other programs and because of the inherent interests of the subject, the institute will also conduct research

on black officials. Simply maintaining up-to-date records of who is elected where to what office, as well as who no longer holds office, is a considerable task. Also the institute will need to know about the circumstances under which officials were elected and must operate, the expectations of their constituents, the relationship with white officials both in their communities and at higher levels, the size and nature of their jurisdictions, the results of various efforts by black officials, and many other questions.

Preparation and Distribution of Materials

Another important function which the regional institute can perform is the distribution throughout the South of information which will help black and poor white communities gain a better understanding of how the political system works, how specific government programs operate, and how citizen groups can exert some influence on these matters. This information will, of course, be of great help to black officials, but it can also be quite valuable to all kinds of groups across the region.

Some of this information will grow out of the institute's studies of public policies described above. For example, the institute can prepare simply-written booklets describing the

opportunities for communities and informing citizens how they might proceed in trying to obtain some of these programs. Other booklets will be produced out of the studies of local governments. For example, the institute will prepare a manual on the operation of county governments, describing present and potential functions of this type of government unit which will be of general pertinence to most southern states. Of course, there will be a need for the state programs to supplement such manuals with information which is particular to that individual state.

The institute can also play a useful role by distributing materials produced by other organizations simplifying or supplementing this information when needed. For example, when other groups produce studies of such things as Title I (ESEA) or school lunch programs, the institute can help insure that these materials reach the state programs and people who can use them. The institutue can also "assist" the federal government by giving wider and more effective circulation of information on such things as Agriculture Stabilization and Commodity Service elections.

It will also be useful for the regional institute to give assistance to state programs in the preparation of manuals. An institute staff member who already has experience in investigating

state laws and practices and writing this up into simplified manuals on the operation of specific public offices could greatly facilitate the rapid production of such manuals in the state programs by assisting the researcher on the state staff.

Providing Services in States Which Do Not Have State Programs

Ideally, every state would have a state office to provide assistance to black public officials, but for awhile this will probably be financially impossible. At the same time, it would be unacceptable to establish offices in four states and completely ignore the needs of officials in the rest of the region. Therefore, the institute needs the resources to provide at least some minimum service to these other states.

Since the institute will be located in Atlanta, the state of Georgia is in a somewhat special situation. The Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy presently has a staff person who provides field representation to elected officials in Georgia. Its relationship to the Regional Institute will allow it to continue this function. It will probably also be cheaper and more convenient in many instances for the public administration program to assign students to problems in Georgia, although of course the institute will have to guard against becoming too restricted to the state in which it is located.

If the institute could employ two other field representatives to work in the remaining six states, they could render some

valuable services to officials, even though this assistance could not be as comprehensive or thorough as needed. As in Georgia, these field representatives would call upon institute staff members to help them provide certain kinds of assistance. The field representatives would organize workshops and other services to meet some of the more general and pressing needs of officials, and they would be available to work with an official or a community which has special needs. For instance, the field representatives could organize orientation programs for the newly elected officials in each of their states. This at least would give the officials some knowledge of how to proceed and where he might turn for some additional help when the need arose. A field representative could also give special attention to towns and counties which have majority black governments, such as the counties of Surrey and Charles City in Virginia, and the towns of Gretna and Eatonville in Florida.

Another valuable function which the institute can perform is to respond to unusual crisis situations which may occur in states which do not have offices. The visits of the field representatives should create enough familiarity between officials and the institute that the officials will call upon it when real emergency situations arise.

Another service which the institute can provide to some officials in states without offices is to place student interns with them. Since the institute will be coordinating internship

programs from several other institutions, there should be enough interns available to send some of these states, especially as the state offices mobilize greater involvement of students in their home states.

The institute could also prepare some manuals for officials in states without offices, although a complete job of this could not be accomplished. These manuals would be particular to each state and would be in addition to the more general booklets which the institute would be preparing, as described above.

Budget for State Programs

Salaries	
Director	$ 15,000
Field Representative	10,000
Researcher	9,000
Secretary	6,000
FICA and Benefits @ 15%	6,000
Travel (Director and Field Representative + some for researcher)	5,000
Office Supplies	500
Telephone	2,000
Printing	1,000
Library and research materials	500
Expenses of holding meetings and courses	2,500
Postage	500
Expenses for officials to attend meetings and courses	5,000
Student internships	5,000
Stipends for faculty projects	5,000
Consultant fees	15,000
Contingency, including office rental or overhead to college, and office equipment and furniture	12,000
	$100,000 x 4 states = $400,000

C. Proposed 1 year **Budget for Institute and Degree Program**

1. <u>Salaries - Institute Staff</u>		$240,500
Director	$25,000	
Lawyer	20,000	
4 Associate Directors @ $18,000 (with expertise in local government, policy analysis, grantsmanship and management)	72,000	
Research Coordinator	14,000	
Librarian	12,000	
Georgia Representative	12,000	
Office Manager/Administrative Asst.	9,000	
Secretary	8,000	
2 Secretaries @ $7,500	15,000	
2 Secretaries @ $6,500	13,000	
Intern Coordinator	10,000	
Fringe Benefits @ 15% of $210,000	31,500	
2. <u>Program Support</u>		95,000
Consultants and Contracted Services	7,500	
Library and Research Materials	10,000	
Printing and Publications	15,000	
Telephone	8,000	
Mailing	7,500	

Proposed Institute Budget (continued)

	Program Support (cont'd)		
	Office Supplies and equipment	$ 7,000	
	Travel	20,000	
	Meetings, Workshops and Conferences	15,000	
	Board Meetings	5,000	
3.	Academic Component		$165,500
	3 Faculty Fellows @ $20,000 each	60,000	
	Curriculum in Public Administration and Policy Studies (instruction and selected faculty research)	72,000	
	Student Internships and Field Placement	23,000	
	Student Research	7,500	
4.	Overhead @ 35% of staff salaries and faculty fellowships		$105,175
	Total		$605.675

BUDGET FOR REGIONAL INSTITUTE
for Start-up Period

A. January 1, 1973 - September 30, 1973

Salaries		$85,800
Director	$13,600	
Associate Director	6,000	
Associate Director	6,000	
Associate Director	6,000	
Research Associate	4,000	
Office Manager/Admin. Asst.	5,250	
Secretary	6,250	
Secretary	2,500	
Librarian	9,000	
Georgia Representative	10,000	
Student Interns @ $1,000 each per semester	6,000	
Fringe benefits @ 15% of $74,600	11,200	
Program Support		$99,000
Consultants and Contracted Services	12,500	
Library and Research Materials	20,000	
Printing	8,000	
Telephone	6,000	

Budget for Regional Institute (continued)

Program Support (cont'd)

Mailing	$ 5,000	
Office Equipment and Furniture	7,000	
Meetings and Conferences	3,000	
Travel	5,000	
Board Meetings	2,500	
Overhead @ approximately 35% of $85,800	30,000 [b]	
Total (for 10 months)		$184,800

B. The estimates in A. carry salaries to August 31. It is necessary to take 1/12 of salaries and add to that an overhead line. Approximately $10,500 is required.

Total January - October $195,300

Footnotes for A and B

1. Based on salary of $25,000 per year for period March 1 - September 30.

2. Based on salaries of $18,000 per year for period June 1 - September 30. These lines include the specialized areas of local government, management, and government programs and grantsmanship.

3. Based on salary of $12,000 per year for June 1 - September 30.

4. Based on salary of $9,000 for March 1 - September 30. This position requires ability to keep books.

5. Based on salary of $7,500 for January 1 - September 30.

6. Based on salary of $7,500 for June 1 - September 30.

7. Based on salary of $12,000 per year for January 1 - September 30.

8. The program will not be a full strength for its first 10 months. Consultants will be hired, where possible from the faculties and staffs of the institutions and organizations involved with the Regional Institute and the projected state offices, to participate in a detailed and intensive planning curriculum for service to minority officials. They will assess among other things the status of minority office-holders throughout the region, the requirements of particular states and specific offices and, working closely with the Institute and its Advisory Board, draw a blueprint for activities for the first three years.

a. Based on $12,000 salary, a Georgia component is included here not as a "State office," but rather as it evolves from services now performed by the Policy Center and presently paid for directly by Clark.

b. The Clark overhead figure here includes a rental item Business Office Expenses, security, maintenance and other services. It is pegged at 35%, but may possibly be reduced.

file U.E.P

Rustin Politicks For LBJ

Negro Philosopher Rebuffed by King

ATLANTA — (UPI) — Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and the civil rights movement's chief philosopher, has begun campaigning openly among Southern Negroes for President Johnson's reelection in 1968.

Rustin's political support for the President already has embarrassed some civil rights groups trying to keep a strict non-partisan stance. Rustin also has been rebuffed in his campaigning by some key Negro leaders, including Dr. Martin Luther King.

Urging coalitions between Negroes, poor whites, liberals and organized labor, Rustin so far is the only national Negro leader to take a partisan stand in public, although King has come close.

Rustin's politicking for the Democratic Party began this month. At a meeting last week in Jackson, Miss., at-

Bayard Rustin
. . . likes Lyndon

tended by most of the state's newly elected Negro officials, Rustin urged support of the President in 1968.

The conference Dec. 14-15 was held by the Southern Regional Council (SRC), an Atlanta-based research, voter registration and civil rights organization.

Rustin's open support of Johnson came as a surprise and upset leaders of the SRC, which is supported by grants from private foundations and maintains strict non-partisanship. SRC officials disavowed themselves from what he had to say.

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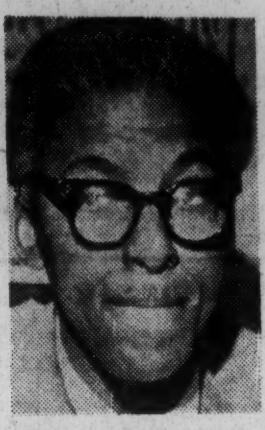

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Georgia Rep. Julian Bond, the young Negro who won a Supreme Court decision that enabled him to take his seat in the Georgia House of Representatives, reportedly was ready to debate the issue openly at the meeting, arguing against Johnson's reelection.

Rustin has met a similar rebuff from King, who has said he would not support Johnson in the 1968 presidential elections unless there is a change in the administration's Vietnam war policy.

King has not endorsed any party or candidate in 1968, but it is known that he privately hopes Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York will win the Republican nomination.

Rustin tells Southern Negroes that the Negro and labor "cannot afford a return to conservative rule, even in its cleaned-up, well dressed, broad-grinned Madison Avenue varieties."

The idea of replacing Johnson with a Republican "dove" on Vietnam would result in a "more conservative Congress, with the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition even more firmly in control," he argues.

Rustin urges Negroes who oppose Johnson on Vietnam to vote for him anyway, since, Rustin says, the Republican Party would bring "four years of substituting cliches about the genius of private enterprise instead of intelligent and vigorous public policy."

Negro voter registration in 11 Southern states from Virginia to Texas totaled about 2,820,000 at the end of the past summer's intensive voter registration drives, compared with about 14,774,000 white voters in the region.

The attached letter also sent to:

Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell
SCLC
334 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Clarence D Coleman
Southern Regional Director
NUL Southern Regional Office
78 Marietta Street, Suite 418
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Whitney M. Young
Executive Director
NUL
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Mr. Julian Bond)
Mr. John Lewis, Chairman) Individual letters
Mr. James Forman, Executive Secretary)
SNCC
360 Nelson Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Marvin Rich
Community Relations Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
Director
NAACP Southeastern Regional Office
859½ Hunter Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

File VEP "Program Reports" (make such a folder if one does not now exist)

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: The Voter Education Project Advisory Committee

In the first six months of its existence, the current Voter Education Project has assisted a total of 76 different programs. The emphasis thus far has been on voter registration. However, a few programs of citizenship education and leadership training have been funded.

As the state-by-state tables show, there is much to be done in the field of voter registration in the South, despite the striking advances made in recent years. At present, barely half the Negroes of voting age in the South are registered. The white registration is nearly three-fourths.

Sizable increases still will have to be made in Negro registration if the level of democratic participation in the South is to be raised. So it is natural that local committees and citizenship organizations presently are stressing registration. But it is to be expected that emphasis will shift to citizenship education and leadership training as the registration totals move upward. The Voter Education Project will continue to take the initiative in stimulating programs of education and training.

Thus far, programs associated with the Voter Education Project have registered nearly 50,000 persons. The attached

tables account for 41,557 of these. However, there are a few projects which have not yet submitted final reports. And there are a number of projects, particularly in Georgia and Mississippi, which have not yet had time to submit reports.

Moreover, it should be noted that registration drives tend to have a snowballing effect. When one person who has never registered goes to the courthouse and does so, he tells his relatives and neighbors. A few days later, the relatives and neighbors may go register. So 20 or more persons eventually may register because one person was reached in a registration drive.

We know this occurs. Our reports from rural counties tell us that some plantation workers will not go register until others do. So a breakthrough produces ever-widening circles of new voters.

A study we have just completed shows the impact of organized registration drives and federal examiners on Negro registration. The figures follow a predictable pattern, but we feel that they are nevertheless interesting. Registration figures are significantly lower in counties with neither examiners nor organized drives.

Where heavy new registration occurs, the question naturally arises: Will these newly registered citizens vote?

Our study of the Alabama primary indicates that they will. We estimated that nearly three-fourths of Negro registration voted in the May 3 primary.

Much depends, of course, on circumstances and issues, and the issues in the Alabama primary were sharply drawn. All the same, we felt that the Alabama turnout was remarkably high.

It is here that citizenship education and leadership training come into the picture. Before the Alabama primary, the Lee County League of Women Voters received from us a grant of $200. With this modest sum, the League transported voting machines throughout the county so that 2,500 new voters, of whom 1,300 were illiterate, could become accustomed to using this rather imposing device before the election.

Now we are granting another small amount -- $775 -- to the same organization for the purpose of producing three television programs on citizenship education for showing in Alabama and, we hope, elsewhere. The programs will be produced in cooperation with the drama departments of Tuskegee Institute and Auburn University

Another pre-primary program of voter education was

conducted in Macon County. We hope this program will be the forerunner of similar programs in other rural areas.

In the field of leadership training, a one-day institute was held in Alabama in cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. A similar institute was held later in South Carolina.

These institutes schooled candidates and poll watchers in election laws and election procedures. After the Alabama primaries, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund filed suits regarding Greene County and a legislative district in East Alabama growing out of instructions provided at the pre-election institute.

Also, we have allocated a small grant for a six-day leadership training workshop to be held later this month at Frogmore, S. C., for Negro candidates and their campaign workers.

Another forthcoming project will be supported through the Southern regional office of the Urban League. It will seek to train community leaders in both urban and rural settings -- Jacksonville, Fla., and Hobson City, Ala.

We are also working to increase student participation in programs sponsored through the Voter Education Project. VEP has been fortunate during the summer in having the services of

William R. Beardslee, a Haverford College student who is directing our efforts in this area.

Many of our registration programs report that young people are the mainstays of such activities as door-to-door canvassing. As an example of our efforts to encourage the use of students in VEP-assisted programs, we recently made a grant to the Lynchburg, Va., Voters League for five students and a coordinator.

We also assisted the National YWCA in a spring registration campaign conducted by 247 college students in six localities. These students registered 3,022 persons -- a figure not included in our state-by-state VEP total.

One of the better programs with which we are associated is being operated in Southside Virginia by the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee.

Mr. Beardslee recommends that we expand the use of students in VEP. He proposes recruitment through deans of Negro colleges and through human-relations organizations.

It should be noted that not all of our programs are limited to a single county. The Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee works in nine counties. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations operates a program in 16 counties. Another program covers 19 counties in West Tennessee.

Thus far, for all programs, we have committed a total of $125,962.30. Grants to VEP total $325,000.

Our research department answers requests for information on registration and voting from sources ranging from The New York Times and television networks to local news media and candidates.

The research reports sent to us from VEP-assisted programs regularly provide some of the most interesting reading material available concerning the South and Southern problems. Through these reports we watch directors of these programs -- for the most part, local people -- meet and conquer such oft-mentioned problems as fear, intimidation, suspicion, apathy, resignation, dissension and the hostility of white officials.

Is it worthwhile? For that answer we turn to the director of the registration program in Charleston, S. C. In pen-and-ink at the bottom of his final statistical report, he writes:

"We tried as hard as we could to get as many to register as possible. We are not too happy. But 783 new registered voters would never have been if it were not for the Southern Regional Council, Inc."

REPORT ON THE FIRST MEETING OF THE
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
ADVISORY COMMITTEE

: : :

The Advisory Committee of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council held its first meeting on Thursday, December 30, 1965. The purpose of this meeting was to ascertain the reaction and suggestions of the Project's Advisory Committee on the proposal, "A Project in Citizenship Education," submitted by SRC to the Field and Taconic Foundations.

Members of the Advisory Committee present were Russell Sugarman, Memphis attorney; Frank Smith, Director, TVA; C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute; Richard Miles, Director, South Carolina Voter Education Project; Jesse Hill, Atlanta businessman; Samuel DuBois Cook, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Atlanta University; John H. Wheeler, President, Southern Regional Council.

Representing the staff were Paul Anthony, Vernon Jordan, Barbara Patterson, and Pat Watters. Dr. Cook was elected Chairman of the Advisory Committee.

The function of the Advisory Committee is exactly what the title implies; the committee is advisory only. Though the project will not be bound by the committee's reactions on suggestions of program, the project will and must give great weight to the advice and counsel of the committee. The individuals serving on the committee were invited to do so because of their interest, experience, and personal involvement in the wide range of activities

in citizenship participation; they bring much to the project.

There was unanimous support for the entire proposal. The committee felt that the proposal addressed itself to basic needs in citizenship education in the South and enthusiastically hoped for the immediate implementation of the project as set forth in the proposal.

Discussion at the meeting centered on the proposal, and the outline headings therein were taken up singly. The following sets forth the reactions and suggestions of the committee under each heading in the proposal.

A NEW PROGRAM

Suggestion--Voter registration should be given a higher priority by the project than the educational and leadership training facets of the program, though the latter have real value and purpose.

Reaction--The majority of the committee concurred on the importance and the crucial need for increased registration. But they saw registration as "the first layer of the onion." Their feeling was that while the last project and other agency efforts have clearly demonstrated the ability to register voters (assuming the availability of resources), this project must also direct its energies and resources to the next layer of onion. This is helping and motivating registered voters to become active and enlightened voters, fully participating in the political process.

Memphis was cited as a city with needs beyond registration.

Approximately 70% of the eligible Negroes are registered but are in dire need of civic education programming to motivate voting and to counter such potentially dangerous trends as the white power structure using current federal programs as a pork barrel to entrench itself.

Suggestion--That the project select certain metropolitan centers for programs emphasizing citizenship education but also encompassing registration campaigns. The education programs would stress the intricacies and modus operandi of local government enabling the citizenry to better understand their role and responsibility in such urban problems as urban renewal, annexation, flouridation, housing and slum clearance, police protection, and locally administered federal programs.

A logical consequence of this community effort would be the recognition by local governments of the political implications of a larger and better informed Negro electorate.

Suggestion--Request the major civil rights organizations and other agencies to make available to the project materials and resources used by them in citizenship education programs. The project would assess the materials and their possible effectiveness and then use them where appropriate.

Suggestion--The project set as a top research priority the preparation of outlines of local organizational structure of city and county governments. The idea here is that people need to know how the government is organized at the level closest to the people where there is a day to day relationship between the government and the people.

Reaction--If the results of the project's programs are to be meaningful, it will be on the state level, and in counties and cities. At these levels, the project's programs can be most effective and this is where our resources should be concentrated.

Suggestion--The project should require that applications for grants of funds for any program include a statement of the local political situation, and an assessment of past political behavior in the area in which the program will be implemented.

Reaction--The suggestion was unanimously approved and well received. In addition to this requirement, it was felt that an applicant must justify to the project the need for the program proposed. The justification of need would be subject to flexible guidelines set up in advance by the project.

Suggestion--The Department of Justice needs to be encouraged to send more federal examiners into the states covered by the '65 Voting Law. How can this be done?

Reaction--Some of the initial programs of the project on voter registration should be set up in areas where the need for federal intervention can be effectively dramatized. The Department of Justice will send registrars only where the need is clearly demonstrated, judging from its action to date.

Suggestion--To avoid some of the pitfalls of machine politics in northern urban areas, the project should sponsor pilot voter education programs in those areas where federal

examiners have registered large numbers of voters. Conceivably, for example, the new registered voters could be driven from the plantation on the plantation owner's truck and told how to vote by the owner, for his personal and economic interests contrary to their own.

Pilot voter education programs in selected areas where federal examiners have been assigned might demonstrate to the Department of Justice that registration alone is not the full story. Such a program could provide the project with documentary evidence of intimidation and economic reprisals against persons who dare to exercise their right to vote independently and intelligently.

INTERAGENCY COOPERATION

Suggestion--It is important to minimize the conflicts in programs between local groups and the major civil rights organizations as well as among the major groups themselves -- exclusive of local groups.

Reaction--It is of paramount importance that the project have some knowledge of local situations. For example, Albany, Georgia, would perhaps reject overtures for programs by all of the civil rights organizations because of its past experiences with almost all of them.

The project, if aware of such local attitudes, can assist local communities in developing their own programs or be helpful to the civil rights organizations in reestablishing relations with the local people by providing staff and other resources.

In areas where the several organizations either claim to have or in fact have on-going programs, the project could be effective in setting up coalition groups or cooperative efforts to achieve stated specific goals. In Tennessee, for example, a powerful and effective political organization, the Tennessee Voters Council, is not beset with organizational tensions because local affiliates of several of the major organizations are represented and have an active voice in the affairs of the Council.

The South Carolina Voter Education Project is another example of a statewide cooperative effort. Represented on its executive committee is a staff person of each of the major civil rights organizations and the lay leaders of the organizations. In addition, the South Carolina Council on Human Relations is an active participant in the South Carolina VEP.

Suggestion--Generally, the civil rights organizations relate best on voter registration because its success is measurable and publishable. The project, therefore, must develop further avenues for cooperative ventures.

Reaction--The project has to help provide the major groups with the incentive and resources to take their programs beyond the registration process alone into the crucial areas of citizenship education and leadership training.

VOTER EDUCATION AND LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Suggestion--How will the project relate to statewide groups like

the Alabama State Coordinating Committee for Registration and Voting, the Tennessee Voters Council, and the South Carolina Voter Education Project if they should move from the proposed programs and logically drift into political action? Political action here would mean supporting and running candidates, advocating legislation and publicly favoring and working for specific public policy decisions. Is this project restricted here?

Reaction--Under the tax-exemption ruling that guided the first VEP, grants were permissible to non-tax-exempt groups. To clarify this problem, however, the project should prepare a set of procedural guidelines. These guidelines should spell out the limitations, if any, upon grantees in the use of project funds. Prohibitions against certain kinds of political activity that violate the project's authority under the tax ruling as relates to grantees should be clearly set forth.

Suggestions--The guidelines, in addition to setting forth limitations on grantees, must be flexible and varied so as to encourage and stimulate groups to participate. Hard, rigid, and complex guidelines will be a negative factor in getting support from local groups.

Reaction--This was very favorably received and was suggested as a priority item for the project. The grant procedure, from submitting the proposal to letting funds, ought to be simple and quick, yet thorough.

Suggestion--Budgetary limitations for the convening of leaders

and potential leaders for seminars suggest the use of co-operative programs with resources like the Capahoosic Center in Virginia, which has funds avaialble for travel and other expenses for such meetings. The project should immediately explore the possibilities here for cooperation.

Reaction--There was a positive response to the suggestion with the hope expressed that a meeting of grass roots leaders at the Center be arranged early in the program. This meeting, with emphasis less on exchange and more on instruction, will be beneficial to the project in planning other programs. In addition, this meeting could provide a basic format for meetings to be held in local areas or on centrally located college campuses.

Suggestion--The selection of schools for leadership training or civic education centers must be made with regard to the needs of the surrounding communities. Also, schools located in rural areas cannot be overlooked as effective participants. It was noted that with the exception of Tougaloo Southern Christian College and Jackson State College, Negro colleges in Mississippi are situated in rural settings.

Reaction--There was agreement. It was pointed out that the value of such meetings to the participating school itself, once the program has come and gone, should not be overlooked. Institutes on campuses for citizenship education or leadership training will not only broaden the school's educational services to the community, but will bring the community closer to the school.

Further, high school students may be provided their first opportunity to witness higher education as a tangible reality by attending a campus workshop.

OTHER RESOURCES

Suggestion--The League of Women Voters and COPE are valuable resources to the project. Mention was also made of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, a new group with which the staff is already in contact.

Reaction--These and other relationships should be explored and strengthened.

Suggestion--The project would profit from liaison with government agencies responsible for the administration of some 106 federal programs. An intimate knowledge of these federal programs by the project will be useful in preparing materials for workshops in citizenship education and leadership training.

Reaction--The project in cooperation with the SRC research staff and other agencies should prepare simple, concise, easily read materials explaining federal programs for use throughout the region.

INVOLVEMENT OF STUDENTS

Reaction--The response to this aspect of the proposal was overwhelmingly favorable. "Most exciting," "great," and "highly important," were among the reactions. Involvement of students was the most lively and agreeable discussion of the meeting. The greatest concern was how best to implement the idea and

whether the budgetary allocation was sufficient.

Suggestion--The selection of the student participants should involve the school administration in setting the criteria. A major effort by the project to solicit the cooperation of colleges and universities is envisioned.

To adequately involve the colleges, to properly recruit students and to establish a student work program, two things seem necessary. One, an additional budget item providing for a second field person to be primarily responsible for the student program, is needed. And second, the direction and supervision of the students should be the responsibility of the local group or agency conducting the program where the students are assigned.

Reaction--The staff person to cooperate with the school and the local group would provide the most desirable coordination of student efforts. A further responsibility of the staff person and the local group directing and supervising the students would be to assure the project that it is getting its moneys worth from the students.

Suggestion--Local office holders and government officials should be approached to permit students sponsored by the project to work in their offices as interns thereby experiencing first-hand the operation of government.

Reaction--There was much enthusiasm here and the vital point was made that this is education, not political action. Universities with departments in urban and muncipal planning make such

internship arrangements as a part of the curriculum.

Certain difficulties were visualized in the operation of this program in rural areas. It was suggested, however, that similar liaisons may be possible with county agricultural personnel and other county agencies.

BUDGET

Suggestion--The staff should reassess the budget and request additional funds more consistent with the needs of national agencies and local groups.

Further, the first year's spending may not accurately gauge the amounts needed in subsequent years, once the project has assessed the effectiveness of its programs, particularly the more inovational aspects such as education, student involvement and leadership training.

The project may choose to sponsor more programs the second year, and therefore should not be limited because of caution in expending funds the first year on new ventures. Hopefully, supporters will permit a carry-over of any unexpended funds.

Additional funds for the salary and travel of a second staff person for student activities should be added to any supplemental budgetary requests.

Suggestion--Some metropolitan areas like Atlanta, Nashville, Charlotte, because of their economic affluence and independence, are in a position to provide matching funds to a project grant. The willingness of these communities to provide matching funds would be a sure indication of their interest in the project's programs.

Reaction--This was received favorably for selected metropolitan areas, provided that the project set up flexible guidelines for the communities involved. Matching funds provisos, however, should not be applicable to rural communities.

CONCLUSIONS

The Advisory Committee meeting closed with two conclusions. First, the proposal as set forth by the Council has merit and fulfills a tremendous need in the region. If it is to be effective, time is of the essence. The program needs to become operative immediately. Committee members associated with past VEP programs stressed the impact of a timetable which launches the program during the winter and early spring with sufficient momentum to carry it through the summer.

Second, there was complete agreement that the budget as presently drafted is inadequate to meet the needs of and the requests for resources from national organizations and local groups.

##

NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION FOR SELECTIVE YEARS
AND VOTING AGE POPULATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

STATE	1952		1956		1960		Spring 1966		1950 CENSUS	1960 CENSUS
	# Registered	%VAP Reg.	# Registered	%VAP Reg.	# Registered	% VAP Reg.	# Reg.	% VAP Reg.	NEGRO VAP	NEGRO VAP
ALABAMA	25,224	4.9 ~~9.5~~	53,366	10.3 ~~20.1~~	73,272	15.2	235,572	48.9	516,275 ~~265,458~~	481,320
ARKANSAS	61,413	26.4	69,677	30.0	72,604	37.6	104,000	54.0	232,191	192,672
FLORIDA	120,900	32.9	148,703	40.5	163,128	34.7	288,069	60.2	366,797	470,306
GEORGIA	144,835	23.3	163,389	26.2	180,000	29.3	256,346	41.8	622,703	612,910
LOUISIANA	120,000	24.9	161,410	33.5	156,938	30.4	228,073	42.3	481,284	514,589
MISSISSIPPI	20,000	4.0	20,000	4.0	22,000	5.2	125,000	29.6	497,354	422,256
N. CAROLINA	100,000	18.2	135,000	24.5	172,166	31.3	269,328	48.9	549,741	550,929
S. CAROLINA	80,000	20,5	99,890	25.6	58,122	15.7	186,752	50.3	390,024	371,104
TENNESSEE	85,000	26.6	90,000	28.2	185,000	58.9	225,000	71.7	318,790	313,873
TEXAS	181,916	31.2	214,000	36.7	226,818	34.9	400,000	61.6	582,944	649,412
VIRGINIA	69,326	16.4	82,603	19.5	100,100	23.8	185,000	44.0	422,670	421,051
TOTAL	1,008,614	21.3	1,238,038	26.2	1,410,148	28.2	2,503,140	50.1	4,729,956	5,000,376

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME:

VEP - College Service Centers for Black Elected Officials

REGARDING:

Proposals from initial colleges:
Clark
Miles
Southern University
Talladega
Tougaloo

DATE:

SEE:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

Voter Education Project #2 files

file rep

SERVICE CENTERS FOR BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

1. Clark College
   240 Chestnut Street, S. W.
   Atlanta, Georgia 30314
   (Mr. Mike Chanin - contact person)

2. Miles College
   Birmingham,
   Alabama
   (Dr. Lucius Pitts, President)

3. Southern University
   Baton Rouge,
   Louisiana
   (Dr. Jewel Prestage, contact person)

4. Talladega College
   Talladega,
   Alabama
   (Mr. Harold Franklin, contact person)

5. Tougaloo College
   Tougaloo,
   Mississippi
   (Mrs. Taunya Banks, contact person)

Erst V.D. M.W. W.R. E.R.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

GUIDELINES FOR VEP FUNDED SERVICE CENTERS FOR ELECTED OFFICIALS

1. The Center shall make its services available to any elected public official desiring assistance, subject to the limitations set forth hereinunder, without regard to party affiliation. All programs of the Service Center must be strictly governed by the principle of non-partisanship. insert

2. Because of this necessity to carefully avoid both the fact and appearance of partisanship in connection with the work of a service center, the directors of service centers should refrain from personal partisan activity. insert

3. The Service Centers must avoid any involvement or association with: (a) political campaigns to elect ~~one or more~~ persons to public office, whether incumbent or not; (b) orienting their programs toward assisting public officials once they are in office and not during the campaign or elective process. (c) ~~More specifically~~, all forms of assistance to elected officials by service centers should be terminated at that point where it can be considered that a campaign for reelection has begun, (d) and at no time should assistance ~~[illegible]~~ to an elected official be continued to within six weeks or less of the time the election is to be held. This principle should apply both to primary elections and general elections. Forms of assistance to elected officials should not be sustained during the interim between a primary and the general election, ~~[illegible]~~ whatever the duration of time. (e) This restriction shall cover all forms of assistance, whether research, consultative services, participation in conferences or an intern program.

4. While a service center may reimburse elected officials for travel expense, as in attending a conference, there shall be no honoraria or compensation to elected officials within the state the center covers. ~~[illegible]~~ This guideline need not limit a service center in providing modest honoraria to such elected officials from out of state who may speak at conferences, etc., but care should be taken over a period of time to achieve some balance in terms of the party affiliations of such invited apeakers.

5. A Service Center shall not engage directly or indirectly in "get-out-the-vote" activities at the time of an election.

From the beginning but increasingly at a later date,

d) ~~In time~~ we are hopeful of servicing any officials regardless of race and of finding a meeting ground where black and white officials can come together. We believe the plan proposed and the sites selected hold promise for desired interracial cooperation.

e) We are anxious to encourage black colleges to become more related to, and offer more service to, the areas ~~and the problems of the areas and the people~~ in which they are located.

f) We sincerely, emphatically, want this service to be non-partisan and to administer ~~conduct~~, among other things, sound, professionally-conducted, research. Toward this end we think the academic ~~setting and the~~ institution of higher learning settings are essential.

g) We hope these centers, or some variation of them, will remain in existance long after funding from this office, or ~~perhaps~~ even the existence of the VEP have ended. If this is achieved we believe it is necessary to establish the centers with ongoing institutions rather than create separate entities.

I hope you find this helpful. If more is needed please let me know.

Sic

RD

file
ref

SERVICE CENTERS FOR BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

1. Clark College
   240 Chestnut Street, S. W.
   Atlanta, Georgia 30314
   (Mr. Mike Chanin - contact person)

2. Miles College
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4. Talladega College
   Talladega,
   Alabama
   (Mr. Harold Franklin, contact person)

5. Tougaloo College
   Tougaloo,
   Mississippi
   (Mrs. Taunya Banks, contact person)

DRAFT

GUIDELINES FOR SERVICE CENTERS

Specific guidelines are:

(1) The Centers are for the purpose of providing non-partisan assistance to any elected official and all requests for assistance shall be made to the extent possible. Centers may, if requested, provide an elected official with information on a given issue. They may not recommend what opinion the official should have on that issue. (For instance, on request a Center could provide an elected official with information on the pros and cons of flouridation. It could not indicate a bias or make a recommendation on what conclusion the official should reach.)

(2) Centers may provide assistance to candidates only on legal and technical information. For instance, Centers may provide a candidate with a copy of election laws, information on how to qualify, or the legal rights and responsibilities of a candidate for office.

(3) With a candidate for office, Centers may not:

(a) provide any financial assistance;

(b) provide any advice or other assistante on getting out the vote;

(c) offer any advice on campaign techniques or issues;

(d) In summary, the processes of a campaign and an election are completely off-limits to Center personnel and resources.

(4) The same stipulations outlined above for candidates for office should also apply to officials up for re-election.

Reports to the Voter Education Project

At the end of each quarter of the calendar year, the Center director shall submit to the Voter Education Project office the following specific information:

(1) An accounting of all funds received from any source made to the Center during that quarter;

(2) An accounting of all expenditures made during the quarter by the Center;

(3) In any instance where an individual not on the Center payroll receives any funds from the Center, this must be reported by name of the recipient, with a full explanation of the use made of those funds;

(4) A narrative report summarizing all Center activities during the quarter and including, specifically by name and by office, all elected officials assisted and/or communicated with during that quarter must be filed with the VEP office.

(The Voter Education Project staff reserves the right to send in VEP observers at any time, both on an announced or un-announced basis. VEP also reserves the right to send an independent auditors of its choosing should the quarterly financial reports indicate any discrepancies or inadequacies.)

MAGNOLIA COUNTY VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT
1234 Confederate Blvd.
Magnolia, Alabama

No. 600

First National Bank of
Magnolia City

Date _____

PAY _____ DOLLARS $ _____

To the
Order
of

_____
Countersigned: Chmn.

_____
Secy.-Treas.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT

The attached check is in payment of items described below
If not correct please notify us promptly No receipt desired

Magn.Cty.Vot.Reg.Camp. Magnola,Ala.

Date.	Inv. No.	Amount	Disc.	Net	Distribution		
					A/C	Dr.	Cr.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Conditions Governing Grants

1. Programs will not be approved unless they provide that the applicant, its employees and agents will refrain from any partisan political propaganda or activity aimed at influencing legislation, or supporting any political party or the campaign of any candidate for election to public office. Such restrictions are limited to the applicants expenditure of funds granted by the Voter Education Project, and is not intended to limit the general program of the applicants.

2. Applicants for grants are to provide the Project with names of their key personnel and what their duties are and in what geographical areas.

3. Applicants for grants, if from a particular geographical area, should include in the request for a grant any knowledge or information that they may have as to other voter education projects being carried on in the area in which they propose to operate, and the status of such projects.

4. The applicant should also express a willingness to cooperate with the Project in the gathering of statistical data for the purpose of research. Such cooperation should be in the form of an undertaking on the part of the applicant to provide the Project with whatever forms, reports or data the Project may require from time to time of the progress of the program.

5. Applicants for the funds must be able to give reasonable assurance to the Project that the activities carried on by the applicant, as a result of the grant from the Project will be separate and apart from any other activities being carried on by the applicant.

6. Periodic detailed accounts, and reports of expenditures of the budget supported by vouchers, will be required. In addition the applicant for grants agrees that the Project staff may at any time have the right to examine the pertinent accounting records dealing with the grant.

7. All funds from the Project shall be deposited in separate bank accounts. All expenditure of Project funds shall be supported by properly executed vouchers.

8. Grants may be made on a yearly basis, but will be disbursed on a quarterly basis. Disbursements, despite a commitment for a longer period, will be quarterly and

contingent upon the applicants providing the Project with financial reports as to the expenditure of funds already received from the Project for the previous quarter.

Wiley A. Branton
Director
Voter Education Project

VEP: May, 1962

R O U G H D R A F T

This is a preliminary working paper to be used as a basis for discussion of VEP's long-term projects.

Apparently it is to be assumed that the five major participating agencies will be more or less given their head in organizing the various projects. The extent to which VEP can or should attempt to guide the initial organizational structure of the projects is questionable. We have, I think, insufficient data upon which to base firm conclusions about the most effective organizational measures for the various areas. We can at this point perhaps proceed upon the assumption that the local affiliates of the participating agencies do have some kind of data upon which to base such conclusions. Perhaps we should think of VEP's role in this regard as simply sitting back and collecting data as the projects progress and suggesting such organizational and procedural modifications as our interpretation of the data indicates.

This whole question should, I think, be discussed particularly with reference to the criteria which we are going to use in deciding which agencies will receive how much support in which areas. Once we clarify the criteria which we intend to use, the decisions as to support should come more or less naturally.

It is a happy circumstance that the legal and institutional responsibilities of VEP appear to be quite compatible. Perhaps these responsibilities can be stated as the need for adequately supervising the participating agencies both from the point of view of effective application of funds and from the point of view of maintaining minimal research integrity. Of course, one of our primary concerns must be observation of our commitment to IRS.

1-VEP-Policy

Assuming that the above adequately states VEP's responsibilities, I think those responsibilities can be accomodated with a properly devised reporting system, sanctioned by prospective non-~~remuneration~~ RENEWAL or suspension of grants. Such a reporting system might include the names and addresses of all recompensed personnel along with the amounts of compensation and the types of activities and ~~special~~ SPECIFIC areas in which they are engaged; the names and addresses of all individuals who are contacted as potential registration applicants--this might include provision for follow-through reporting so that VEP will have a record of all individuals contacted and by whom, all individuals who refused to participate as applicants, all applicants who participated but failed to register, and all individuals who become registered voters because of VEP's operation.

Though these provisions relating to registration of applicants may at first appear cumbersome, they probably could be handled through the use of a standard reporting form which might be provided for each agency by VEP. I have in mind here something similar to the multiple copy invoices used in COMMERCIAL billing.

From the research point of view, it would be advisable to include on these forms information relating to the age, sex, educational and occupational background, etc., of each registration applicant. Whether or not it would be feasible to require of participating agencies such detailed reporting is a matter for discussion. However, as to the first items mentioned above, that is, names and addresses and performance data of each individual who comes within the orbit of VEP's operation, only the minimum of

systematic organization which could reasonably be expected of participating agencies would be required. This requirement, then, might be regarded as the mimimum consistent with VEP's legal and institutional responsibilities. The operational utility of such reporting (on a weekly or monthly basis) would include the opportunity for VEP staff to keep a running tabulation of the performance of each participating agency. This could be accomplished by using census block and tract maps for locating, both geographically and socio-economically, each of the applicants in the appropriate performance category (refused, failed, succeeded). Thus, at the end of each quarterly disbursal period VEP might have suggestions for modifying the mode of operation of participating agencies, quarterly renewal being ultimately contingent upon a satisfactory discussion with the participating agency as to the advisability of instituting the suggested modifications. Too, in those instances where it was deemed appropriate, sampling of the area on which the participating agency bases its reports would be a relatively simple matter. Thus, a constant check could be kept upon the effectiveness of the fund application, as well as upon the integrity of the reporting system.

If such a system were adopted, it would probably be advisable to stagger the quarters in such manner as to minimize the fluctuation of the VEP staff work.

In connection with VEP's over-all responsibility to the success of the project, it should be kept in mind that such a reporting system would be useful in detecting systematic dis-

functions in the operations of the participating agencies which might not be apparent at the action level and which might tend to instill disillusionment and ineffectiveness if not rectified.

A reporting system as outlined above would almost certainly require use of IBM equipment. Depending upon the volume, it might be possible to get along with key punching and tabulating service. If, however, the volume of reporting comes anywhere near that anticipated by the participating agencies, computer service would probably be the only way to handle it. I think the reporting system could be worked out in such a way that the Director could expect to have on his desk by the 15th of the month a detailed summary of the performance of each of the projects for the preceding month. We could put the reporting on a weekly basis from the projects to VEP and thus give the Director a 10-week performance record on which to base and negotiate the acceptance of suggestions as to modifications and corrections upon which might depend grant renewal.

I have no idea at the present time what the research overhead of such a reporting system might come to. I hope I am not being visionary in suggesting that if such a research budget would be impossible with VEP's present finances it might be advisable to think about a separate research grant from one of the more research-oriented foundations such as Ford. I do think that the operations of VEP over the coming two years could be one of the most important social science projects in recent decades. It may be that it could be sold to one of the foundations on such a basis.

Among the reporting factors which would appear to have broad operational and research utility would be a description of the modes of recruitment of applicants used by the various participating agencies. Each project should be adequately described from this point of view and any alterations or modifications in recruitment procedures duly reported. It might be well to derive this information, initially at least, through interview of project ~~directors~~ EXECUTIVES by VEP staff. It could be anticipated that some project executives might view such detailed reporting with suspicion in some cases, with exasperation in others, ~~as~~ IF the research and operational utility is not clear to them.

I think it is of some importance to determine whether or not attempts are being made by the participating agencies to affiliate applicants in any way with any kind of organization. The participating agencies have, ~~I think~~ WITH some ~~frequently,~~ FREQUENCY expressed concern not only with registering individuals but also with insuring in some way that the franchise is utilized with intelligent appreciation of its possibilities. Given the predilection for MAXIMIZED membership which seems inherent in most mass organizational structures, it would be remarkable if some affiliation effort were not made in some of the various projects. It would be useful both for the research and the operational interest of VEP to know what kinds of such efforts are successful. Too, this is a rather sticky area in the IRS opinion. While it does not appear that affiliation efforts violate ~~special~~ THE EXPLICIT terms of the IRS opinion, still, detailed examination of such efforts by hostile elements could produce difficulties. Thus, all of VEP's interests could

be served by watching this aspect of operations rather closely. The derivation of such information would probably have to be effected through on-the-spot observation by VEP staff.

Another aspect of the program which needs consideration is the problem of conserving the voters which presently exist so that the additions resulting from the program will not be neutralized by purges.

I think we ought make some provision for prompt reporting by the participating agencies of any kind of discriminatory action on the part of any official. VEP could maintain files of such reports and when the occasion warranted, VEP staff could assemble the evidence that litigation would require.

I think too that we should build into our data gathering system methods for assessing the attitudes of relevant white persons such as officials, community influentials, etc., in the areas in which projects are in operation. PERIODIC INTERVIEWS IN THE VARIOUS AREAS WOULD BE APPROPRIATE.

I know this is by no means exhaustive of what needs to be discussed, but perhaps it will give us a start.

Dear Mr. Currier:

We submit herewith a request for funds for the support of an investigation into voting registration in the South, under a project of the Southern Regional Concil to be known as the Citizenship Education Project. This would be a two year program, beginning January 1962.

A description of the organizational structure and operational methods was outlined in our letter of September 13, 1961 addressed to certain agencies whose co-operation in the project would be necessary. The letter also indicated the purposes of the Project. A copy was forwarded to you at the time, and by attachment is made a part of this present submission.

The following agencies have indicated their assent to ~~xxxxxxxx~~ the procedures and organization set forth in our letter of September 13:

National Urban League, by its letter of September 22;

Southern Christian Leadership Conference, by its letter of October 2;

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, by its letter of October 13;

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, by its letter of October 17;

Congress of Racial Equality, by its letter of October 16;

No reply to our letter of September 13 has been received from the National Student Association

The response of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People raises certain questions and asks for certain clarifications that require further discussion between us and the Association. As the Southern Regional Council would not wish to undertake the Project without the full agreement of the Association, this request for funds is conditioned upon a mutually satisfactory resolution of this matter.

To estimate accurately the funds required for the Project is difficult until each of the cooperating agencies

has had an opportunity to frame its programs, and until these programs have been ~~received~~ reviewed and decided upon. We are also unable to forecast the size of the foundation grants which may be available. As work in the field of voter registration is benefited by any degree of financial assistance, it seems to us that at this time the only possible request for us to put before you is a sum which represents our estimate of the amount which can be intelligently and usefully put to service. This too, how-. ever, is hardly feasible until programs and budgets of the cooperating agencies are perfected.

With these qualifications and under these circumstances we put before you a request that the Taconic Foundation consider an annual appropriation in the order of $250,000.00, to be made available to the Citizenship Education Project for the purpose of financing voter registration programs of cooperating agencies, these to include principally the five agencies named above as having responded to our letter of September 13 with an indication of interest in the program outlined therein.

In addition, funds will be required for the Project itself. A proposed annual budget is attached, and incorporated with this letter. As you will note, it amounts to $56,590.00, with $3,000.00 of that amount being non-recurrable.

We shall, immediately following your action on this request, if that is favorable, undertake to recruit Project staff and to convene the Project's Advisory Committee.

I believe that our conferences during the past summer have given dimensions of urgency to this undertaking. The Southern Regional Council believes the Project can be of inestimable value.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT
Estimated Costs
1962

Salaries		
Project Director	$10,000.00	
Field Consultants (2)	14,000.00	
Administrative Secretary	4,000.00	$28,000.00
Employee Benefits and taxes	2,800.00	2,800.00
Office Rent	1,800.00	1.800.00
Printing	5,000.00	5,000.00
Travel	9,000.00	9,000.00
		46,600.00
Overhead @ 15%	6,990.00	6,990.00
		53,590.00
Office Equipment and Renovation*		3,000.00
	Total	56,590.00

*Non-recurrable item

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

The current Voter Education Project now stands exactly at midpoint of its three-year program. VEP can take credit, we believe, for some solid accomplishments during the initial 18 months of its operations.

In the first half of 1967, increasing attention has been focused by VEP on the complex challenges of citizenship education and leadership training. At the same time, standard but vitally necessary programs of voter registration have continued to go forward, especially in those states having summer 1967 elections: Mississippi and Virginia.

Meanwhile, VEP has assisted during the first six months of 1967 in the formation of statewide Voter Education Projects in two additional states: North Carolina and Arkansas. Both of these new organizations are based on the paradigm provided by the highly successful South Carolina Voter Education Project.

The North Carolina Voter Education Project was formed, with financial assistance from VEP and with principal leadership from a group of North Carolina ministers. The Arkansas Voter Education Project has been functioning under the wing of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. A statewide meeting was held in Camden, Arkansas, in early

July to move the Arkansas VEP toward independent footing. At present the SRC Voter Education Project continues to provide major financing for the Arkansas VEP through the Arkansas Council, as it did last year.

All three of these statewide organizations, like SRC's VEP, assist programs of voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training.

For the first time this year, VEP registration projects have available for their use a VEP guidebook on how to set up and conduct registration campaigns. The basic writing and research for the 20-page illustrated booklet was done by Miss Patricia Collins, a Spelman College sophomore who has been employed by VEP as a student intern. Much of the material for the booklet, called "How To Conduct a Registration Campaign," was taken from field reports sent in by more than 100 VEP programs last year. In turn, this year's field reports already indicate that the booklet is being put to good use. Our only regret about the booklet at this point is that we did not have it available to supply to VEP programs sooner.

A second booklet published by VEP during the first half of 1967 was "Know Your Georgia Government," designed for use in citizenship education work. This booklet currently is being used by two VEP student interns in citizenship

education classes in Houston County, Georgia. In addition, the booklet also is being used in several counties in Southwest Georgia and in Burke County, Georgia. An Upward Bound program at Mercer University requested 50 copies, and several community libraries have requested copies for their shelves. A Negro newspaper in South Georgia is planning to run excerpts from the booklet.

Reaction to the booklet in actual classroom use has been mixed. The student interns in Houston County report a strong preliminary impression that the booklet needs to be less formal and to have more illustrations. (The students prepared a mimeographed workbook to accompany the booklets, borrowing from a workbook used last year in Southside Virginia.)

The field of citizenship education is largely uncharted. Our efforts, like those of other organizations working in this field, are largely experimental. Perhaps our experiences eventually will produce a guidebook for citizenship education similar to "How To Conduct a Registration Campaign."

In any case, present VEP plans call for publication of booklets based upon the "Know Your Georgia Government" model for all 11 Southern states, although the format may be varied somewhat to reflect our experiences with the Georgia booklet.

Another publication initiated by VEP in June is a newsletter called "VEP News." The newsletter will be published as available material warrants. This probably will mean monthly during some periods and quarterly during others.

Leadership training programs for this year are similar to those of last year. For example, a meeting of Negro candidates in Mississippi is being scheduled for late July. This one-day meeting will be patterned after meetings conducted last year in Alabama and South Carolina. Candidates will be briefed on their rights and responsibilities as candidates, and on the procedures for poll-watchers. As was the case last year, the conference will be jointly sponsored by VEP and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

Also in late July, VEP will co-sponsor a meeting of elected Negro city and county officials from Southern states. The other sponsor will be the Clark College Center for Southern Public Policy Studies. This "Local Government Seminar" will be similar to the well-received seminar sponsored by VEP last year for Negro members of Southern legislatures.

Leadership training programs funded by VEP during the first half of 1967 included a meeting of registration workers in Virginia; a meeting in conjunction with the

organization of the Arkansas Voter Education Project; and the broad-purpose program in Burke County, Georgia.

VEP continues to make heavy use of student interns, both in the Atlanta office and in the field. Nine are employed for summer work, including the pilot project in Houston County, Georgia. One of the interns, William Beardslee, is serving again this summer as VEP field director. During the early part of the year, Miss Collins served under VEP sponsorship as an intern in the office of Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta. During the summer another intern, Bernard Parks, is working in the mayor's office and in the office of Atlanta Alderman O. V. Williamson.

Again this year VEP financed spring holiday registration work through the National Student YWCA. This year's program was in Robeson County, North Carolina, and Jefferson County, Alabama. The Robeson County project was notable in that the principal work was among Indians. Another departure from the standard registration campaign was one in Charlotte, North Carolina, which was conducted by the city's anti-poverty agency, the Charlotte Area Fund.

VEP assisted in early 1967 in the selection of a new director for the South Carolina Voter Education Project. He is James Felder, a recent Howard University law graduate, who replaces Richard Miles. The Rev. Ben Grinage is

director of the Arkansas Voter Education Project, and John Edwards directs the North Carolina Voter Education Project.

The Voter Education Project continues to be the agency looked to by both regional and national agencies for such facts and figures as voter registration, number of Negroes elected to public office, Negroes running for public office, and the like. The VEP director continues to make addresses and personal appearances across the South, the latest being at the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University, where he spoke on "The Negro in the Southern Political Process." The VEP director also continues to serve on a number of important national and local boards and committees. Early this year he was a member of the presidential commission studying military draft laws.

A breakdown by type of projects funded during the first six months of 1967 is as follows:

Voter Registration and Citizenship Education	39
Voter Registration	23
Voter Registration, Citizenship Education and Leadership Training	1
Citizenship Education	1
Leadership Training	2

Program Development	3
Special Student Intern	1
TOTAL	70

The amount of money allotted for projects thus far this year totals $141,480.15. A breakdown by states follows (it should be noted that the Georgia figure includes the YWCA project described above.):

Alabama	$	6,981.00
Arkansas		10,940.00
Florida		4,320.00
Georgia		14,020.30
Louisiana		11,360.00
Mississippi		42,691.85
North Carolina		21,650.00
South Carolina		13,500.00
Tennessee		2,592.00
Virginia		13,425.00
TOTAL	$	141,480.15

See Mep "Statistics"

File

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Marvin Wall

The states for which we have good figures are Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and Florida. These are states for which we have fairly current county-by-county figures, by race. In fact, the figures we have for all of these states are later than the figures on the county-by-county tables prepared by Mrs. Patterson. All things considered, I feel that these figures are reasonably accurate.

In the case of Alabama, we sent out more current figures along with our Alabama news release. In the case of Florida, figures have been published there by the secretary of state's office.

Louisiana currently is a weak spot. The registration deadline for the primary is July 13. Virginia is extremely foggy, since figures no longer are kept there by race. Texas also is strictly guesswork.

For several weeks I have been holding up the Texas table, since I have been told that the estimated Negro registration probably is on the high side. Stencils have been cut on Alabama and Mississippi, but they haven't been run.

The three states Mrs. Patterson didn't get to are North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas. I have a line out to North Carolina. The Tennessee registration deadline is July 5, and maybe we can get something out of Nashville after that. I think the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, which recently sent in a VEP proposal, can help us get figures for that state.

As you know, Southern states are becoming increasingly guarded about giving out registration figures by race. Such records generally are kept in the Deep South states, but elsewhere they aren't. With the exception of Florida, obtaining registration figures by race is no longer a matter of a letter of telephone call. I have bounced our Virginia, Arkansas and Texas figures off top newsmen and other informed sources in each of those states. I have been told that our Virginia and Arkansas figures are about right, whereas our Texas figure probably is a little high.

cc: Mr. Jordan
Mr. Olive
Mrs. Bartley
Mr. Adams
Mr. Watters

VOTE RIGHTS ACT GETTING RESULTS

Negro Registration Is Up Dramatically After Its First Year

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA — The first full year of the historic 1965 Voting Rights Act has produced dramatic increases in Negro voting registration, the Southern Regional Council's voter education project reported Saturday.

The report was released on the first anniversary of the federal government bill which was signed by President Johnson on Aug. 6, 1965.

At this time a year ago, Negro registration in the six Southern states affected by the Act was just over 837,000, or less than 30 per cent of the Negro voting-age population.

At present, Negro registration in the same six states is estimated at 1,289,000, or nearly 46 per cent of the Negro voting-age population.

The increases have been most pronounced in the four states to which federal examiners have been assigned—Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina.

No examiners have been assigned in Georgia or Virginia, or in 26 North Carolina counties to which the Act applies.

Thus far examiners have registered voters in 24 counties in Mississippi, 11 counties in Alabama, two counties in South Carolina and five counties (parishes) in Louisiana. As of July 16, examiners had registered 64,155 persons in Alabama, 41,595 in Mississippi, 13,689 in Louisiana and 4,542 in South Carolina.

Virtually all of these new registrants have been Negro. Only a few have been white.

The Voting Rights Act suspends literacy tests and has eliminated poll taxes and other devices which have discouraged voting in states with low registration.

"The figures clearly demonstrate the need for more federal examiners," said Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the voter education project. "This includes parts of the two states to which they have not been sent and many counties in the four states to which they have been sent.

"There also is a need," Jordan added, "for more concentrated private efforts to increase [illegible]ation and voting in the South. The voter education project is doing all it can to encourage such efforts."

The voter education project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., of [illegible]ta, supports projects in [illegible] registration, citizenship [illegible]tion and leadership train[illegible] the 11 Southern states.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THIS RELEASE CALL 577-2986 or 237-3939

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, will address the Hungry Club at 12:15 p. m. Wednesday, May 25, at the Butler Street YMCA.

Mr. Jordan's appearance at the Club will be co-sponsored by the All-Citizens Registration Committee. The public is invited.

Mr. Jordan is a graduate of the David T. Howard High School in Atlanta, DePauw University in Indiana, and Howard University's School of Law in Washington.

Born in Atlanta, Mr. Jordan has served as an attorney-consultant in the poverty program's Atlanta regional office and has practiced law in Arkansas. He also has served as Assistant to the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, and as Georgia Field Director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Last February he was appointed by President Johnson to serve on the Council to the White House Conference, "To Filfill These Rights," which will be held in Washington, June 1-2.

He is a member of the American Bar Association and serves on the board of directors of the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia, and the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

Among Hungry Club's news-making speakers in recent months have seen Senator Herman Talmadge and Governor Carl Sanders.

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VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
(404) 522-7495

file - vep - file
News Release

GUIDELINES FOR
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT GRANTS

Grants from the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council are made to groups desiring to operate three types of programs: voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training. Proposed programs are approved only when they state that the group and its agents will not take VEP funds and use this money for partisan political activity or propaganda aimed at influencing legislation, or for supporting any candidate or political party.

Voter registration, of course, means locating unregistered persons and getting them registered to vote. Citizenship education means teaching people something about voting and government---for example, how to operate a voting machine, how city government works, the duties of a school board member, and so on. Leadership training means developing people to lead the community---that is, showing people the duties and responsibilities of being political candidates, how to be better officeholders, and the like.

Up until now, most of the programs funded by VEP have been for voter registration. Beginning in 1969, however, VEP has these

additional requirements for voter registration programs:

1. If in a rural area, the area to be covered must have 50 per cent or less of the non-white voting-age population already registered to vote.

2. If in an urban area, the program to be funded must match VEP funds dollar-for-dollar. That is to say, the local organization must be ready to put up a sum equal to the sum supplied by VEP.

The purpose of these additional requirements is to channel VEP funds for voter registration into communities where the registration is lowest and the need is greatest.

GRANT PROPOSAL

The first step in applying for a VEP grant is to prepare a grant proposal. The proposal should clearly cover the following points:

Kind of Program -- What type of program is proposed? Why is the program needed? What do you hope to do? What methods will be used?

Where -- What area (county, city, ward, etc.) will be served by the program? Include a map if possible.

Who -- Who will run the program? Who will the other workers be? What will their duties be?

Cost -- What will the program cost? Include a detailed budget.

Time -- How long will the program last? When will it begin and end?

Background -- What is the political climate like in the place where the program will operate?

- How many blacks and other non-whites of voting-age are there in the area where the program will operate? How many are registered to vote?

- What are the dates and hours of registration? Is there more than one location available for registering?

- Are any blacks or other non-whites now serving as deputy registrars?

- How many blacks voted in the last elections?

- Have blacks ever run for office? If so, have any been elected? To what offices?

- Are there active community organizations in your area? If so, name them. Can they be expected to cooperate with you in this program?

- Has your organization ever received a grant from the Voter Education Project? If so, in what year and what for?

If you live in Arkansas, Louisiana, South Carolina, or North Carolina, your proposal should be sent to the statewide Voter Education Project located in your state. The addresses are:

Arkansas Voter Education Project
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Louisiana Voter Education Project
P. O. Drawer 734
Plaquemine, Louisiana 70764

North Carolina Voter Education Project
P. O. Box 701
Durham, North Carolina 27701

South Carolina Voter Education Project
1420 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

If you live in one of these states, your proposal will be checked over first by the state VEP director. The state director then will send your proposal to the VEP office in Atlanta for final approval or disapproval.

If you live in one of the other seven states, send your proposal directly to:

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

OPERATION UNDER GRANT

As a research and information agency, VEP sometimes shares details of registration figures and of programs sponsored through VEP with other private groups, the press, governmental agencies and interested individuals. Therefore funded programs have a responsibility to submit regular reports to VEP, as outlined under "Reporting" below.

Proposals submitted for funding are subject to review by the VEP field director prior to approval. In the event of funding, the program being conducted is also subject to an inspection by the field director to determine whether it is operating effectively. Failure to pass a field inspection will result in the termination of a grant.

REPORTING

After approval of a grant by VEP, the next step is to establish a separate bank account. VEP will mail a deposit directly to the bank. Each week the agency will mail to VEP a report listing all spendings from this account. Enclose all bills and receipts for each expense. VEP will audit this report and reimburse the bank account for the amount spent. At the end of the program funds remaining

in the bank account should be returned to VEP. The bank should be told to mail all bank statements directly to VEP. These requirements are explained in detail at the time a program is approved.

In addition to these financial reports, funded programs must send weekly reports to the VEP director of research. In the case of voter registration, the reports should tell VEP the number registered each week and other important information. Forms will be supplied by VEP for these reports. In the case of citizenship education or leadership training, the reports should briefly tell about the week's activities. Longer monthly reports, looking back on the work of the program, also are required. Each approved program will receive a letter explaining the research reports that are required.

It is important that all reports---research and financial---be sent to VEP on time. VEP will cut off grants to programs which fail to send in the required reports. Also, failure to send in final reports could mean that a program would not be considered for future VEP grants. For further information about these guidelines, write:

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

The Voter Education Project of SRC plans to administer a three year project in citizenship participation. The project's goal is to bring persons previously allienated from the political process -- primarily Negro Southerners -- more fully into the political life of their communities. It is hoped this will be accomplished through three basic programs -- voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training.

Specifically, one approach to leadership training calls for scholarships to college students to allow them time to work in citizenship education and voter registration. Through state-wide, intra-state and regional meetings we plan to conduct leadership training conferences for grass-roots leaders, both acknowledged and potential. There are plans to utilize southern campuses for workshops and to prepare voter education materials on private and federal betterment efforts where feasible. Our research effort will document techniques, develop needed materials, encourage effective reportage by participants, and interpret events through frequent publications.

We have assurances of cooperation in implementing these programs, from the five major civil rights agencies and expressions of serious interest from many local organizations. Since grants of funds and personnel assignments will be arranged directly with these groups, we require only a core of staff -- project director, secretary, fiscal officer, research aide, and for the foreseeable future, a field director. Resources which cut across special interest boundaries are provided the project by an Advisory Committee, which held its first meeting December 30, 1965.

Regestration Report to
Voters Education Project

Name of Project - Leake County Voters Education Project
Date Covered by Report - Sept 26. 1966 - Oct 1. 1966
Area Covered by report - Leake County
Date Submitted - Oct. 3rd. 1966.
Number Successfuly registered - 25
Number Denied registeration, by registar - none
Number Approached by Registation - 35
By Canvas give number house - Church + Town
By meeting give number attendance large attedance
Number refusing registeration 10

Reason - Afraid

GUIDELINES FOR VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT GRANTS

Grants from the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council are made to other groups desiring to operate in three program areas: voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training. These guidelines have been developed to help groups clarify what area, or in some cases, what several areas, of programming they will work in and to provide candid expression of the responsibilities the other groups have in their association with the Voter Education Project.

Programs are approved only when they provide that the group and its agents will refrain from partisan political activity or propoganda aimed at influencing legislation, or supporting any candidate or political party. This restriction is limited to the group's expenditure of funds granted by the Voter Education Project and is not intended to proscribe the general program of the group.

Grant Proposal

Specifically, the first responsibility of a group applying for Project grant is to prepare a grant proposal. The proposal should clearly cover the following points.

Kind of Program -- In what area or areas is the program proposed? What justifies the need for the program? What are its goals? What methods will be used?

Guidelines - 2.

Where -- What are the political and geographical boundaries of the place to be served by the program? (State, county, precinct, etc.) Include a map if feasible.

Who -- Who are the program personnel and what are their duties?

Cost -- What is the expected cost of the program? Include a detailed budget.

Time -- What is the anticipated duration of the program?

Background -- What is the present political picture of the place where the program will operate; how many Negroes voted in last elections?; have Negroes run for office?; do Negroes hold appointive jobs?; are there active organizations?; what are the dates and hours of registration?; give current registration figures; describe the feeling of the community toward fuller citizen participation, if feasible.

Operation Under Grant

To fulfill its role as an adjunct of a research and information agency the Project has a responsibility to make details of registration figures and of programs' operations publically available. As part of its educational function, it must share programs' techniques and strategies with the region. Consequently, in their association with the Project groups have a responsibility to submit narrative reporting.

Disbursements made to the Project for support of programs in these areas call for utmost financial rectitude. Grants made by the Project are, therefore, subject to serious financial conditions which if not met will result in termination of grants.

Research Reporting -- There are specific conditions governing grant reporting which follow. In general, all grantees shall be required to make periodic reports to the Project on the progress of their programs. It is important that these reports reflect an honest evaluation of the grantee's efforts -- good, bad, or

indifferent. To insure the reporting best suited to particular programs the Project is flexible enough to accept reasonable variations in the form and manner of reports. Indeed, it encourages original material in fulfillment of the narrative requirements.

Grantees conducting voter registration campaigns are required to submit bi-monthly reports setting forth the following: (a) number of persons registered, (b) methods used in getting persons to the registration office, (c) increase of the number of new voters in the two week period, (d) problems, if any, encountered with local registrars, police, or private citizens, (e) threats of intimidation or economic reprisals, if any, (f) samples of materials, leaflets, programs. Suggested forms for this reporting are provided.

Grantees conducting citizenship education or leadership training programs are required to submit monthly reports, setting forth the following: (a) kinds of programs and method of operation, (b) samples of all materials used, (c) names and background of instructors, (d) cooperation, if any, with local governmental agencies, schools, and colleges, (e) a measurement of community participation, including the number of people directly involved in citizenship education classes or leadership training seminars.

Grantees should be cooperative with the Project in the gathering of other statistical data as may be required for the purpose of research.

Financial Reporting -- After approval of a grant by the Project, the grantee is required to establish a separate bank account. The Project will mail a deposit directly to the bank for an amount approximating two weeks cash supply for the program. This amount will be maintained on a draw basis.

Each week the agency will submit to the Project a report itemizing all disbursements from this account and enclosing appropriate vouchers for each disbursement. No special check form is contemplated at the present time. The Project will audit this report and reimburse the bank account for the amount spent. In this way the balance in the bank should be constant until the local program approaches termination. Then the funds would either be refunded or used up (with appropriate reporting).

The bank should be instructed to mail all bank statements directly to SRC. The Project will reconcile these bank accounts and perform certain auditing procedures each month.

File V.E.P. (Financial Data)

MJ

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
GRANTS TO COOPERATING AGENCIES

Date _____

-1- AGENCY IDENTIFICATION	-2- TOTAL GRANT	-3- PRIOR DISBURSE-MENTS	-4- DISBURSE-MENTS THIS MO.	-5- TOTAL DIS-BURSE-MENTS	-6- UNEX-PENDED BALANCE
	250.00	250.00	-0-	250.00	-0-
VEP 66-1	4275.00	428.84	1227.45	16561.29	2618.71
VEP 66-2	4000.00	770.00	1405.58	2175.58	1824.42
VEP 66-3	1975.00	690.00	497.57	1169.57	805.43
VEP 66-4	3745.00	832.22	2522.83	3355.05	389.95
VEP 66-5	500.00	500.00	-0-	500.00	-0-
VEP 66-6	2195.00	1199.95	995.05	2195.00	-0-
VEP 66-7	600.00	234.19	365.02	599.21	.79
VEP 66-8	4350.00	-0-	-0-	-0-	4350.00
VEP 66-9	200.00	200.00	-0-	200.00	-0-
VEP 66-10	715.00	357.50	357.50	715.00	-0-
VEP 66-11	250.00	250.00	-0-	250.00	-0-
VEP 66-12	900.00	300.00	600.00	900.00	-0-
VEP 66-13	1047.50	350.00	274.23	624.23	423.27
VEP 66-14	3075.00	1200.00	329.31	1529.31	1545.69
VEP 66-15	710.00	-0-	710.00	710.00	-0-
VEP 66-16	900.00	-0-	-0-	-0-	900.00
VEP 66-17	2675.00	-0-	1168.74	1168.74	1506.26
VEP 66-18	652.50	-0-	652.50	652.50	-0-
VEP 66-19	795.00	-0-	795.00	795.00	-0-
VEP 66-20	1120.00	-0-	375.00	375.00	745.00
VEP 66-21	2765.00	-0-	920.00	920.00	1845.00
VEP 66-22	2495.00	-0-	1678.22	1678.22	816.78
VEP 66-23	8420.00	-0-	1930.75	1930.75	6489.25
VEP 66-24	490.00	-0-	490.00	490.00	-0-
Total	$49,100.00	$7,562.70	$17,276.75	$24,839.45	$24,260.55

Column 5 is column 3 plus column 4.

Column 6 is column 2 minus column 5.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
GRANTS TO COOPERATING AGENCIES

Date _____

-1- AGENCY IDENTIFICATION	-2- TOTAL GRANT	-3- PRIOR DISBURSE-MENTS	-4- DISBURSE-MENTS THIS MO.	-5- TOTAL DIS-BURSE-MENTS	-6- UNEX-PENDED BALANCE
VEP 66-25	490.00	-0-	294.67	294.67	195.33
VEP 66-26	490.00	-0-	490.00	490.00	-0-
VEP 66-27	490.00	-0-	490.00	490.00	-0-
VEP 66-28	720.00	-0-	720.00	720.00	-0-
VEP 66-29	490.00	-0-	490.00	490.00	-0-
VEP 66-30	500.00	-0-	500.00	500.00	-0-
VEP 66-31	2500.00	-0-	812.20	812.20	1687.80
VEP 66-32	1365.00	-0-	1090.00	1090.00	275.00
VEP 66-33	1000.00	-0-	540.00	540.00	460.00
VEP 66-34	1670.00	-0-	804.46	804.46	865.54
VEP 66-35	1670.00	-0-	804.48	804.48	865.52
VEP 66-36	1730.00	-0-	805.47	805.47	924.53
VEP 66-37	1350.00	-0-	400.00	400.00	950.00
VEP 66-38	1420.00	-0-	605.91	605.91	814.09
VEP 66-39	400.00	-0-	-0-	-0-	400.00
VEP 66-40	250.00	-0-	250.00	250.00	-0-
VEP 66-41	250.00	-0-	-0-	-0-	250.00
VEP 66-42	600.00	-0-	-0-	-0-	600.00
VEP 66-43	720.00	-0-	400.00	400.00	320.00
VEP 66-44	400.00	-0-	-0-	-0-	400.00
VEP 66-45	2275.00	-0-	-0-	-0-	2275.00
VEP 66-46	1700.00	-0-	-0-	-0-	1700.00
VEP 66-47	2770.00	-0-	-0-	-0-	2770.00
VEP 66-48	300.00	-0-	300.00	300.00	-0-
Total	$25,550.00	-0-	$9,797.19	$9,797.19	$15,752.81

Column 5 is column 3 plus column 4.

Column 6 is column 2 minus column 5.

file N.E.P.

		1956	1958	1960	1962	1964	1966
ALABAMA	Negro	53,366	52,175	66,009	68,317	111,000	250,000
	White		847,261	860,073	883,732	946,477	1,192,075
ARKANSAS	Negro	69,677	64,023	72,604	68,970	95,000	115,000
	White	499,955	499,955	517,897	506,799	620,528	598,000
FLORIDA	Negro	148,703	144,880	183,197	182,456	300,000	303,000
	White	1,458,047	1,448,543	1,819,342	1,819,342	2,200,466	2,093,274
GEORGIA	Negro	163,389	161,958	180,000	175,573	270,000	300,000
	White		1,130,385	1,020,000	1,152,707	1,340,000	1,378,005
LOUISIANA	Negro	161,410	126,410	159,033	151,663	164,700	243,000
	White		793,265	993,118	934,862	1,037,356	1,071,573
MISSISSIPPI	Negro	20,000	20,000	22,000	23,920	28,500	175,000
	White			478,000	390,000	525,000	470,920

		1956	1958	1960	1962	1964	1966
NORTH CAROLINA	Negro	135,000	172,166	210,450	215,938	258,000	282,000
	White		1,647,703	1,861,430	1,861,330	1,942,000	1,653,796
SOUTH CAROLINA	Negro	99,890	57,978	58,122	90,901	144,000	191,000
	White	544,275	480,793	480,973	480,793	703,000	718,061
TENNESSEE	Negro	90,000	185,000	185,000	150,869	218,000	225,000
	White		1,300,000	1,300,000	1,300,000	1,297,026	1,375,000
TEXAS	Negro	214,000	226,818	226,818	242,000	375,000	400,000
	White		2,078,500	2,078,500	1,840,000	2,601,967	2,600,000
VIRGINIA	Negro	82,603	92,172	100,100	110,113	200,000	205,000
	White		852,483	866,794	940,115	1,050,000	1,159,000
TOTAL	Negro	1,238,038	1,303,580	1,463,333	1,480,720	2,164,200	2,689,000
	White		11,078,888*	12,276,127	12,109,680	14,263,820	14,309,704

* Does not include Mississippi

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME:

Foundations (more particularly Ford)

REGARDING:

Clippings from various newspapers and magazines
re: Investigative measures to be imposed on foundations in regard to their tax exempt status.

DATE:

SEE:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

Foundations - General (folder marked: "Tax Exemption and the Congress - House Ways and Means Committee."

file vep

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Mr. McGeorge Bundy, President
Ford Foundation

REGARDING

Letters of endorsement from the media and elsewhere in support of special grant request to Ford from the VEP for Service Centers for Black Elected Officials.

(Letters were hand delivered by Paul Anthony)

DATE

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Ford Foundation, 1969 in folder marked: "Letters of Endorsement..."

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME:

Foundations (more particularly Ford)

REGARDING:

Materials submittesd to Ford during proposed congressional hearings on foundations' tax exempt status

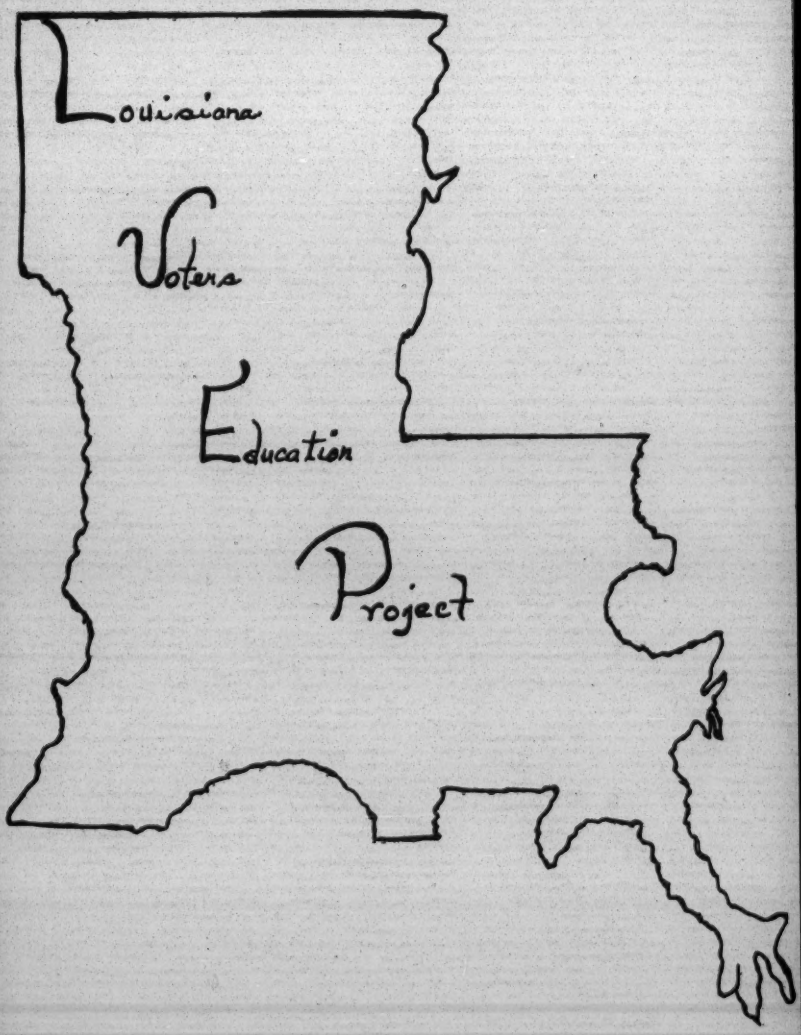
DATE:

SEE:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

Ford Foundation section of files for 1969

PA

file



WHAT IS THE LOUISIANA VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT?

The LVEP is a non-profit, non-sectarian and Politically non-partisan corporation. It was organized March 14, 1968. It is composed of a group of professional, educational and civic leaders whose goal is to improve the status of the Black people, thereby improving the government of the State of Louisiana.

WHAT ARE ITS PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

The Purposes and objectives of LVEP can be summarized as follows:

(A) To stimulate, support and assist local voter registration and voter education efforts throughout the State of Louisiana, so as to enable knowledgeable participation of the poor and disadvantaged in the democratic processes.

(B) To develop a comprehensive program and financial aid for voter registration and citizenship education.

(C) To provide technical assistance in the making of voter education proposals and organize and conduct voter registration workshops.

(D) To serve Black organizations throughout the State, by working in areas where organizations presently exist, as well as helping to create organizations where they do not exist, or are inoperative.

In endeavoring to accomplish its objectives, LVEP works with agencies on the national, state and local level, both public and private.

HOW IS LVEP GOVERNED?

LVEP is governed by a Board of Directors elected by caucus and district representatives at its annual meeting. The Board meets quarterly, except for special calls. The membership of the Board cannot exceed thirty-three members, actively involved in the registration and education of Black people for political advancement.

WHAT ARE THE ACTIVITIES OF LVEP?

The activities of LVEP are primarily educational in nature. The Project does not participate in or intervene in political campaigns on behalf of any candidate for public office. Activities are focused or geared around programs of education in what we term "practical politics." These events are constructed to train leaders in government and politics, and are adjusted toward the development of individual capabilities and political know-how.

The LVEP has sponsored seminars for newly elected Black Officials throughout Louisiana. It has placed college students as interns to learn and observe the political processes. In addition, LVEP has sponsored citizenship education projects.

HOW IS LVEP FINANCED?

The operating costs of LVEP are wholly underwritten by VEP-SRC. If LVEP is to be continuous and workable, it must depend on assessments of its affiliates and contributions from individuals and other organizations

Persons and/or groups who are in agreement with the goals of LVEP, and who desire to support its work, may send contribution to:

Plaquemine, Louisiana 70764

P.O. Box 734

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Chairman ..... Nils R. Douglas
Vice-Chairman ..... Acie T. Belton
Vice-Chairman ..... Eric L. Armstrong
Secretary ..... Alphonse Jackson, Sr.
Treasurer ..... Dr. Jewel Prestage
Legal Counsel ..... Louis Berry

STAFF

Executive Director ..... William H. Samuel, Jr.
Secretary ..... Mrs. Evelyn G. Johnson
Research Assistant ..... Miss Regina McClay

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME:

Emergency, supplemental grant of $80,000
for Serfvice Centers for Black Elected Officials

REGARDING:

~~M&&&&&&&~~
Proposal and supporting documents sent to Ford
Foundation for grant

DATE:

SEE:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

FORD FOUNDATION - VEP Proposal for Funds to Operate
Service Centers for Black Officials

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

File Copy - Additional copies under Minor Materials

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM July 31, 1961

To: Members of the Executive Committee
From: Leslie W. Dunbar

John Wheeler and I attended on July 28 the meeting called by the Taconic Foundation. Also present in the conference room of the Foundation's New York offices were the following: Stephen Currier, Lloyd K. Garrison, Jane Lee Eddy of Taconic; Harold Fleming of the Potomac Institute; Justine Wise Polier, Field Foundation; Vernon Eagle, New World Foundation; Charles McDew and Marion Barry, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; Martin Luther King and Wyatt Walker, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Roy Wilkins, NAACP; Thurgood Marshall and Robert Carter, NAACP Legal Defense Fund; Lester Granger and Whitney Young, National Urban League; Timothy Jenkins, National Student Association; James Farmer, CORE; Harris Wofford, White House; Burke Marshall, Department of Justice.

All stayed in attendance throughout the meeting, which convened at 10:00 a.m. and adjourned at 3:30 p.m., continuing through lunch. At precisely 2:11, for the first time, the idea of entrusting SRC with the central project role was mentioned and tentatively proposed. This was done by Martin Luther King. The concluding 84 minutes of the conference were quite full.

I believe there was complete agreement among all those present that voter registration is a matter of the highest, though not sole priority. There was also expressed willingness from all to increase

markedly their present efforts in this field, and to work together in harness.

The several lawyers present were most helpful in elucidating both the firm limits and the serviceable scope of SRC tax exemption. At all points their explanations coincided with those of Joe Haas.

By the time the meeting ended, there was agreement from all that SRC was an acceptable coordinating agency and that to organize the project in this manner was preferable to the establishment of an ad hoc group. John Wheeler and I both sensed that this agreement was genuine.

Indeed, I was deeply impressed by the amiability and harmony of the gathering. May all this continue!

A second meeting of the same persons was called and agreed to for August 23. By August 14, each agency is to send to Taconic a statement outlining in brief and in rough (though in as much detail as possible) the resources which it is prepared to put into the drive, and the methods and objectives it would follow. Taconic will mimeograph these statements and circulate to all participants in advance of the August 23 meeting.

Neither Stephen Currier nor anyone else was at all specific about the sum of money which might be raised. I believe the impression was successfully established that the amount would be substantial but not grandiose.

I am sending this for your information, and shall report again after August 23. Let me end by thanking you, and I am sure John Wheeler would concur, for the real help which your discussion of this matter in the Executive Committee was to us. The consensus which came from you was, I believe, faithfully restated.

Best wishes.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Do underlining

50

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September ~~12~~, 1961

~~(Draft 4)~~

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, 38, New York

Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

Mr. ~~Lester B. Granger~~, Whitney M. Young, Jr. Executive Director Elect
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

The Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Executive Director
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
208 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Charles McDew, Chairman of the Executive Committee
Student Non-Violetn Coordinating Committee
197½ Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Timothy L. Jenkins
National Affairs Vice President
United States National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Dear Associates:

You will recall that the August 23 meeting at Taconic closed with a request to SRC to submit to each of you a sketch of the manner in which SRC would administer its responsibilities under

for the opportunity it

a grant for voter registration work. Much of this letter will be only a re-statement of points made in our memorandum presented at the August 23 session, and a summary of discussion that took place then.

This letter will be concerned only with SRC's role as recipient and administrator of a proposed grant; this letter will not deal with the voter registration programs of your agencies.

Our understanding is that your agencies plan both to enlarge your present efforts in behalf of increased voter registration in the South, and to coordinate your activities. I want to affirm SRC's wholehearted support of your objectives, and to wish you the greatest of success. A more active and aware citizenry has been a traditional aim of the Council.

It is, therefore, our decision that SRC ~~will~~ can accept the ~~opportunity which the~~ proposed grant offers ~~for~~ to deepen~~ing~~ and perfect~~ing~~ our research into voting in the South.

Through past research and publications, SRC has ascertained the geographic areas of lowest registration and voting, and ~~the~~ reasons which cause these conditions. The proposed grant, as well as the readiness of your agencies to cooperate under it, now gives us the opportunity to study and evaluate the methods which can best change these conditions.

We are, therefore, propared to accept the responsibility of administering the proposed grant in order that, by ~~experience~~ empirical evaluation of the results accruing from the programs which you will carry on with funds allocated under the grant, SRC can subsequently draw publishable conclusions.

SRC will, to summarize, accept the proposed grant; it will allocate portions of it to your agencies and other groups following agreed upon programs to increase voter registration; it will offer necessary consultant services to assure that programs receive the best possible trial; and it will evaluate the results.

The administrative and organizational sketch which follows has been drawn up in consultation with our Executive Committee. After your replies to this letter have been received, we shall, if it appears there is a viable agreement, submit to Taconic a formal request for funds, with the understanding that Taconic may obtain help from other foundations and friends in providing the money. As accompanying documents with that request, we shall transmit a copy of this letter, a copy of each of your replies, and a memorandum setting forth our reactions to suggestions or comments which may appear in your letters; copies of the entire submission, as well as Taconic's final response to it, will be furnished you. Funds adequate for a two year program will be requested.

grant offer

SRC does not assume any obligation to engage in further fund raising.

and groups, and objectives,

ORGANIZATION

1. SRC will create a special project, with a distinct name.

2. The Project will continue research to determine the areas of lowest voter participation in the South, and the most effective means of encouraging increased voter registration. The Project will ~~assist through~~ funds and consultations ~~the~~ registration programs of other agencies when pursued through means that accord with the Project's research findings, and when of a nature consistent with SRC's tax exemption charter. The Project will study and evaluate the results of these programs.

3. Publicity regarding the Project will be held to the necessary minimum, and will be handled exclusively by SRC of the Project. Publicity regarding your programs will be fully within your control and initiative.

4. The Project will not affect the autonomy of agencies or groups cooperating with it. The expectation is that each will work in its field, will formulate its own programs, and will be publicly identified with them.

5. Each of your agencies, and such other agencies as will be agreed upon, will be invited by SRC to appoint one representative to serve on an Advisory Committee to the Project's Director; SRC will not have a member on the Committee, but an SRC representative will sit with the Committee to maintain liaison. The Committee should meet frequently and regularly to review policies and decisions, and to advise the Project Director to the end that there be neither overlap nor omissions in the programs. The Committee shall be advisory only. If cases arise where the Advisory Committee finds itself in disagreement with the Project Director, SRC shall, on request of the Committee, immediately meet with it to discuss and settle the differences.

6. The Project Director and his staff will be appointed by SRC; recommendations of qualified persons will be sought from your agencies.

7. Project headquarters will be in Atlanta.

---

* Although the Project will be a part of SRC, for convenience and clarity the term "SRC" is used in this letter to denote the present structure of SRC.

8. ~~Success of the campaign will~~ Effective registration work may depend not only on the work of ~~the sponsors~~ your agencies, but on that of local voters leagues, churches, Urban Leagues, local ad hoc groups, etc. Consequently, such local groups should be eligible to receive funds and services from the Project.

FUNCTIONS

1. The functions of the Project will be principally:

   a. in cooperation with SRC, to plan research and publications;
   b. conduct therewith, and therefrom assume the integrity of evaluation & result:
   ~~b.~~ 1. ~~to~~ help agencies and local groups allocate areas in which to work;

   ~~c.~~ 2. ~~to~~ assist in ~~organizing~~ coordinating and following through on local drives;

   ~~d.~~ 3. ~~to~~ advise all grant recipients on public relations;

   ~~e.~~ 4. ~~to~~ allocate Project funds and services among participating agencies and groups.

2. In allocating and terminating funds and services, the Project Director will have undivided responsibility and authority, except that he must report regularly and fully to the Advisory Committee, and will be subject to the restrictions set out in paragraph 1 under "Southern Regional Council Authority." (See below.)

3. The first task ~~of the Project~~ will be a careful study and definition of the best methods for ~~conducting~~ encouraging registration ~~drives~~ in the various sections of the South. On the basis of this study, the Project, with the advice of SRC and the Advisory Committee, will draw up a statement of policies to guide the Project in determining whether to cooperate financially and administratively with the programs of any agency or group.

4. ~~Funds and services~~ will be allocated after review by the Project Director of programs, including justifications of requests for funds, submitted by cooperating agencies and groups.

5. The Project staff will include travelling consultants, in a number to be determined by need, who can be assigned by the Director to aid a cooperating agency or group. Consultants will be selected on the basis of qualifications for voter registration work and will at all times be responsible directly to the Project Director.

6. In providing assistance to the program of any participating agency, the Project will determine in each case:

   a. how much, if any, of the agreed upon assistance can be

provided through grants to tax exempt groups (e. g., churches) which may be sharing in the program of the cooperating agency or group?

~~b. how much, if any, can be provided through assignment of Project consultants to aid the cooperating agency or group?~~

b. how much, if any, can be provided by direct Project payment for certain items (e. g., printing)?

c. how much, if any, can be provided through grants to a non-tax exempt agency or group?

7. Payments of funds allocated any cooperating agency or group shall be ~~xx~~ advanced on a quarterly basis. If conditions arise which prevent compliance by a cooperating agency or group with the terms of the grant, no further advances will be made. The Project Director will establish the necessary reporting procedures to assure accountability of funds; sincere effort will be made to keep reports from being cumbersome.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL AUTHORITY

1. SRC shall:

a. have a veto over any grant of funds or services incompatible with ~~SRC's tax exemption charter;~~ the statement of Project policies;

b. withhold any grant of funds until the recipient has assured adequate accounting of the use of the funds;

c. appoint the Project staff: SRC recognized, however, that Project effectiveness requires that staff have the confidence of your agencies;

d. supervise the administrative practices of the Project.

FINANCES

1. SRC will receive and hold funds granted by the Taconic Foundation, and other foundations and friends.

2. Your agencies are free to raise funds for voter registration purposes from other sources and to use such funds in whatever ways you decide. The question has been raised as to whether SRC ~~as a tax exempt body~~ would accept funds raised by you: SRC may, at its discretion in each particular case, and with the concurrence of the Advisory Committee, do so, but only if the funds are designated for and administered by the Project.

---

* At the August 23 meeting, someone suggested that nearly all staff needed by a participating agency for voter work could be hired by the Project, usually on nomination of the agency, and assigned by the Project to work with that agency; the thought behind the suggestion was that SRC ~~would~~ find it administratively simpler to transfer personnel rather than dollars. Further thought convinces us that ~~this~~ would not be a wise procedure, from any point of view.

3. SRC will disburse Project funds, subject to the limitations expressed in paragraph 1 under "Southern Regional Council Authority," upon requisition of the Project Director.

4. A semi-annual accounting of all Project receipts and disbursements, including those for SRC overhead, will be made available for the inspection of your agencies.

* * *

In conclusion, we would like to affirm again, as John Wheeler and I have at the two meetings, SRC's complete willingness to work on the program. ~~in association with you in this endeavor~~. We believe that there exists enough mutual trust to assure a satisfying and successful ~~joint striving toward a~~ goal ~~we all share~~.
achievement of a mentation

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

CC: Mr. Thurgood Marshall, Chief Counsel
Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York 19, New York

Mr. Robert L. Carter, General Counsel
National Association for the Advancement of Colored Poeple
Twenty West Fortieth Street
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Public Relations Department, N.A.A.C.P.
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208 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Marion Barry, Field Secretary
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
197½ Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Interest

September 12, 1961

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

Your recommendations were tremendously helpful. I am afraid I was having trouble getting a clear-sighted approach on this and your remark that our earlier draft was "too defensive" was exactly the key I needed to unlock my mental obscurity.

I believe you will agree that this is better and I hope you will think it good enough.

See you Tuesday.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

P. S. The enclosed column of Ralph McGill, I think will interest you. The "factual report on law enforcement in Southern cities" was our publication Racial Violence and Law Enforcement", by George McMillian.

September 12, 1961

Mr. Morris B. Abram
Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Morris:

Enclosed is a copy of our letter dealing with the Voter Registration Project which I discussed with you last week.

I would be very grateful if you would take the time to read it and let me know of any suggestions, criticisms, etc., you may have.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

September 13, 1961

The Honorable Justine Wise Polier
175 East Sixty-fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear Judge Polier:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter mailed by us to each of the agencies participating in the Taconic discussions on voter registrations.

I hope you had a pleasant stay in Europe.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

file - V.E.P. - 1961

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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Voter Letter

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4. A semi-annual accounting of all Project receipts and disbursements, including those for SRC overhead, will be made available for the inspection of your agencies.

* * *

In conclusion, we would like to affirm again, as John Wheeler and I have at the two meetings, SRC's complete willingness to work on this program. We believe that there exists enough mutual trust to assure a satisfying and successful achievement of a meritorious goal.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A
CC:

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Mr. Thurgood Marshall, Chief Counsel
Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York 19, New York

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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 13, 1961

TO: Members of the Executive Committee

FROM: Leslie W. Dunbar

On August 23, John Wheeler and I attended a second meeting at Taconic offices in New York to discuss the voter registration project. Present at this session were Messrs. Currier and Garrison, and Miss Eddy of Taconic; Harold Fleming of Potomac Institute; Dr. King and Mr. Walker of SCLC; James Farmer of CORE; Henry Moon of NAACP; Charles McDew of SNCC; Timothy Jenkins of National Student Association; Whitney Young of the Urban League; Burke Marshall of Justice; Harris Wofford of the White House.

The meeting provided an opportunity for full and frank discussion. It ended with a request to SRC to put into writing the outline of a plan for cooperative action.

The enclosure is in response to that request. In preparing it, I have consulted not only with the staff but with several of SRC's foundation friends. Finally, on September 8, a sub-committee of the Executive Committee was convened here, and a draft letter which I put before it was thoroughly reviewed. The sub-committee consisted of those Atlanta resident members of the Committee able to attend, plus several officers. Present were: Mrs. Hamilton, Miss Wilkins, Dr. Clement, Messrs. Dabbs, Haas, Wheeler, and Wright.

At the conclusion of the meeting it was the judgment of the sub-committee that the letter should now go out, and that at the same time copies should go to each member of the full Executive Committee, with the urgent request that you telephone me at once if you have reservations regarding any point in it. It was the belief of the sub-committee, however, that the letter is fully consistent with the consensus reached by the Executive Committee at its meeting of July 28, 1961.

With best regards.

September 13, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc
1501 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Here it is. If any desirable changes occur to you I wish you would call.

I'll see you Tuesday. I'll be driving up and as nearly as I can figure it, I should be able to make your office by noon. If I see that I am going to be late I'll phone but, in any event, you should not delay the luncheon on my account.

This voter thing is one that I am glad to have out of my craw. We are far from being through with it, of course, but there is a lot of relief to be had from having SRC's position squared away.

Add the McGill column to the souvenirs of your days with the Council.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. 2

September 13, 1961

Mr. Harris Wofford
Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harris:

Enclosed is a copy of our letter to the agencies regarding the voter registration project.

If you think of any changes which should be suggested please let me have them.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

P. S. The enclosed column of Ralph McGill's is sent to you because I thought it would be of interest. The "factual report on law enforcement" was our publication, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, by George McMillian.

September 13, 1961

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burke:

Enclosed is a copy of our letter to the agencies regarding the voter registration project.

If you think of any changes which should be suggested please let me have them.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

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P. S. The enclosed column of Ralph McGill's is sent to you because I thought it would interest you. The "factual report on law enforcement" was our publication, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, by George McMillian.

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON
575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 8-5600
CABLE: LONGSIGHT, N.Y.

1625 EYE STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

ARTHUR J. COHEN
COUNSEL

RANDOLPH E. PAUL (1946-1956)
LOUIS S. WEISS (1927-1950)

SIMON H. RIFKIND
ROBERT E. SAMUELS
JOHN F. WHARTON
LLOYD K. GARRISON
MYER D. MERMIN
HOWARD A. SEITZ
H. RUSSELL WINOKUR
SAMUEL J. SILVERMAN
ALEXANDER HEHMEYER
ADRIAN W. DEWIND
EDWARD G. MILLER, JR.
MORDECAI ROCHLIN
PAUL J. NEWLON
JOSEPH S. ISEMAN
JAMES B. LEWIS
SIDNEY R. NUSSENFELD
MARTIN KLEINBARD
RICHARD H. PAUL
NORMAN ZELENKO
JOHN E. MASSENGALE
JAY H. TOPKIS
EDWARD N. COSTIKYAN
ROBERT H. MONTGOMERY, JR.
JOHN C. TAYLOR, 3RD
BERNARD H. GREENE

Rec'd 9/21

September 18, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of September 13 to the executives of the agencies which participated in the two conferences at the Taconic Foundation. I have only two suggestions to make.

(1) In order to raise the needed funds I think we will have to have as soon as possible an overall budget, estimated as nearly as may be, indicating the total of the needed funds for each of, say, two years, or perhaps three. The necessary staff will have to be hired by you and by the cooperating agencies, and a two-year commitment would probably be the least that you should be in a position to offer if you are to get a good staff. The letter does not call for this sort of projection; it refers on page 2 to "a grant" but paragraph "4" on page 4 does not specify what period "the requests for funds" (by the agencies) should cover.

I realize of course that any initial budget for a

two year or three year period will need revision as the work goes forward and I am sure you have in mind getting up such a budget so that we may know how much money to shoot for; I am merely suggesting that the letter as written does not point up this approach or put the agencies under pressure to get up the figures on such a basis.

(2) To push things along I hope you will be following up the letter by telephone talks with the executives. You might even find that individual meetings with particular executives will be necessary. I have an uneasy feeling that unless you can assume this arduous burden and press forward with it, the enterprise will never get off the ground.

I thought that your handling of the matter at our last conference was superb and I have the utmost confidence in your capacity to weld the different groups into a workable unity.

Sincerely yours,

Lloyd K. Garrison

Lloyd K. Garrison

September 13, 1961

Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Garrison:

I am enclosing a copy of our letter to the agencies involved in your conferences on voter registration.

We have the highest hopes for this venture, not only for the tangible results which may come from it but also for the opportunity it presents to effect a working partnership among civil rights groups. Although for reasons you can completely understand we have formulated the undertaking in terms of our research interests, I think we have also set up the framework for a satisfactory relationship.

If you have any changes you would like to suggest I should be most grateful to hear from you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 18, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your letter of September 13th. A week earlier I had received from Stephen Currier's secretary a copy of an invitation dated July 21, 1961 which they mislaid and forgot to send me for the July 28th meeting. I don't know what happened to the invitation, if any, to the August meeting. It probably was a victim of our hot, humid weather.

You may be sure I am pulling for you to make great gains in your voter registration effort.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

September 13, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

As I believe you know, we have been engaged a good part of the summer in considering and discussing the proposition that SRC play a central role in a large voter registration drive in the South. The enclosure is a copy of our letter to other agencies which would be involved.

It represents SRC's decision and manner of commitment. If there are any portions of it you would like to have clarified I hope you will call.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. 2

P. S. The enclosed column of Ralph McGill's is sent to you because I thought it would interest you. The "factual report on law enforcement" was our publication, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, by George McMillian.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

October 17, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We have received and reviewed the SRC memo of September 13, 1961, on organization and administration of Taconic (and other) funds for the purpose of increasing registration and voting by Negroes in the South. I need not say that we have welcomed its comprehensiveness and the understanding it shows of the complexity of the problems involved. If our reply has taken longer than anticipated, it is only because the memorandum seemed to us to warrant close and careful discussion in all its aspects and needed, in any case, consultation with our Board of Directors at its meeting on October 9 last.

The memorandum was evaluated against our experience over the past three years, during which we have maintained a full-time voter registration department, with two professional staff members working in close conjunction with NAACP field secretaries in nine southern states. In that time, voter registration campaigns have been conducted at least once in over ninety cities and towns according to detailed and carefully worked out plans, resulting in an estimated minimum of 400,000 registrations at a cost of approximately $150,000, including some funds raised locally. (This is not, of course, a net figure, as it takes no account of losses due to death, removal, re-certification, and so forth.)

The following reflects the views of myself and the principal members of my executive staff.

1. The job ahead of us is manifestly huge enough to enlist several hundred times the energies and resources presently engaged, and it is thus clear that no bona fide source of help should be excluded. But it is equally clear that there is a critical premium on existing organized beachheads and on tested and successful ongoing operations. It would, we think, be a disservice to the objective and confusing to the public if the NAACP's cooperative joint listing with other groups, some of which thus far have little more than good intentions to offer, should be taken to imply equality as regards their relative importance and potential in the work to be done.

Recent events have already indicated how voter registration activity can be sidetracked when allied with diversionary efforts, however laudable the latter may be in their own right. It is also vital that the terrain and procedures chosen for registration campaigns be such as not only to provide a prospect of real increases but to be amenable to federal intervention when necessary.

2. There is no intention of minimizing the value of research to evaluate current programs and to define "the best methods for encouraging registration in the various sections of the South." At the same time, we would be interested in an elaboration of the criterion for granting funds to programs "pursued through means that accord with the Project's research findings and objectives." We would urge the necessity of putting maximum funds to work in the expansion of proven programs without waiting for the results of such studies. It seems to us in this connection that the methods the NAACP has developed, while undoubtedly susceptible of improvement, have been productive enough to serve as a guide and standard for the total program until SRC's evaluation yields the anticipated refinements.

3. Allocation of areas of work to the various beneficiaries of funds poses a distinct and peculiar problem for the NAACP. Except in Alabama, we have active local branches through the South, all of which are mandated to give priority attention to voter registration. They are the nuclei of our campaigns under supervision by our voter registration staff. Although these branches are not uniformly effective, it is inconceivable that they would not be directly involved in any voter registration activity in their communities.

We do not see, at this early and unstructured stage of the SRC project, how the NAACP could endorse in advance a territorial commitment which would exclude any of its branches from its own voter registration program.

4. The prospective eligibility of local voters leagues, churches, local ad hoc groups, etc., to receive funds requires thorough understanding. We know a good deal about most of the existing voters leagues and have had many years of experience with them and with other groups and have found that funds advanced to them are not uncommonly of little value unless their projects are closely supervised. We recommend that the SRC make no direct grants to these local groups. Rather let the national or regional constituent agencies aid the local groups they approve out of funds made available to them. In our opinion these agencies should be in a better position than SRC to evaluate particular local groups.

5. SRC funds will be remitted to organizations for programs "when of a nature consistent with SRC's tax exemption charter." Since this is the essence of the whole project, so far as aid to voter registration campaigns is concerned, it is obviously essential to our participation that it be clear that NAACP's Voter Registration Program will receive such funds.

Our staff discussions covered the entire memorandum and the foregoing does not exhaust the areas in which we feel clarification is needed. But any new enterprise starts with a certain number of indeterminate factors and we expect that there will be ample opportunity to deal with them as the work develops.

In conclusion, may I express my own thanks and that of the NAACP, for the Council's willingness to take on so demanding and challenging an assignment.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins

Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary

RW:erb

October 26, 1961
Air Mail - S.D.

Mr. Harold Fleming,
The Potomac Institute
1501 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

We are still considering your message of yesterday morning. In the meantime I wonder if you would read the enclosed and give me a call when you have done so. This is a draft we prepared last week and follows along lines I discussed by telephone last Thursday with Stephen. It seems to me still a reasonable approach.

The figures certainly can be modified (though I do not believe they are unrealistic).

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

October 27, 1961

Mr. Joseph Haas
First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Joe:

To fill you in before the meeting in Washington:

As you know, we on September 13 sent out a letter to the agencies, indicating our conditions, etc. Replies were slow, and this caused Stephen Currier unhappiness, which became acute when the reply of the N.A.A.C.P. finally was received; I am enclosing a copy of it (the other replies were simple assents.)

I think we must keep an eye on the long haul, not chiefly on the preliminaries. The N.A.A.C.P. is being sticky now; over the long period I expect it will be the least of our headaches. The only part of the N.A.A.C.P.'s letter which I regard as likely to cause real difficulty is the comment about giving to local organizations; on this I would hope we could, at least, agree to disagree.

The Taconic Board met last Tuesday, and on Wednesday Harold called, saying he was authorized to invite us to submit a request for funds to employ a staff person to complete initial planning, which would include, presumably, obtaining from each agency a concrete plan and budget. We discussed this at length.

My reaction to this is mostly negative. I am willing to administer almost any size program that Taconic may be willing to finance. What I think we must have are:

1. A program to administer; I am unwilling to recruit staff or to engage in further planning with the agencies unless we have some fairly definite

To: Joseph Haas
October 27, 1961

indication of the degree of Taconic's financial interest; if Taconic would prefer to commit X dollars now, and review the matter again in three, six, or twelve months, I would not object.

2. An understanding that our authority in allocating the funds is absolute; we must be careful not to get into a situation where, in fact, our approval of an agency grant constitutes only a recommendation to Taconic; this would be neither good policy, nor proper caution against appearing to be merely a funnel for grants to non-tax exempt agencies. I may have read too much into Harold's remarks, but if agency budgets have to be worked up and scrutinized by Taconic before the grant is made, then I think we have a problem.

Consequently, I sent the enclosed letter, with attachments, to Harold yesterday; he had received it before he called today, although he did not comment on it.

We meet at 10:00 A.M., November 2 in Harold's office. Present will be, besides you, Harold and I: Stephen Currier, Lloyd Garrison, a Mr. Dewinn from Garrison's law firm, and probably Burke Marshall. I have asked Harold to put the tax question first on the agenda, so they can be aired before you (or Mr. Levinson) have to leave. Harold's address is 1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

cc: John Wheeler

File
Voting Project

November 10, 1961

Mr. Stephen R. Currier, President
Taconic Foundation, Inc
666 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Currier:

We submit herewith a request to the Taconic Foundation for funds for the support of an investigation into voting registration in the South, under a project of the Southern Regional Council to be known as the Voter Education Project. This would be a two year program, beginning January 1962.

A description of the organizational structure and operational methods was outlined in our letter of September 13, 1961 addressed to certain agencies whose cooperation in the project would be necessary. The letter also indicated the purposes of the Project. A copy was forwarded to you at the time, and by attachment is made a part of this present submission.

The following agencies have indicated their assent to the procedures and organization set forth in our letter of September 13:

National Urban League, by its letter of September 22;

Southern Christian Leadership Conference,
by its letter of October 2;

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee,
by its letter of October 13;

National Association for the Advancement of Colored
People, by its letter of October 17;

Congress of Racial Equality, by its letter of October 16;

No reply to our letter of September 13 has been received from

To: Stephen R. Currier
November 10, 1961

the National Student Association.

The request for funds set forth herein is contingent upon certain developments. Although we deem it advisable to put the request before you now, in order to ascertain your views, we want nevertheless to state these contingencies. They are the following:

1. The response of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People raises certain questions and asks for certain clarifications that require further discussion between us and the Association. As the Southern Regional Council would not wish to undertake the Project without the full support of the Association, this request for funds is conditioned upon a mutually satisfactory resolution of this matter.

2. The Southern Regional Council is a tax exempt organization under Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code. We have thoroughly considered, with help of Counsel, the consistency of the proposed Project with our tax status, and have concluded that the Project is fully within the scope of our authorized activity. As a matter of prudence, however, we have initiated discussions with the Internal Revenue Service in order to secure an advance ruling. This request for funds is contingent upon such a ruling being obtained, and its being favorable.

3. To estimate accurately the funds required for the Project is difficult until each of the cooperating agencies has had an opportunity to frame the program it will contribute to the Project, and until these programs have been reviewed and decided upon. Consequently, we ask the privilege of presenting to you at a later date a more detailed and concrete statement of funds required.

With these qulaifications and under these circumstances we put before you a request that the Taconic Foundation consider an annual appropriation in the order of $250,000.00, to be made available to the Voter Education Project for the purpose of financing voter registration programs of cooperating agencies, these to include principally the five agencies named above as having responded to our letter of September 13 with an indication of interest in the program outlined therein.

In addition, funds will be required for the Project itself. Budget estimates for one year are attached, and incorporated with this letter. As you will note, they amount to $61,590.00, with $3,000.00 of that amount being non-recurrable. We call your attention to the note on the attached budget which indicates a possible need for a revised amount.

To: Stephen R. Currier
November 10, 1961

I believe that our conferences during the past summer have given dimensions of urgency to this undertaking. Because of these conferences there is not the need that would ordinarily exist to enlarge here upon the justification of the Project. We recognize, however, that you have not previously had a proposal put before you which was in any measure concrete, and which gave you a basis for reaching a decision. We can well appreciate that you may wish to postpone a full commitment until at least the three matters which we have noted as qualifying our own request are cleared.

We would like to suggest that, if your consideration of the Project remains favorable, the following actions by the Taconic Foundation at this time would be especially helpful:

1. A notation that a sum in the order of $250,000.00 for grants-in-aid is a suitable figure for planning purposes; (From the outset, of course, there has been a mutual understanding that Taconic would require the assistance of other foundations, if a sum of this magnitude were required.)

2. A notation that two years is a suitable period for planning purposes.

3. An approval of the budget, in the amount of $61,590.00, for the Voter Education Project itself, with, however, the authorization of funds for immediate expenditure limited to $16,100.00, the balance to be made available when all contingencies have been removed.

We shall, immediately following your action on this request, if that is favorable, undertake to recruit a Project Director, and to convene the Project's Advisory Committee.

With sincerest regards,

Very truly yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
Estimated Costs
1962

Salaries		
Project Director	$10,000.00	
Field Consultants (2)	14,000.00	
Administrative Secretary	4,000.00	$28,000.00
Employee Benefits and taxes	2,800.00	2,800.00
Office Rent	1,800.00	1,800.00
Printing	5,000.00	5,000.00
Travel	9,000.00	9,000.00
		46,600.00
Overhead @ 15%	6,990.00	6,990.00
		53,590.00
Payment to SRC for Research Services	5,000.00	5,000.00
		58,590.00
Office Equipment and Renovation*		3,000.00
Total		$61,590.00

*Non-recurrable item

NOTE: The Field Consultants would be required for two purposes: (1) to assist in review and coordination of programs and evaluation of results; (2) to assist in administering the policy and 501 (c) (3) controls of the Project. If either of these purposes but especially the second, require that there be more than two Field Consultants, the necessary expenses will have to be deducted from the grant-in-aid funds, or otherwise provided.

24-61 MONDAY

NEW YORK TIMES

JOB BIAS CHARGED IN LUXURY HOUSES

State Finds Negroes Barred as Elevator Operators in East Side Buildings

STUDY SHOWS 'PATTERN'

Inquiry Leads to Changed Employment Rules and New Contract Clause

Leg + Pres.

Commissioner Bernard Katzen of the State Commission against Discrimination said yesterday that East Side "luxury apartments" had maintained a pattern of discrimination against Negro elevator operators.

"It is indeed a dreary footnote to the record of much achievement that it remains possible to perceive an aspect of discrimination based on color in connection with a job category of elevator operator in the City of New York," Mr. Katzen said.

"I have rejected the possibility that this pattern 'just happened.'"

The Commissioner made his allegations in a decision rejecting for lack of evidence the specific complaint by John DeMatas, a Trinidad-born elevator operator now working as a mess man aboard a marine science ship in the Caribbean.

Mr. Katzen said the complaint, though rejected, had prompted a broad investigation which had disclosed that "over a considerable period of time" there were virtually no Negro "front elevator" operators in expensive East Side apartment houses.

"Only the most credulous would accept the possibility that such a pattern in the place we find it is entirely fortuitous," he said.

End of Condition Urged

He called upon union officials, employment service agents and real estate groups to increase their efforts to end the discriminatory pattern he said he had found.

Mr. Katzen said the New York State Employment Service had agreed to refuse job specifications that might cloak discrimination by requiring prior experience in such a way as to bar Negroes from particular job areas.

He cited as unacceptable such specifications as "East Side apartment house experience."

Gmolan 1961

File - VEP

February 3, 1962

Request to The Field Foundation, Inc., for support of the Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council.

For some months the Southern Regional Council has been, by request, engaged in developing the Voter Education Project. The Council has worked closely with the policy and staff members of the following organizations, each of which will participate in the Project: Congress of Racial Equality; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; National Urban League; Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The Council has always been vitally interested in registration and voting in the South. It has done a substantial amount of research designed to determine the geographical areas of low voter registration, and the causes; findings have been published.* A large part of this work has been financed by The Field Foundation.

There now seems to be an opportunity for a greatly expanded effort. The resources and experiences of all the above listed agencies will be called on and there will be established an unprecedented cooperation and pooling of resources among civil rights organizations. The project, if even only modestly successful, will deeply affect civil rights and democratic government in the region and the nation.

The purpose of the Voter Education Project is to enable the Council to promote, study, and evaluate methods for encouraging exercise of the right to register and vote in the South. The project will grant funds and provide consultants for approved non-partisan voter registration programs conducted by the organizations named above, and by local organizations active in voter registration work. Each organization receiving support must agree to submit the results of its program to the Project for evaluation and use in publication. To insure that funds are utilized solely for the intended purpose, the Project

*Margaret Price, The Negro and the Ballot in the South, 1959; Margaret Price, The Negro Voter in the South, 1957; Luther P. Jackson, Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940, 1948; and other occasional reports.

will impose adequate conditions on the granting of support and will required detailed accounting of expenditures, as well as program reports.

The Project Director and his staff will, of course, be members also of the Southern Regional Council staff, and subject to supervision by the Executive Director and the Board of the Council. The Project Director is Mr. Wiley A. Branton, attorney from Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Present plans call for the appointment of two field consultants and an administrative secretary to assist him.

Further information and details are contained in Attachments A and B, which are hereby incorporated with this request. You will note that Attachment B is a request, filed with the United States Internal Revenue Service, for an advance ruling that the Project is consistent with the Council's tax exempt status. This matter is still pending, and our request to you for financial support is conditioned upon a satisfactory resolution of this issue.

Attachment C is a draft statement of principles being considered by the five agencies listed above for release at the time of public announcement of the Project, over the signatures of the staff heads of the agencies. It is incorporated with this submission in order that you may note the motivations and spirit of this program, as well as its plans. You will also be interested in knowing that several other organizations will endorse the objectives set forth in this statement of principles. These include the National Council of Churches of Christ, American Jewish Congress, American Friends Service Committee, Prince Hall Grand Masters Conference, and the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

It is the conviction of the Southern Regional Council that a reasonable degree of success in the Voter Education Project will substantially and positively contribute to the welfare of the region and the nation. It is anticipated that this two year project will require a <u>minimum</u> budget of $620,000.

Toward this amount, we request that The Field Foundation consider a contribution of $125,000 per year for the two year period.

Of the total budget, $58,000 - $65,000 per year will be allocated to expenses of the Project office and its work, and a minimum of $250,000 per year is needed for field work.

The members and staff of the Southern Regional Council continue to be most grateful for the generous support of The Field Foundation. It is with this deep sense of gratitude that we respectfully submit this request for further support.

DRAFT file Vep

A STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH AIMS AND METHODS OF THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

I. BACKGROUND

A. Before undertaking the Voter Education Project, the Southern Regional Council applied for and obtained a favorable ruling from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, holding that the Project was consistent with SRC's tax-exemption. In letters to the Commission, dated December 14, 1961 and February 9, 1962, the Project was described. The following statements, excerpted from those letters, define the research objectives:

1. The purpose of the Project is to enable the Council to promote and to study and evalutate methods for teaching and encouraging exercise of the right to register and vote in areas in the South which, from the Council's past research, are known to be comparatively lowest in registration and voting. The work will necesarily largely involve the Negro population.

2. The purpose of the Project is to develop educational programs which will be most effective in providing voters with the knowledge and will to register.

3&&&~~Upon&the&completion&of&the&Project&&&&&a&report&~~

3. Upon the completion of the Project... a report, analysis and evaluation of the Project will be published. Such publication will describe the Project and recommend, on the basis of Project

experience, the best methods of education designed to overcome low voter registration in the various geographic and cultural areas of the South.

B. From the foregoing, it is clear that

1. VEP shall not only study registration efforts, but shall promote them for the purposes of study

2. VEP is specifically to work and research in areas "known to be comparatively lowest in registration and voting." Indeed, this is stated almost as an exclusive interest. This was not, however, intended to be the case and the fuller context of the application amply shows that.

3. Research includes voting, as well as registration experience.

4. This is primarily experimental research, through which VEP seeks to develop effective programs.

5. Recommendations, therefore, are to constitute a large part of the research product.

II. OBJECTIVES

V.E.P. is substantially the largest research ever undertaken by the Council. The resulting publication will be, unlike the usual SRC release, of book length.

Nevertheless, we do not intend nor should we, to depart from the established objectives of SRC research publishing. These are:

(a) to inform national opinion accurately and with sound interpretation

(b) as a special end, to inform southern leaders, both directly and through the press

(c) to contribute to the formulation of public policies.

Stated this way, there is nothing to preclude research done according to the exacting standards of the social sciences. We do, however, need to keep in mind that the three objectives set out above do preclude research findings that require interpretation or translation: our business is to speak directly to the public.

Moreover, our business is to address ourselves to the concerns of public policy, and not to those of social science. As do any disciplines, the social sciences have developed problems which are largely intra-mural in their interest. All the issues of public policy are of interest to the social sciences; the reverse is neither obviously nor probably so. The VEP will not, therefore, seek to serve social science in such ways as the refinement of methodologies or the verification of statistical probabilities.

III. RESEARCH PROBLEMS

The research problem of the VEP might be re-stated as:

> A study of the effectiveness of organized effort - political activity in the broadest sense - in attacking the causes of low registration in the various sections of the South.

Stated this way, the relationship between the VEP and the Matthews-Prothro work is made more obvious. For they, after close and exhaustive analysis of the social and economic variables of registration, raise the question of the relative importance of these variables, on the one side, against political and legal factors and organized Negro and white supremacist activity on the other.

The VEP will accept the Matthews-Prothro analysis as the latest authoritative study of the social and economic variables. The Matthews-Prothro analysis of racial attitudes will also be assumed, except where explicitly questioned.

The various parts of the re-statement above may be separately considered:

(a) "a study of the effectiveness of organized effort"

VEP is dealing with a wide variety of organizations -- all devoted to civil rights -- including national organizations such as:

NAACP, the National Urban League, CORE, a regional body

Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the unique

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; including also a large number of local organizations, ranging from such sophisticated groups as :

All-Citizens Registration Committee (Atlanta)

Durham (N.C.) Negro Voters League

to inexperienced groups such as:

Federated Organization for the Cause of Unlimited Self-Development (FOCUS) - Baton Rouge;

the organizations include also ad hoc ones that VEP helped bring into existence, such as:

Council of Federated Organizations (Miss.)

Jefferson County (Ala.) Voters Campaign,

and popular crusades such as the

Albany (Ga.) Movement.

The organizations differ greatly - in their structure, their attitudes, their methods of work, their uses of publicity, and their repuations. All of these differences are deserving of study,

and of some critique as to effectiveness. The VEP should not, indeed, shirk the opportunity of contributing some objective evaluations of the varieties of organized Negro political activity, at this still formative period of a relatively new development that will undoubtedly persis and grow long after the dramatic controversies of civil rights have been ended.

Some organizations tend to work in different local situations, and this is usually a matter of deliberate choice on their part. This, itself, raises an issue of research interest, because the choices represent, to some degrees, divergent views of strategy. One view favors a concentrated, almost sole, effort in the more liberal locales, where the barriers are essentially only the apathy or alienation of Negroes. The other inclines toward work in the heavily resistant, Black Belt locales. Evaluation of these two approaches merely in terms of new registrants would be comparatively few in the resistant areas. The work there, however, represents a strongly held belief that political leverage can be realized by token gains, by opening the bottle, by laying the basis for court suits, by stimulating national publicity, by exposing the crudity of the segregationists' methods. VEP cannot hope to evaluate such work quantitatively, but the notion that social science is confined to quantitative findings is a recent one, and perhaps not an unrelenting tenet. In fact, nearly all interesting social study of a quantative sort has had to be given stimulus and direction by preceding observation, analysis, and interpretation of disciplined minds; the behavioral scientist then translates the nuances of the former into percentage points and coefficients of significance.

Another matter of great interest will be the observation of the effectiveness of local groups. As mentioned above, these include both the experienced and the inexperienced. Some operate with the support -- of various sorts -- of national and regional organizations (other than VEP), and some without.

(b) "political activity in the broadest sense."

q The VEP is wisely restricted to work with non-partisan groups and efforts. Registration itself is, however, a political act, and each registration contributes a mite of influence on political alignments and decisions. How much, however, is that influence, in the differing situations of the South, and at differing levels of total white and total Negro registration? Such questions as the following are interesting:

1. Does the simple act of Negro registration, or knowledge of the existence of an organized effort to stimulate registration, provoke response, of any ascertainable kind, from officials or from private whites?

2. does increased Negro registration stimulate white registration and voting?

3. what ascertainable increase in Negro voting is produced by increased Negro registration?

4. what are the repercussions of increased Negro registration, or organized efforts to that end, on national politics and policies?

(c) "in attacking the causes of low registration in the various sections of the South."

A great deal of research has been done in the past, some by

SRC, some by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, and some by academic scholars, on the causes of low registration. These have been generally concluded to be:

1. outright governmental prohibition of Negro registration (since the outlowing of the white primary this has ended as an openly acknowledged practice and, for the most part, has ended in practice, though a few isolated instances persist where local authorities, without pretense otherwise, will not register Negroes).

2. governmental cheating, i.e., the administration of qualifications more strictly for Negroes than for whites, or the capricious or arbitrary rejection of Negroes, or the administration of registration in ways to slow or make personally uncomfortable Negro registration.

3. governmental restrictions against new registrations in such a way as to limit both whites and Negroes (e.g., poll taxes).

4. governmental harassment in reprisal against Negro registration, bu such multiform devises as capricious arrest of registration workers, cancellation of governmental services for properties used in registration activities, investigations, etc., etc.

5. private harassment, indimidation, violence, and economic reprisal.

6. Negro indifference (apathy)

7. Negro alienation

8. Negro ignorance, i.e., inability to pass literary requirements

9. Negro fear

10. in some areas (e.g., Virginia) an effective, if infrequently stated, bias against democratic control, to such an extent that voting, by either Negroes or underprivileged whites, is not part of the tissue of civic values.

These causes do, of course, have extreme variations of importance, according to time and place, and there exists a considerable body of analysis of each.

A basic reasarch interest of the VEP will be, in each area, to appraise, against a defined pattern of local obstacles, the effectiveness of certain organizational structures and methods.

* * * * * *

To sum up, the VEP, as a program of experimental research, has set itself the problem of devising, within its limited field of concern, means by which the political participation of deprived groups within the United States can be stimulated. The VEP supposes that increased political participation in a feasible means of bettering the living conditions of deprived groups. The implicit

assumption is that the political process is a primary means by which the benefits of society are distributed. This assumption is, of course, basic to democratic theory.

IV. GENERAL OUTLINE

An attempt at this stage to outline the final publication ould be foolhardy. The scheme set out below is, therefore, only an aid to visualizing content.

1. Background material

   a. most accurate and complete figures yet as to registration totals by race

   b. Analyses of these, in terms of such subject as:
      - geographic variation
      - rural/urban comparisons
      - educational levels

   c. Descriptive and interpretive essay on southern politics during period of VEP

2. VEP record

   a. a report, made up chiefly of figures, on each project and its success

   b. a concise narrative history of the projects

3. Research findings

   a. As of the initiation of each drive, what were the factors inhibiting registration?

b. Methods used to overcome

(1) Organizational

(2) Techniques

(3) Success

c. Anatomy of the factors

(1) Apathy: prevalence, characteristics, manifestations

(2) Alienation: ditto

(3) Apprehension of terror, and response

(4) Apprehension of white disapproval, and response

(5) Reaction to official cheating

d. Suitability of organized efforts to cope with the factors

4. Registration and reform

a. During the VEP period, what effects did increased registration have on elections, and also on other civil rights interests?

b. Based on observed trends, what effects can be expected?

V. MODES OF WORK

The statistical compilations and analysis noted above in 1a and 1b will be done by VEP staff, supplementing official and other published records with data gathered from the field programs.

The data required for sections ~~2a&2b~~ 2a & b, 3a, and 3b will be obtained in several ways:

(a) From field reports sent in by the cooperating agencies. VEP prescribed the forms of these reports. Many of the agencies are not good reporters, and this is hardly unexpected. On the other hand, some

of the reporting has been remarkably good and valuable. (Examples of this kind of quality are the report of the Middle Tennessee Voter
q Registration Project; the National Urban League's report on its Winston-Salem campaign; the reporting of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in its Summer, 1962 Mississippi work; add among several others, the reporting of the Albany Movement. It is pertinent to note that of these examples, only the last complied with the prescribed forms.)

(b) From field observations carried on by VEP staff. Limiations of staff make impossible the close field study of each project. VEP plans to visit each, however, and will do intensive field study of some, selected for d~~istinc~~ distinctive characteristics.

(c) From news reports, government sources including ~~assessors~~ legal proceedings, correspondence, and conversations with informed local persons, and other sources.

The data required for section 3c and, in part for sections 3d and 4a will be obtained in the same manner. This is a convenient place to note specifically that interviewing is not contemplated as a regular research tool. The findings

for 3c (as well as 3a) will be drawn from the full range of field reports and observations. Some of the cooperating agencies are carrying out interviews, and these are useful. But the VEP does not suppose that nothing valuable, lasting, and accurate can be discovered about political processes without systematized sampling, interviews, and the horrific expense of machine techniques. VEP intendes to use conversation heavily, but to hold them with selected informed and involved persons.

The work on section 3d will be supplemented by staff review and evaluation; on 4a, by statistical compilation done by VEP staff.

Direct planning and supervision of all the above work will be the responsibility of the VEP Director.

The work of synthesis and interpretation, under 1c and 4b, will be a joint undertaking of VEP staff and the SRC Research staff.

The final ordering of data and writing will be under the direction of the SRC Executive Director

Segregation in North Attacked; Principal Targets Are Schools

Ed. Rev — X —

But Breakthroughs in Housing Are Being Made—Drive Aims to Prevent South's Use of Subtle Northern Devices

X — Civil Rights

New York Times 3/20/62

By MILTON BRACKER

Problems of racial segregation, associated primarily with the South, are being attacked with new vigor in northern communities across the country.

The campaign, in which several civil rights groups figure, is based on a feeling among many Negroes that the relatively "subtle" and "sophisticated" techniques of segregation in the North may be adopted in the South.

These Negroes, and white associates, feel that, should this happen, the whole effort for desegregation in the South might be stalled.

A basic factor in the situation—suggesting that the issue of segregation is likely to be raised in cities and towns heretofore "free" of it—is the continuing and increasing migration of Negroes from the South.

Nineteen Sixty census figures showed a net migration of 1,457,000 non-whites since 1959—a record for any decade. The migrations were most numerous from Mississippi (323,000), Alabama (224,000) and South Carolina (218,000). Non-white migrants settled most frequently in California (354,000), New York (282,000) and Illinois (189,000).

Action Begun

Last Sunday, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced that its branches in twenty-six northern communities had begun action in line with a resolution of the association's annual convention last July.

The resolution held that:

"Northern school segregation has become an increasingly acute problem, particularly with the increased concentration of the Negro population outside the South."

To cope with this, the resolution said, "Branch programs must be intensified to insure the end of all segregated public education in fact or by law by all means available. * * *"

Apart from eleven New York suburbs discussed in The New York Times yesterday, the communities mentioned by the N. A. A. C. P. were:

Chicago, Centerville, Danville, Fairmount Park, Joliet, Maywood and Mount Vernon, Ill.; Detroit and Grand Rapids, Mich.; Philadelphia, Chester and Coatesville, Pa.; Cleveland, Ohio; Kansas City, Kan., and Pasadena, Calif.

Following are dispatches from three cities on the list (Chicago, Kansas City and Pasadena) and one (Springfield, Mass.) chosen at random from representative cities where action is not specifically in-

public schools here believe there is more racial segregation in the schools in Chicago than anywhere else in the North.

They hold the city's rigid "neighborhood school" policy is to blame.

Under this long-standing policy, children must attend school in their home neighborhood. This means, in view of Chicago's segregated residential patterns, that about 90 per cent of the schools are predominantly white or Negro.

Negro parents say that in most cases the schools in Negro neighborhoods are the most crowded and that the Board of Education spends less on Negro pupils than on white by assigning more inferior, substitute teachers to Negro schools.

In pending legal actions, the Negro parents charge that this results in inferior education for their children.

Culpability Hinted

The United States Commission on Civil Rights has said that the Chicago School Board may be violating the constitutional rights of Negro pupils. In a report last fall, it cited the fact that "strictly districted" all-Negro schools were on double shifts while predominantly white schools had unfilled classrooms.

It said the situation "may be an example of culpable official inaction that maintains outdated zoning and permits no transfers."

The Urban League, which studied the subject, says there are about 600 classrooms in white-neighborhood schools that could be used, if transfers were permitted, to relieve the overcrowded conditions in Negro schools.

Benjamin C. Willis, Superintendent of Schools, says there are no more than a third that number.

A suit pending in Federal District Court here asks that the no-transfer policy be declared unconstitutional. It was filed last September on behalf of parents by Paul B. Zuber of New York and two Chicago lawyers.

The suit charges segregation is maintained by gerrymandering school district lines and by building new schools in Negro neighborhoods rather than using vacant seats in near-by white schools.

The School Board has also approved Mr. Willis' recommendations to relieve overcrowding by renting space in churches andother buildings and by buying "mobile classrooms."

2d Suit Filed

The "mobile" schools are

built at a Negro school and thirty-four pupils from another Negro school were shifted to it rather than to a predominantly white school with available space that would have been closer for at least some of those transferred.

"Sit-ins" and "stand-ins" by pupils, parents, clergymen and others, white and Negro, including the executive director of the N. A. A. C. P. here, preceded the filing of this suit.

"The temper of the community is such that if the two suits don't do the job there will be others," Edwin C. Berry, executive director of the Urban League, has said. "People are deadly serious about this now."

Mr. Willis, in defending the neighborhood policy has said:

"It has always been the policy in Chicago *** if there is an emergency at school, it's better for the child to be in a community where he's known. It's part of human values."

James D. Montgomery, attorney representing Negro parents in the Zuber suit, sees little hope of breaking down school segregation without legal action. But he believes demonstrations of discontent can be effective in some areas.

The Congress of Racial Equality recently spearheaded "sit-ins" at the University of Chicago that won a university pledge to see what could be done to speed integration of university-owned apartment buildings.

'Wade-Ins' Supported

"Wade-ins" last summer, supported by clergymen of many faiths, established the right of Negroes to use a public beach previously used only by whites.

Chicago's Negro population has gone from 492,265 to 812,637 in the last decade. It is now a fourth of the city's total. In the same period the white population decreased from 3,111,525 to 2,712,748, continuing a decline that began in the Nineteen Forties. A 45 per cent Negro population by 1970 has been forecast.

An accelerating flight to the suburbs has accounted for the sharp decrease in white population. In the Nineteen Fifties Negroes also moved to near-by communities in increasing numbers, but almost entirely to cities with established Negro sections.

In only seven cases since World War II have Negroes been able to buy homes in suburbs here lacking Negro communities. These breakthroughs began in 1951 following mob violence that year that prevented a Negro couple from occupying a rented apartment in Cicero.

Deerfield has blocked a plan for an integrated housing development, and Western Springs and Oak Park accepted a Negro professional family only after years of racial tension.

Last year a Negro statistician bought a home in all-white Skokie. He and his wife were given police protection, after threats had been made and windows broken. With the guid-

tial restrictions that confine Negroes to ghettos.

Kansas City

Special to The New York Times

KANSAS CITY, Kan. — A lawsuit pending here is being regarded as "total attack on the school segregation system," according to counsel for the N. A. A. C. P.

The case is one of eight filed in cities outside the South in the stepped-up drive by right groups to break down segregation in the North.

Kansas City, Kan., is contiguous with the larger Kansas City, Mo., where progress toward integration is generally regarded as continuing. The state line is the border between the cities.

According to the 1960 census there were 121,309 persons in Kansas City, Kan. of whom 25,000 to 30,000 were Negro. In Kansas City, Mo., there are 88,000 Negroes, making up 16 per cent of the population. Twenty years ago there were 56,000 Negroes, of 14 per cent.

Filed in September, 1960, on behalf of fifteen Negro children, the Kansas City, Kan., suit charges the Board of Education with having deliberately moved a zone line to make the Hawthorne elementary school 10 per cent Negro.

Since under the local system pupils from an elementary school continue as a group in the same junior high, this, according to the plaintiffs, inevitably made the Northeast High School another segregated school.

According to the Superintendent of Schools,

I. A. Richards Wi

I. A. Richards, British poet and critic, was named winner of the Loines Award for Poetry yesterday. The announcement was made by the National Istitute of Arts and Letters.

Mr. Richards, who has lived in the United States for many years, is Professor of English at Harvard University. He is being honored for his two volumes of verse, "Goodbye Earth and Other Poems" (1958) and "The Screens and Other Poems" (1960).

Early in his career he collaborated with C. K. Ogden in developing what they termed "the science of meaning," or semantics. After a noteworthy success as an interpreter and literary critic, he turned to poetry.

In the Thirties Mr. Richards was the leading advocate of "basic English," a language consisting of 850 of the most common English words, which can be mastered quickly by foreigners. It is designed to bring about greater understanding among the peoples of the earth.

The Loines Award, which includes a prize of $1,000, will be conferred on May 24 at the Joint Annual Ceremonial of the National Institute and the American Academy of Arts and Letters

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V. E. Project

File #1
V. E. P.

U. S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

IN REPLY REFER TO
T:R:EO:3
RFB

MAR 22 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

This is in reference to a letter dated December 14, 1961, from Mr. Adrian W. DeWind, Attorney, New York City, in which he requests in your behalf a ruling that your present exemption from Federal income tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code will not be adversely affected by the voter registration program you propose to undertake.

The information available for our use in considering your request includes that furnished at a conference held in the National Office of the Internal Revenue Service on January 31, 1962, between our representatives and Mr. Harold C. Fleming and Mr. Adrian W. DeWind, as well as that presented by Mr. DeWind in his letter of February 9, 1962.

The purpose of the program called Project is to develop educational programs which will be most effective in providing voters with the knowledge and will to register. Inasmuch as there are various agencies and groups actively engaged in and staffed for work in voter registration areas, you do not propose to have Project do the field work itself. Rather, you believe that such work can be done most economically and effectively by organizations experienced therein. Accordingly, Project will grant funds and provide consultants for approved voter registration programs conducted by these organizations. In this connection, it appears that Project intends to support a variety of programs: Some involving voter education on an individual basis; some on a group or meeting basis; some working primarily through church organizations; others through community or civic groups. So long as a program is practicable and appears effectively designed to secure voter registration, does not unduly duplicate any other approved program, meets the conditions of Project and will be useful as a source of research, knowledge and experience, it may be considered for approval.

Programs of the cooperating organizations must be submitted to and approved by Project before any grant is made. Basically, approval will be limited to organizations which in your opinion have a background, experience, knowledge and personnel fitted to carry out the work of Project. No program will be approved which does not provide that the program, its employees and agents will refrain from any partisan political propaganda or activity aimed at influencing legislation or supporting any political party or the campaign of any candidate for election to public office. Further, cooperating organizations will be required to submit a proposed detailed budget of their programs, to establish and maintain separate accounting records for Project funds, and to conduct the Project program separately and apart from any of their other activities which are not exclusively charitable or educational. The Project staff will visit and work with the cooperating organizations in the field and the staff will also have the right at any time to examine the pertinent accounting records of each cooperating organization. You intend by such supervision to assure that any misuse of Project funds would come almost immediately to the attention of the Project Director. Furthermore, since payments on the grant to each cooperating organization will be made quarterly, the possibility of cancelling the unpaid balance of the grant will serve as a sanction against the diversion of funds by these organizations from their Project-approved programs.

In addition to the above activities, it is indicated that Project will be used to obtain reports of the programs from the cooperating organizations. The reports will disclose in detail information with respect to the activities, areas of operation, public response, problems encountered, solutions developed and results of the programs. The programs will be analyzed and additional independent research in the matter will be conducted by the Project staff and your research department. After Project has been completed, you intend to publish a report, analysis and evaluation of the programs.

We have concluded that, if you operate Project strictly in accordance with the representations made by Mr. DeWind in his letters of December 14, 1961 and February 9, 1962, the

activity will not adversely affect your present exemption from Federal income tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Code. In this connection, it is requested that you submit with your annual information return, Form 990-A, a statement in duplicate disclosing full details with respect to your operation of Project during the year covered by the return. The statement should include among other things a complete description of the activities of Project during the year, how the programs of the cooperating organizations are being conducted, the name of each cooperating organization and the amount of the grant made by you to each organization. There is enclosed a copy of this ruling which should be attached to the information return when it is filed.

The District Director of Internal Revenue, Atlanta, Georgia, is being notified of this action.

Very truly yours,

John W S Littleton

Director, Tax Rulings Division

Enclosure:
Copy of this ruling.

Burrelle's
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165 Church Street - New York

ATLANTA, GA.
CONSTITUTION
D. 200 181
MAR 29 1962

Negroes to Launch 2-Year Voter Drive

A concerted two-year drive to boost Southern Negro voter registration, which will have the cooperation of five major civil rights groups, was announced Wednesday by the Southern Regional Council.

It will be the first time the organizations, many of which already have registration drives, have agreed to cooperate on such a project.

It is expected to be the most intensive voter registration drive in history.

Cooperating organizations include the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

SRC described the "Voter Education Project" as a "program to study the causes of low voter registration in the South, and to ascertain the most effective methods for increasing the southern electorate."

It stated no numerical goals. There are an estimated five million unregistered Negroes in the South.

ATLANTA HEADQUARTERS

Project headquarters will be in Atlanta. It was announced that Wiley A. Branton, formerly of Pine Bluff, Ark., will head the project.

Branton, the first Negro graduate of the University of Arkansas law school, has been active in civil rights cases in Little Rock, Ark., and Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

It is understood the project will have well in excess of a quarter million dollars for costs of staff and administration.

Participating organizations are expected to submit proposals for projects and financial aid to the Voter Education Project, and it will, "within the limits of its ability (support) any voter registration programs which accord with our research interest."

CAMPAIGNS UNAFFECTED

Existing campaigns by the participating organizations are not expected to be affected. The NAACP, for instance, said it already is conducting campaigns in Macon, Albany and Savannah.

The drive for registration will not be limited to Negroes, though Branton noted, "The largest group of non-voters in the South are Negroes.

"But voting participation of all Southerners is low and needs to be encouraged," he added.

PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street - New York

TALLADEGA, ALA.
HOME
D. 3,084

MAR 29 1962

BURRELLE'S PAGE ONE CERTIFIED

Major Drive Underway To Register

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Five major civil rights groups are planning a two-year campaign to boost Southern Negro voter registration, the Southern Regional Council says.

The SRC said the Voter Education Project (VEP) would not affect existing campaigns for Negro voters.

A separate voter registration drive to include 10 Southern States was announced by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Kelley M. Alexander of Charlotte, N.C., chairman of NAACP's voter registration committee, said "We expect to add at least another 750,000 names to the rolls before the next presidential election."

Heading the new VEP, with headquarters in Atlanta, will be Willey A. Branton, the first Negro graduate of the University of Arkansas law school.

The SRC listed the cooperating groups as the NAACP, the National Urban League, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

At New Orleans, La., U.S. District Court Judge J. Skelly Wright ordered Tulane University to admit two Negro girls, Barbara Marie Guillory and Pearlie Hardin Elloie.

Wright rejected the school's claim that it had the right to reject Negroes on racial grounds because it is a private institution.

A Louisiana statute requires Tulane to provide education under terms of a gift establishing the university which expressly limits it to "white young persons."

Wright said, "The complete history of Tulane University indicates that it is now, as it always was, a public institution."

In Washington, a member of

750,000 New Negro Voters

the Civil Rights Commission said there are "mountains of evidence" that literacy tests are being used to keep Negroes from voting in Southern states.

Dean Erwin N. Griswold of the Harvard Law School a member of the commission, said Congress not only has the power but the duty to pass legislation to prevent racial discrimination in literacy tests.

Griswold testified before the Senate constitutional rights subcommittee in hearings on a bill that would provide that anyone with a 6th grade education may not be barred on literacy grounds from voting in congressional and presidential elections.

The U.S. Court of Appeals at Cincinnati, Ohio, took under advisement an appeal from a decision which has upheld a gradual desegregation plan for Memphis, Tenn., recreational facilities.

The suit and the appeal were filed by I. A. Watson and a group of Negroes seeking to desegregate all recreational facilities at Memphis immediately.

A boycott of downtown businesses by Negroes was reported at Birmingham, Ala. Leaflets were distributed urging Negroes to boycott in protest of segregation practices involving hiring, rest rooms and drinking fountains.

Negro leaders of the Methodist Church agreed to ask the denomination's 1964 General Conference for a positive statement that the entire church be segregated.

They agreed after a three-day conference at Cincinnati to discourage transfer of regional conferences of churches from the Negro Central Jurisdiction to any other geographical jurisdiction for another two years.

A Ku Klux Klan leader said the hooded group would stage a cross-burning ceremony atop Stone Mountain near Atlanta and a massive parade when the NAACP holds its convention in Atlanta in July.

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BOSTON, MASS.
GLOBE (MORNING)
D· 192,118 S. 445,834
MAR 31 1962

The Vote Is the Key

Historically, the ballot has been the lever with which American minorities have gained status. It is probably the key to the civil rights problem in the South, where 60 percent of the whites and only 30 percent of the Negroes are registered to vote.

Of value in obtaining the ballot for the Negro is court action by the Department of Justice. A Federal law suggested by Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School to qualify as literate every one with six years schooling could be useful. So could an anti-poll tax amendment to the United States Constitution.

But in the long run the vote guaranteed by the 15th Amendment must be obtained for the Negro—and by him—in the South. The two-year drive to get him registered there, now being launched by the Southern Regional Council, an organization of Southerners of both races, is therefore immensely important.

Indorsing this effort are the National Committee chairmen of both political parties. It deserves universal commendation. In particular it challenges those who have criticized Freedom Riders on the ground that readjustment of race relations in the South should be gradual and orderly. How can that be better accomplished than by implementing the fundamental constitutional right to vote?

THE NEW YORK TIMES, S

3-31-62

Rights Units Expanding Staffs For Southern Voter Campaign

By CLAUDE SITTON

Major organizations in the civil rights field are expanding their staffs in preparation for a South-wide Negro voter registration program.

Plans for the program were announced in Atlanta Wednesday by the Southern Regional Council. The council will administer foundation grants financing the project.

Leaders of the groups that will conduct the actual registration campaigns agreed that the drives were likely to bring substantial gains.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, predicted a possible revival of the two-party system in the South.

He cited the United States Supreme Court ruling on Monday that apportionment of legislative districts was subject to Federal Court review.

"Most of the gains in Negro registration have been in the urban areas, where the individual's vote counts least," he noted. "An accelerated drive to increase the Negro vote in the South thus takes on added significance and opens up the possibility of a regeneration of regional politics and revival of the two-party system."

Tom Kelleher —

Kelly M. Alexander, chairman of the association's voter registration committee, announced in Charlotte, N. C., that the N. A. A. C. P. was adding six full-time registration coordinators to its present staff in ten Southern states.

At least thirty local registration campaign managers will be employed for ten-week periods to conduct drives in their communities, according to Mr. Alexander.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said he saw "the possibility of doubling the number of Negro registered voters in the South." He was reached by telephone in Virginia.

In anticipation of the program, Dr. King said, the conference hired six additional professional workers this month. He said three others would probably be added later.

James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said here that Negro voting was "vital" to achievement of full citizenship.

"The men who make, administer and enforce the law in Southern states can also count," the C. O. R. E. official asserted. "They will not ignore Negro voters who have the power to put them in or take them out of office."

Another C. O. R. E. official, Marvin Rich, said the organization's voter registration project in South Carolina would be extended to Louisiana and Mississippi. Six professional and three clerical workers will be added for this purpose.

In the opinion of Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, the registration program can have significant impact. The league emphasizes its role as a community service agency rather than as a civil rights organization. Its preparation for the drive will consist of expanding its regional office in Atlanta, according to Mr. Young.

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NEWSDAY
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MAR 31 1962

Civil Rights

Senate Votes Against Poll Tax

For 10 days in the Senate southern opponents to the administration-backed anti-poll tax amendment carried on a "friendly filibuster" aimed not at blocking passage of the measure (for supporters of the amendment clearly had the necessary votes) but at impressing the folks back home with the fact that they had put up the good fight before going down to defeat.

On Tuesday the southerners stopped talking and, after a series of complex parliamentary maneuvers, the measure was passed by a 77-16 vote. If approved by the House and two-thirds of the state legislatures the constitutional amendment will make illegal the imposition of a poll tax in any federal election. At present the tax is required in only five southern states and even there it is not considered a great barrier to Negro voting.

Backers of broader civil rights legislation believe the southern senators allowed the measure to pass to head off stiffer rights bills and staged the leisurely talkathon as a warning that broader legislation would be met by an all-out filibuster.

Civil rights advocates contend that it will be nearly impossible to get the necessary approval from two-thirds of the states and that the Congress has the power to bar the poll tax by statute without resorting to the cumbersome amendment procedure. Nevertheless it appeared likely that the amendment will win eventual approval from the House.

Chances for congressional action on the other half of the administration civil rights program during the current session are not considered good. Southern filibusterers are determined to block the measure, which would restrict the use of literacy test to bar Negroes from voting.

In a related development this week major civil rights organizations announced a two-year $325,000 campaign to increase Negro voter registration in the South. The drive will be coordinated by the Southern Regional Council, which last week end praised President Kennedy for his use of executive powers in furthering the cause of civil rights.

Meanwhile there were these other developments in the rights field: In Washington, the administration announced it will take legal action to halt segregation in school districts, receiving federal funds under the impacted area program. And in New Orleans, the Catholic archbishop ordered an end to segregation in the diocese's parochial schools.

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But in the long run the vote guaranteed by the 15th Amendment must be obtained for the Negro—and by him—in the South. The two-year drive to get him registered there, now being launched by the Southern Regional Council, an organization of Southerners of both races, is therefore immensely important.

Indorsing this effort are the National Committee chairmen of both political parties. It deserves universal commendation. In particular it challenges those who have criticized Freedom Riders on the ground that readjustment of race relations in the South should be gradual and orderly. How can that be better accomplished than by implementing the fundamental constitutional right to vote?

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165 Church Street – New York

NEW YORK, N.Y.
TIMES
D. 644,175 S. 1,293,598
APR 2 1962

The Right to Vote Is Basic

In a democracy the right to vote is almost the most important right an individual can have. For if he cannot vote he has no easy and peaceable way of defending his other rights. When the Supreme Court decides that reapportionment within the states is a matter of Federal concern, it is also defending the individual whose ballot has been diluted and impoverished. When the Kennedy Administration uses its Executive power, as it has done, to protect civil rights, it deserves credit and gets it from such organizations as the Southern Regional Council.

The council which includes white and Negro members, believes that the Administration's work in the field is comparable in importance to the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954. This may be an exaggerated estimate; but there can be no doubt that this Administration has made major advances in civil rights.

The Regional Council is now planning to con[illegible] the work in this [illegible] [illegible] of other private organizations [illegible] and [illegible] $250,000. This money will be used in a concerted registration drive in ten southern states. In these states, ranging from Virginia to Texas, about 60 per cent of the white inhabitants of voting age are registered but only 20 per cent of the Negroes.

A candidate running for office in any constituency, North or South, does not willingly offend any recognizable and respectable element in the population. He may be against sin, but he thinks twice before he comes out against any specific sinner. The Negro will receive more consideration if he registers and takes his opinions and reactions to the polls.

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Backers of broader civil rights legislation believe the southern senators allowed the measure to pass to head off stiffer rights bills and staged the leisurely talkathon as a warning that broader legislation would be met by an all-out filibuster.

Civil rights advocates contend that it will be nearly impossible to get the necessary approval from two-thirds of the states and that the Congress has the power to bar the poll tax by statute without resorting to the cumbersome amendment procedure. Nevertheless it appeared likely that the amendment will win eventual approval from the House.

Chances for congressional action on the other half of the administration civil rights program during the current session are not considered good. Southern filibusterers are determined to block the measure, which would restrict the use of literacy test to bar Negroes from voting.

In a related development this week major civil rights organizations announced a two-year $325,000 campaign to increase Negro voter registration in the South. The drive will be coordinated by the Southern Regional Council, which last week end praised President Kennedy for his use of executive powers in furthering the cause of civil rights.

Meanwhile there were these other developments in the rights field: In Washington, the administration announced it will take legal action to halt segregation in school districts, receiving federal funds under the impacted area program. And in New Orleans the Catholic archbishop ordered an end to segregation in the diocese's parochial schools.

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165 Church Street - New York

DE LAND, FLA.
SUN NEWS
D. 7,171 S. 6,332

APR 1 1962

Council Sets Study Over South Voters

ATLANTA (UPI)—The Southern Regional Council has announced a new program to study the causes of low voter registration in the South.

The program called Voter Education Project, will also attempt to ascertain the most effective methods for increasing the Southern electorate.

Wiley A. Branton will head the study.

A special aspect of the program, Branton said, will be "to study the most effective methods of bringing more Southerners into voter participation."

OBSERVE PROGRAMS

"Over a two-year period we shall observe and analyze the voter registration programs of other agencies in order to collect our data," Branton said.

"When necessary we shall grant funds to other agencies to make possible programs which we believe will advance the study."

Branton said discussions have already been held with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality.

LOW PARTICIPATION

"The largest group of nonvoters in the South are Negroes, especially in the Deep South. There will be no true democracy in the South until they become active citizens. But voting participation of all Southerners is low, and needs to be encouraged," Branton said.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of whites and Negroes formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

Vote Is Proper Means Of Citizen Expression

Nobody should find fault with the voter registration project announced recently by the Southern Regional Council. The project has been endorsed by the national chairmen of both the Republican and Democratic parties.

In a democracy, the vote is the citizen's way of expressing himself. Denied the vote, the citizen is likely to resort to less peaceful and orderly means of expressing himself. In a democracy, this should not occur.

ATL. CONSTITUTION
April 2, 1962

Bruce Galphin

Vote Sign-Up Idea Packs Dynamite

The notice this office received last week about the Southern Regional Council's new voter registration project was so modest that it almost could have been overlooked in the daily blizzard of press releases.

It almost sounded like a sociology student's doctoral thesis proposal: "A new program to study the causes of low voter registration in the South . . ."

Technically, that is what it is. But practically it may well prove to be the most impressive effort to date to place Southern Negroes on voter registration rolls. It already has achieved the remarkable result of enlisting the cooperation of five major, sometimes-rival, civil rights organizations. It has been endorsed by the national chairmen of both the Democratic and Republican parties. And it has received $325,000 in foundation funds, with more in the offing.

If your reaction to voter registration drives is "so what?" consider its potential.

There are some five million unregistered Negroes in the South—the largest untapped reservoir of voters in the country.

In Mississippi, where Negroes make up 42.3 per cent of the total population, only 6.1 per cent are registered. In Alabama (nearly one-third Negro), 63.6 per cent of eligible white citizens register and 13.7 of the Negroes.

And so on the list runs. There is a fairly strong correlation, as might be expected, between low Negro registration and strong segregationist control of state government. Here is a list of the percentages of eligible Negroes who register in the various states, according to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission:

Mississippi—6.1%; Alabama — 13.7; Virginia—23.0; Louisiana — 30.9; Texas—33.7 (parital figures); Arkansas—37.7; N. Carolina—38.2; Florida — 39.0; Tennessee — 64.1 (parital); Georgia, S. Carolina — not available.

If the new registration drive is at all successful, the effects on the politics of the various states are obvious. Likewise the present character of Southern congressional representation could be considerably altered.

There is no guarantee, of course, that this drive will be especially more effective than previous ones. But it has not only foundation support, five cooperating civil rights groups and the direction of an able Arkansas attorney, Wiley Branton, but it comes at a time when the federal government is showing more and more interest in voting rights.

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4/2/62

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ATLANTA, GA.
CONSTITUTION
D. 200 181

APR 2 1962

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3rd page

Big Voter Study to Sift South

By a Special Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

4/2/62 Atlanta

Why is voter registration in the South lower than in other sections of the country? Why is the proportion of Negro voters there to eligibles much smaller than that of white citizens? Is the threat of physical or economic reprisal used in some communities to deter Negroes from registering?

Answers to these questions and others will be sought during the next two years in the first major study of voter registration in the South.

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"The project will support, within the limits of our ability, any voter-registration programs which accord with our research interest.

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NEW YORK, N.Y.
WORLD-TELEGRAM & SUN
D. 463,241 SAT. 176,139
APR 2 1962

Integrationists Back Kennedy Brothers

By LYLE C. WILSON,
United Press International.

WASHINGTON, April 2.—Buried somewhere in last week's key announcement about civil rights was a solid vote of confidence in the Kennedy brothers, John F. and Bobby.

The announcement was that five of the hard-nosed organizations seeking to enforce integration have joined in a new and calmer approach to their objective. This does not signify that these organizations have abandoned tougher methods, including those which often invite violence. But the new approach is significant.

Lyle C. Wilson

It is especially significant in a political sense. The five organizations have joined the Southern Regional Council in a program to increase vote registration of southern Negroes.

That is the Kennedy administration's basic approach to the problem of civil rights for Negroes. It also is the moderate, nonviolent, nonabrasive approach. It is obvious that not just around the corner, but far down the road, there is one decisive, home-grown solution of the South's problem of racial integration.

* * *

The solution is for Southern Negroes to register and to vote. Extremists do not concede this as a solution. Integration extremists seem to prefer force, even violence; noisy action newspaper publicity, federal troops with bayonets in the streets, as in Little Rock. John F. Kennedy was elected President on a platform promising just about all any integrationist could want, including the kind of action the extremists would like.

For good political reasons, President Kennedy has not demanded that Congress translate that platform into action. To do so would invite great trouble, jeopardizing his legislative program and further weakening the Democratic party in Southern States.

The administration's approach to the civil rights problem, obviously, is by way of the ballot box and Negro registration. Brother Bobby occasionally has used his power as Attorney General to apply federal pressure on reluctant Southern communities notably by ordering United States marshals into the field of local heat.

* * *

This has helped convince Negro leaders that the administration is on the level. That conviction enables these Negroes to accept the political necessities that compel Mr. Kennedy to avoid an all-out civil rights showdown in this Congress or, perhaps, in any Congress. The Kennedy brothers have worked for the confidence of U.S. Negroes and they've got it. This is a political asset of immeasurable value.

In January, 1959, Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson introduced in the Senate a civil rights bill. The lefty Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) promptly denounced it as a typical Johnson compromise, scratching the surface of civil rights and carefully refraining from digging down to its heart—school segregation. Perhaps ADA wanted to do some digging down to the heart with bayonets, which would be a bloody business. Or, more likely, ADA didn't and doesn't like Mr. Johnson or any of his projects.

It is notable, however, that getting Negroes to the ballot boxes and assuring that their votes would be counted was basic in the Johnson proposal. Perhaps Mr. Johnson helped shape Kennedy administration policy.

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ATLANTA, GA.
CONSTITUTION
D. 200 181
MAR 29 1962

Negroes to Launch 2-Year Voter Drive

A concerted two-year drive to boost Southern Negro voter registration, which will have the cooperation of five major civil rights groups, was announced Wednesday by the Southern Regional Council.

It will be the first time the organizations, many of which already have registration drives, have agreed to cooperate on such a project.

It is expected to be the most intensive voter registration drive in history.

Cooperating organizations include the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

SRC described the "Voter Education Project" as a "program to study the causes of low voter registration in the South, and to ascertain the most effective methods for increasing the southern electorate."

It stated no numerical goals. There are an estimated five million unregistered Negroes in the South.

ATLANTA HEADQUARTERS

Project headquarters will be in Atlanta. It was announced that Wiley A. Branton, formerly of Pine Bluff, Ark., will head the project.

Branton, the first Negro graduate of the University of Arkansas law school, has been active in civil rights cases in Little Rock, Ark., and Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

It is understood the project will have well in excess of a quarter million dollars for costs of staff and administration.

Participating organizations are expected to submit proposals for projects and financial aid to the Voter Education Project, and it will, "within the limits of its ability, support any voter registration programs which accord with our research interest."

CAMPAIGNS UNAFFECTED

Existing campaigns by the participating organizations are not expected to be affected. The NAACP, for instance, said it already is conducting campaigns in Macon, Albany and Savannah.

The drive for registration will not be limited to Negroes, though Branton noted, "The largest group of non-voters in the South are Negroes.

"But voting participation of all Southerners is low and needs to be encouraged," he added.

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3-31-62

Rights Units Expanding Staffs For Southern Voter Campaign

By CLAUDE SITTON

Major organizations in the civil rights field are expanding their staffs in preparation for a South-wide Negro voter registration program.

Plans for the program were announced in Atlanta Wednesday by the Southern Regional Council. The council will administer foundation grants financing the project.

Leaders of the groups that will conduct the actual registration campaigns agreed that the drives were likely to bring substantial gains.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, predicted a possible revival of the two-party system in the South.

He cited the United States Supreme Court ruling on Monday that apportionment of legislative districts was subject to Federal Court review.

"Most of the gains in Negro registration have been in the urban areas, where the individual's vote counts least," he noted. "An accelerated drive to increase the Negro vote in the South thus takes on added significance and opens up the possibility of a regeneration of regional politics and revival of the two-party system."

Tom Kelleher —

Kelly M. Alexander, chairman of the association's voter registration committee, announced in Charlotte, N. C., that the N. A. A. C. P. was adding six full-time registration coordinators to its present staff in ten Southern states.

At least thirty local registration campaign managers will be employed for ten-week periods to conduct drives in their communities, according to Mr. Alexander.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said he saw "the possibility of doubling the number of Negro registered voters in the South." He was reached by telephone in Virginia.

In anticipation of the program, Dr. King said, the conference hired six additional professional workers this month. He said three others would probably be added later.

James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said here that Negro voting was "vital" to achievement of full citizenship.

"The men who make, administer and enforce the law in Southern states can also count," the C. O. R. E. official asserted. "They will not ignore Negro voters who have the power to put them in or take them out of office."

Another C. O. R. E. official, Marvin Rich, said the organization's voter registration project in South Carolina would be extended to Louisiana and Mississippi. Six professional and three clerical workers will be added for this purpose.

In the opinion of Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, the registration program can have significant impact. The league emphasizes its role as a community service agency rather than as a civil rights organization. Its preparation for the drive will consist of expanding its regional office in Atlanta, according to Mr. Young.

Editorial - NYTimes Apr. 2, 1962

The Right to Vote Is Basic

In a democracy the right to vote is almost the most important right an individual can have, for if he cannot vote he has no easy and peaceable way of defending his other rights. When the Supreme Court decides that reapportionment within the states is a matter of Federal concern, it is also defending the individual whose ballot has been diluted and impoverished. When the Kennedy Administration uses its Executive power, as it has done, to protect civil rights, it deserves credit—and gets it from such organizations as the Southern Regional Council.

The council, which includes white and Negro members, believes that the Administration's work in this field is comparable in importance to the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954. This may be an exaggerated estimate; but there can be no doubt that this Administration has made major advances in civil rights.

The Regional Council is now planning to continue work on its own initiative. It has enlisted several other private organizations in this field and has secured foundation grants totaling $325,000. This money it will use in a concerted registration drive in ten Southern states. In these states, ranging from Virginia to Texas, about 60 per cent of the white inhabitants of voting age are registered, but only 30 per cent of the Negroes.

A candidate running for office in any constituency, North or South, does not willingly offend any recognizable and respectable element in the population. He may be against sin, but he thinks twice before he comes out against any specific race. The Negro will receive more consideration if he registers and takes his opinions and reactions to the polls.

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BOSTON, MASS.
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
D. 156,267
APR 3 1962

Big Voter Study to Sift South

By a Special Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta

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It will be carried out by a special staff being set up for the Voter Education Project in co-operation with the Southern Regional Council, a biracial organization with headquarters here. Funds for the study are being provided by the Field Foundation and the Taconic Fund.

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"The largest group of non-voters in the South," Mr. Branton said, "are Negroes, especially in the Deep South. There will be no true democracy in the South until they become active citizens. But voting participation of all southerners is low and needs to be encouraged.

"The project will support, within the limits of our ability, any voter-registration programs which accord with our research interest.

No complete figures are available on voter registration in the South for 1961. However, a report of the United States Civil Rights Commission contains statistics from enough states to indicate trends and particularly the disparity between the percentage of white and Negro citizens registered out of those who are eligible.

These are: Alabama — 63.6 per cent white; 13.7 per cent Negro; Arkansas — 60.9 per cent white; 37.7 per cent Negro; Florida — 69.5 per cent white; 39 per cent Negro; Louisiana—77 per cent white; 30.9 per cent Negro; Mississippi —white, no figures; Negro, 6.1 per cent; North Carolina—92.8 per cent white; 38.2 per cent Negro; Tennessee (63 counties) —83.5 per cent white; 64.1 per cent Negro; Texas (213 counties)—50.9 per cent white; 33.7 per cent Negro; and Virginia—46.2 per cent white; 23 per cent Negro.

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BALTIMORE, MD.
AFRO-AMERICAN
W. 33,015

APR 3 1962

Millennium Not Yet

The evaluation of the Kennedy Administration's effort in the field of civil rights since mid-January, 1961, by the Southern Regional Council is itself a fit subject for evaluation.

The Council, which has been active in civil rights endeavors for almost 20 years, ranks President Kennedy as an "honor student," with several A's, some C's and a few outright F's.

On SRC's report card, the President gets A's in such subjects as improving the rights atmosphere in the Federal Government, improved employment opportunities in government and private industry, and improving the lot of African diplomats in Washington.

The President is given F's for failing to fulfill a campaign promise to ban by Executive Order racial discrimination in federally - supported housing;

• • •

FAILURE TO support legislation for school desegregation; failure to move against discrimination in the National Guard, colleges, hospitals and other institutions which get billions of dollars from the Federal Government.

These failures are so serious it is difficult for us to understand how SRC can give the President an "honor student" rating for his civil rights efforts to date.

Failure of the council to evaluate the "failures" and "accomplishments," properly we think, is the major weakness of its report.

• • •

IN THE MAIN, the Administration's civil rights efforts have been of a "follow through" on endeavors orginated by previous Administrations.

We do not deny that the Kennedy Administration is an improvement over the Eisenhower Administration, but improvement is hardly enough.

Nothing will be enough until the Federal Government takes an unequivocal stand against racial discrimination in all forms.

To do this the government must stop spending billions of dollars of public funds to underwrite such discrimination.

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COLUMBUS, GA.
ENQUIRER
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MAR 26 1962

Council Supports and Raps Kennedy on Rights Actions

ATLANTA (AP) — A biracial group said Sunday the administration of President Kennedy has set higher standards for measuring the government's obligation in civil rights programs.

In making this assessment, the Southern Regional Council said executive action taken by the administration have brought a development of importance comparable to the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954.

The council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to work for better racial relations.

The views of the group are given in a report titled "Esecutive Support for Civil Right."

In some programs, the report said, the administration has shown little concern for civil right. It cited voting and schools and said there is the possibility that in these fields "activity and energy can become a substitute for results."

'Areas of Little Action'

Under a section labeled "Areas of Little Action," the report discussed federal aid to research, policies of the U.S. Office of Education, the Hill-Burton hospital program, National Guard and federal housing programs.

The administration requires every government contractor to practice non-discrimination, the council said, but "spends enormous sums for university-centered research without care as to whether the institutions deny admission to Negro students."

By relying on executive actions to support civil rights in the housing field, the report said, the administration "thereby avoided jeopardizing its congressional program."

It called withholding of an executive order against discrimination in federally aided housing as evidence of a "double-edged deferral of civil rights to other areas of policy."

The council said the administration's aim in the South has been compliance with federal law. It reported a lack of interest in moving beyond token school desegregation and what it called a tendency to over-value public order "as in the Albany, Ga., crisis". The Albany turmoil was marked by a successful Negro boycott of the city bus service.

"The Albany events," the report said, "were produced by police high-handedness, included the arrests of over 700 persons, resulted in an interim settlement in which the Negroes made most of the concessions, and when it was announced, the attorney general wired the mayor of Albany his congratulations.

Copying Jackson

"The attorney general's exasperating telegram was likely motivated by a simple wish for public order; no blood flowed in Albany's streets and therefore, its law enforcement was to be praised. Albany has copied the police tactics of Jackson (Miss.) during the "Freedom Ride": Arrest demonstrators fast, quietly and on non-racial charges. These are not praiseworthy methods, nor should the Department of Justice in similar situations over-value public order."

But the administration's actions in civil rights was called a "genuine turning point in American racial relations."

The council added: "We know of no evidence to suggest that the administration's widespread efforts for civil rights have alienated the administration's support among the people of the South. Even the legal proceedings of the Department of Justice have been generally accepted, except by those politicians and some relatively few others with vested interests in racial discrimination."

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Wiley A. Branton, a Negro attorney from Pine Bluff, Ark., who has had long experience in the field of civil-rights litigation, has arrived here to head the voter study project. He said that he estimated that $1,000,000 would be needed to carry it out effectively, although not that much had been pledged so far.

In making the study, Mr. Branton said his group would have the co-operation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Urban League, Congress of Racial Equality, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee.

"Each of these agencies," Mr. Branton added, "is now planning greatly enlarged registration programs in the South. These organizations have pledged their co-operation with our project."

He explained that funds would be granted to the co-operating organizations in those instances when it appeared that they were working on projects that could provide needed information for the Voter Education Project.

While the primary aim of the VEP is to collect and analyze data, it also will work co-operatively with the other organizations in carrying out voter-education programs. Mr. Branton said that his group was interested in increasing white as well as Negro registration in the South.

Not much can be done, he explained, to swell the list of eligible voters for next fall's election inasmuch as the deadline for registration in most southern states either has past or is approaching rapidly. In Georgia, for instance, it is May 5.

But the co-operating group will work methodically to increase the electorate in the South by major proportions before the presidential elections of 1964.

"The largest group of non-voters in the South," Mr. Branton said, "are Negroes, especially in the Deep South. There will be no true democracy in the South until they become active citizens. But voting participation of all southerners is low and needs to be encouraged.

"The project will support, within the limits of our ability, any voter-registration programs which accord with our research interest.

No complete figures are available on voter registration in the South for 1961. However, a report of the United States Civil Rights Commission contains statistics from enough states to indicate trends and particularly the disparity between the percentage of white and Negro citizens registered out of those who are eligible.

These are: Alabama — 63.6 per cent white; 13.7 per cent Negro; Arkansas — 60.9 per cent white; 37.7 per cent Negro; Florida — 69.5 per cent white; 39 per cent Negro; Louisiana—77 per cent white; 30.9 per cent Negro; Mississippi —white, no figures; Negro, 6.1 per cent; North Carolina—92.8 per cent white; 38.2 per cent Negro; Tennessee (63 counties) —83.5 per cent white; 64.1 per cent Negro; Texas (213 counties)—50.9 per cent white; 33.7 per cent Negro; and Virginia — 46.2 per cent white; 23 per cent Negro.

PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street – New York

DAYTONA BEACH, FLA.
NEWS
D. 46 613
APR 3 1962

For The Sake Of Relations

WITH STATE and local elections on the horizon for Floridians, it is time to begin assessing the views of those who would represent us in seats of political power. We need to learn the composite views of the candidates, and we need to examine the components of the views.

Whether the candidate seeks to be a School Board member, a Judge or a state or federal Legislator, it will be well for us to find out what he stands for. In all these areas of public service, the winners will be making many decisions that will affect us.

One thing in particular, we think, that we need to know about these candidates' views is where they stand on the subject of community. Do they view the whole community, or do they see human relations as affecting only certain segments of the community?

In effect then, what we need to know about those seeking power through public office is where they stand in the matter of human relations. However, to be able to assess them, we as voters must have a good understanding of human relations ourselves.

* * *

TONIGHT, a workshop on human relations — the second annual one for the Halifax Area — will be opened at the Tourist Church. Its purpose is to endeavor to solidify our community — to bridge the areas of misunderstanding between the majority and the minority interests.

The featured speaker tonight will be Miss Margaret Long, Atlanta, editor of the "New South" magazine of the Southern Regional Council and former newspaper woman.

She has had wide experience in the subject of human relations. She has seen the tragedies that result because of misconceptions and misunderstandings. She has seen members of her own White race allowing their natural compassion for the unfortunate be turned into viciousness by politicians seeking stepping stones to power. She has seen America's "Berlin walls" rise up as the successful ones endeavored to use that power to erect higher barriers in their own communities, rather than removing the ones that had been causing the misunderstanding; the bitterness that frustration bears.

She is devoting her talent now to trying to restore communication, and with it, better understanding. As a member of the working force that operates the Southern Regional Council, she gathers facts about the nation's racial difficulties, and she assembles what she finds into highly readable form in the little magazine she edits.

The facts deal with all of the problems of the minority — the educational and job discrimination, the inadequate housing, the unequal pay, the disproportionate political power. They are disseminated to as wide an audience as possible—to all whom Southern Regional Council can interest in facing the problems the facts reveal.

* * *

OF COURSE, that should be every American, North and South.

The problems behind the facts need the attention and the understanding of all citizens, so that when they go to the polls to select their political representation, they will be armed with the knowledge they need to act wisely.

Tonight's first half of the two day workshop on human relations is being sponsored by the Halifax Area Council on Human Relations and the Halifax Area Ministerial Assn. It is open to all citizens who want to become better informed on the facts and the problems of human relations that have been allowed to deteriorate, and who want to shoulder their responsibility to wipe out the effects.

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CHATTANOOGA, TENN.
NEWS-FREE-PRESS
D. 59,882
APR 1 1962

COUNCIL PLANS VOTING DRIVE

Special Emphasis Seen on Negroes

ATLANTA (UPI)—The Southern Regional Council has announced a new program to study the causes of low voter registration in the South.

The program, called Voter Education Project, will also attempt to ascertain the most effective methods for increasing the Southern electorate.

Wiley A. Branton will head the study.

A special aspect of the program, Branton said, will be "to study the most effective methods of bringing more Southerners into voter participation."

"Over a two-year period we shall observe and analyze the voter registration programs of other agencies in order to collect our data," Branton said.

"When necessary we shall grant funds to other agencies to make possible programs which we believe will advance the study."

Branton said discussions have already been held with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality.

"The largest group of nonvoters in the South are Negroes, especially in the Deep South. There will be no true democracy in the South until they become active citizens. But voting participation of all Southerners is low, and needs to be encouraged," Branton said.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of whites and Negroes formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

Burrelle's
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JACKSONVILLE, FLA.
JOURNAL
D 55 203
APR 4 1962

JFK's Approach To Civil Rights

WASHINGTON

Buried somewhere in last week's key announcement about civil rights was a solid vote of confidence in the Kennedy brothers, John F. and Bobby.

The announcement was that five of the hard-nosed organizations seeking to enforce integration have joined in a new and calmer approach to their objective. This does not signify that these organizations have abandoned tougher methods including those which often invite violence. But the new approach is significant.

It is especially significant in a political sense. The five organizations have joined the Southern Regional Council in a program to increase vote registration of Southern Negroes.

That is the Kennedy administration's basic approach to the problem of civil rights for Negroes. It also is the moderate, non - violent, non-abrasive approach. It is obvious that not just around the corner, but far down the road, there is one decisive, home-grown solution of the South's problem of racial integration.

The solution is for Southern Negroes to register and to vote. Extremists do not concede this as a solution. Integration extremists seem to prefer force, even violence; noisy action, newspaper publicity, federal

Washington Window
By Lyle C. Wilson

troops with bayonets in the streets, as in Little Rock. John F. Kennedy was elected president on a platform promising just about all any integrationist could want, including the kind of action the extremists would like.

For good political reasons, President Kennedy has not demanded that Congress translate that platform into action. To do so would invite great trouble, jeopardizing his legislative program and further weakening the Democratic party in Southern states.

The administration's approach to the civil rights problem, obviously, is by way of the ballot box and Negro registration. Brother Bobby occasionally has used his power as attorney general to apply federal pressure on reluctant southern communities, notably by ordering U.S. marshals into the field of local heat.

This has helped convince Negro leaders that the administration is on the level. That conviction enables these Negroes to accept the political necessities that compel Kennedy to avoid an all-out civil rights showdown in this congress or, perhaps, in any congress. The Kennedy brothers have worked for the confidence of U.S. Negroes and they've got it. This is a political asset of immeasurable value.

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165 Church Street - New York

HENDERSONVILLE, N.C.
TIMES-NEWS
D 7 607
APR 3 1962

Washington Window

By LYLE C. WILSON

WASHINGTON, April 3. (UPI) — Buried somewhere in last week's key announcement about civil rights was a solid vote of confidence in the Kennedy brothers, John F. and Bobby.

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In January 1959, Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson introduced in the Senate a civil rights bill. The lefty Americans for Democratic Action promptly denounced it as a typical Johnson compromise, scratching the surface of civil rights and carefully refraining from digging down to its heart — school segregation. Perhaps ADA wanted to do some digging down to the heart with bayonets, which would be a bloody business. Or, more likely, ADA didn't and doesn't like Johnson or any of his projects.

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PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street - New York

ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL
D. 259,230

APR 5 1962

Negro Vote Drive Initiated by SLCL

By FRED POWLEDGE

Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. Thursday announced details of a major program to double the number of registered Southern Negro voters within the next two years.

If the program is successful, said the widely known integration leader, its effects will be felt throughout the legislative chambers of the South and in the halls of the Senate and House in Washington.

Dr. King, who is president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, announced the program at a news conference.

"I am happy to announce," he said, "that the SCLC has begun its intensified voter registration drive. We are actively participating in this effort with the voter education project of the Southern Regional Council. We now visualize the doubling of the number of Negro registered voters within the next two years."

He said the conference will concentrate its efforts in Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, the southern part of Virginia, eastern North Carolina, northern Louisiana, east Tennessee, west Texas, and the delta area of Mississippi from Vicksburg to Clarksdale.

* * *

COMPLETE registration and population figures are not yet available on those areas, but Dr. King's staff has estimated that in the 12-state Southern region there is a Negro population approximating 10,000,000; there are 1,300,000 registered Negro voters; and there is a potential pool of registered Negroes totaling 6,000,000.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference project will be one of five to be coordinated through, and carried out with the assistance of, the Southern Regional Council.

The council, an Atlanta-based organization working for equal opportunity for "all the South's people," recently announced the formation of a central office to help in the Southwide campaign.

* * *

WILEY A. BRANTON, an attorney from Pine Bluff, Ark., who took a prominent part in the Little Rock school desegregation case, has come to Atlanta to head the council project. He has announced that initial foundation grants totaling $325,000 have been received.

The Taconic Foundation of New York, which works chiefly in the areas of race relations and social matters, has presented $250,000 to the project for the next two years. The Field Foundation, which is headed by Adlai Stevenson, has contributed $75,000 for one year.

The money will be used not only by Dr. King's organization, but also by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress of Racial Equality, the National Urban League and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

* * *

DR. KING said Thursday he would meet with the Southern Regional Council to determine how much of the foundation money would go to the SCLC project. He said present plans call for a total SCLC budget itself and some coming through the council.

Dr. King said the effects of a successful campaign would be manifold. In addition to increasing the possibility of Negro representation in legislatures and in Congress, he said, "It will weaken the powers and the thrust of the out-and-out segregationist. This person will come more and more to see the futility of what he is trying to preserve."

* * *

THE CAMPAIGN also will allow many of the "large numbers of liberals and moderates" among the white community, who have been reluctant to raise their voices so far, to speak out, he said.

"And I hope it will free some of our white political leaders," he said. He mentioned Sens. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), Lister Hill (D-Ala.), and John Sparkman (D-Ala.) as politicians who seem liberal on many issues, but who are forced to adopt segregationist stands by their constituencies.

"I'd like to see those men freed," said Dr. King.

He also named Sen. Herman Talmadge (D-Ga.) as a politician who will "follow the tide. . . . I think he is coming to see the tide of history move in another direction," said Dr. King.

* * *

DR. KING said previous experience in the field of voter registration has disclosed certain patterns of action which must be taken.

"It is always vital," he said, "to bring all of the existing groups in the community together. . . . And there must also be a well-organized, block-by-block campaign where you go through the details of knocking on doors."

He said emphasis would be placed on "those areas where tangible gains are possible"—in other words, in the urban areas. In rural areas, he said, where economic and other reprisals are sometimes charged in the case of Negroes' voting, "we can only assure those people . . . that we will stand by them with all the protection that we can legally provide."

He added that U.S. Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy has told him personally "that he is absolutely committed to the principal and ideal of extending the franchise to all people. . . . He has given me the assurance that the Justice Department will stand behind us."

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APR 3 1962

Lyle C. Wilson

'That Is Kennedy's Basic Approach'

WASHINGTON — Buried somewhere in last week's key announcement about civil rights was a solid vote of confidence in the Kennedy brothers, John F. and Bobby.

The announcement was that five of the hard-nosed organizations seeking to enforce integration have joined in a new and calmer approach to their objective. This does not signify that these organizations have abandoned tougher methods including those which often invite violence. But the new approach is significant.

It is especially significant in a political sense. The five organizations have joined the Southern Regional Council in a program to increase vote registration of southern Negroes.

That is the Kennedy administration's basic approach to the problem of civil rights for Negroes. It also is the moderate, non-violent, non-abrasive approach. It is obvious that not just around the corner, but far down the road, there is one decisive, home-grown solution of the South's problem of racial integration.

The solution is for southern Negroes to register and to vote. Extremists do not concede this as a solution. Integration extremists seem to prefer force, even violence, noisy action, newspaper publicity, federal troops with bayonets in the streets, as in Little Rock. John F. Kennedy was elected President on a platform promising just about all any integrationist could want, including the kind of action the extremists would like.

For good political reasons, President Kennedy has not demanded that Congress translate that platform into action. To do so would invite great trouble, jeopardizing his legislative program and further weakening the Democratic Party in southern states.

PRESSURE

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This has helped convince Negro leaders that the administration is on the level. That conviction enables these Negroes to accept the political necessities that compel Kennedy to avoid an all-out civil rights showdown in this Congress or, perhaps, in any Congress. The Kennedy brothers have worked for the confidence of U.S. Negroes and they've got it. This is a political asset of immeasurable value.

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It is notable, however, that getting Negroes to the ballot boxes and assuring that their votes would be counted was basic in the Johnson proposal. Perhaps Johnson helped shape Kennedy administration policy.

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ATLANTA, GA.
CONSTITUTION
D 200 181
APR 6 1962

King Charts Strategy for Voter Drive

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Thursday outlined plans for an all-out Negro voter registration drive and predicted that "the political structure of the South will be liberalized" as a result.

King said his Southern Christian Leadership Conference and other civil rights organizations co-operating in the registration drive hope to double the number of Negro voters in the South in the next two years.

STAFF INCREASED

SCLC has a budget of $100,000 for the project and has added six staff members, King said. He added that he hoped part of the money would come from the Southern Regional Council's new Voter Education Project funds.

King explained that local leaders in the vote drive will be trained at SCLC's McIntosh County center, then will set up local schools and later conduct door-to-door canvassing.

There are now some 1.3 million Negro voters in the South.

TO FREE SOME

He said an increase in Negro voters would "free" some Southern politicians from racist positions. He mentioned Senator William Fulbright of Arkansas and Lister Hill and John Sparkman of Alabama.

King added that Georgia's Sen. Richard Russell might not be swayed but added:

"I think Sen. (Herman) Talmadge will follow the tide. I think he is an astute politician, and he is coming to see the tide of history is flowing the other way."

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165 Church Street - New York

GARDEN CITY, N.Y.
NEWSDAY
D· 318,875
APR 6 1962

Open Big Drive To Hike Negro Voting in South

By Fred Powledge
Newsday Special Correspondent

Atlanta—A major drive to double the number of registered Negro voters in the South within the next two years—a move that could start a revolution in southern politics—was announced yesterday by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. The integration leader said the drive would be backed by every major Negro group in the country and has the endorsement of the Kennedy administration.

The Rev. Dr. King said the drive would be conducted by his civil rights organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He said these revolutionary changes could well take place:

1. Negroes could be elected to local and national office, changing the structure of state house politics and "breaking down the coalition in the Congress."

2. The "silent moderates" and liberals of the white South would be encouraged to take public stands.

3. Politicians now in office would have to answer to a strengthened Negro constituency which will vote as a bloc, he said, "as long as we have a divided society." He said some of these politicians, among them Democratic Sens. J. William Fulbright of Arkansas and Lister Hill and John Sparkman of Alabama, are liberal-minded on many issues already. "This might free them to be liberal on the segregation issue," he said.

4. The "power and the thrust of the out-and-out segrebationist" will be weakened as he "comes more and more to see the futility of what he is trying to preserve."

Chief Target Is Urban Areas

The project's primary aim, said the Rev. Dr. King, will be to get Negroes registered in "those areas where tangible gains are possible" —that is, in the urban areas. He said he has a personal assurance from United States Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy that the Justice Department will support the drive.

Funds for the conference's campaign, the cost of which is estimated at $103,000, will come partly from its own treasury and partly from grants to be made by foundations. The Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council recently announced it would administer voting-campaign grants to civil rights organizations from two foundations—$250,000 from the Taconic Foundation of New York and $75,000 from the Field Foundation.

The Rev. Dr. King said the total population of the 12-state southern region is 46,000,000. Of these, he estimated, 10,000,000 are Negroes, 6,000,000 of them adults. Only 1,300,000—about 21.6 per cent—of the adult Negroes are registered to vote, he said.

Certain of the southern states, notably Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, have made it plain that they have little patience with Negro demands for equal rights, and it is in these areas and especially in the rural portions of these states that the Rev. Dr. King expects that his job will be hardest and his need for Justice Department aid greatest.

BArclay 7-5371
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165 Church Street - New York

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NEWSDAY
D- 318 875
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ATLANTA, GA.
CONSTITUTION
D. 200 181
APR 2 1962

Vote Is Proper Means Of Citizen Expression

Nobody should find fault with the voter registration project announced recently by the Southern Regional Council. The project has been endorsed by the national chairmen of both the Republican and Democratic parties.

In a democracy, the vote is the citizen's way of expressing himself. Denied the vote, the citizen is likely to resort to less peaceful and orderly means of expressing himself. In a democracy, this should not occur.

Return to SRC

LWD ✓
WB ✓
file-bep

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF ATLANTA

POST OFFICE BOX 4148

ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

April 6, 1962

FRANK T. DAVIS
SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant,
Voter Education Project of
The Southern Regional Council, Incorporated,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I appreciate very much Joe Haas' telephone call when you were in his office and also the account you recently opened with us under the Style of Voter Education Project of The Southern Regional Council, Incorporated.

We are very glad indeed to have this additional business from you and your associates, and I want to tell you how much we appreciate this further evidence of your friendship.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Davis

Senior Vice President

FTD:E

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.
NEWS-FREE PRESS
D. 59 882

APR 1962

Negroes Give JFK Vote Of Confidence on 'Mix'

By LYLE C. WILSON
UPI News Analyst

WASHINGTON (UPI)- Buried somewhere in last week's key announcement about civil rights was a solid vote of confidence in the Kennedy brothers, John F. and Bobby. The announcement was that five of the hard-nosed organizations seeking to enforce integration have joined in a new and calmer approach to their objective.

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REGISTER
D. 42,112 SAT. 38 800

APR 6 1962

Negroes Set Voters Drive

ATLANTA (AP) — A drive to double the number of registered southern Negro voters within the next two years was announced Thursday by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., integration leader.

King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, announced the program at a news conference.

He said the SCLC is "actively participating in this effort with the voter education project of the Southern Regional Council."

The SRC is an Atlanta-based group working for equal opportunity for all southern residents. The voter registration project will be one of five to be conducted with the assistance of SRC.

King said the voter registration drive would be concentrated in Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, the southern part of Virginia, eastern North Carolina, northern Louisiana, east Tennessee, west Texas and the delta area of Mississipi from Vicksburg to Clarksdale.

He estimated the 12-state southern region has a Negro population of approximately 10 million, and a potential pool of six million Negro votes. He said Negro registration now is around 1,300,000.

The council recently announced formation of a central office to help in the southwide campaign. Wiley A. Branton, Pine Bluff, Ark. attorney who took part in the Little Rock school desegregation case, is in Atlanta to head the council project. He announced receipt of foundation grants totaling $325,000.

He cited Sens. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), Lister Hill (D-Ala.), and John Sparkman (D-Ala.), as liberal on many issues but who are forced to adopt segregationist stands by their constituencies.

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WORLD
APR 7 1962

The Right To Vote Is Basic

(From The New York Times)

In a democracy the right to vote is almost the most important right an individual can have, for if he cannot vote he has no easy and peaceable way of defending his other rights. When the Supreme Court decides that reapportionment within the states is a matter of federal concern, it is also defending the individual whose ballot has been diluted and improverished. When the Kennedy Administration uses its Executive power, as it has done, to protect civil rights, it deserves credit — and gets it from such organizations as the Southern Regional Council.

The council, which includes white and Negro members, believes that the Administration's work in this field is comparable in importance to the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954. This may be an exaggerated estimate; but there can be no doubt that this Administration has made major advances in civil rights.

The Regional Council is now planning to continue work on its own initiative. It has enlisted several other private organizations in the field and has secured foundation grants totaling $325,000. This money it will use in a concerted registration drive in ten Southern states. In these states, ranging from Virginia to Texas, about 60 per cent of the white inhabitants of voting age are registered, but only 30 per cent of the Negroes.

A candidate running for office in any constituency, North or South, does not willingly offend any recognizable and respectable element in the population. He may be against sin, but he thinks twice before he comes out against any specific race. The Negro will receive more consideration if he registers and takes his opinions and reactions to the polls.

COURIER-HERALD Dublin, Ga.
APR 3 1962

WASHINGTON WINDOW

Civil Rights Group To Use Kennedy Approach

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Buried somewhere in last week's key announcement about civil rights was a solid vote of confidence in the Kennedy brothers, John F. and Bobby.

The announcement was that five of the hard-nosed organizations seeking to enforce integrations have joined in a new and calmer approach to their objective. This does not signify that these organizations have abandoned tougher methods including those which often invite violence. But the new approach is significant.

It is especially significant in a political sense. The five organizations have joined the Southern Regional Council in a program to increase vote registration of Southern Negroes.

That is the Kennedy administration's basic approach to the problem of civil rights for Negroes. It also is the moderate, non - violent, non - abraisive approach. It is obvious that not just around the corner, but far down the road, there is one decisive, home-grown solution of the South's problem of racial integration.

VOTE AS SOLUTION

The solution is for Southern Negroes to register and to vote. Extremists do not concede this as a solution. Integration extremists seem to prefer force, even violence; noisy aciton, newspaper publicity, federal troops with bayonets in the streets, as in Little Rock. John F. Kennedy was elected president on a platform promising just about all any integratioist could want, but President Kennedy has not demanded that Congress translate that platform into action. To do so would invite great trouble, Jeopardizing his legislative program and further weakening the Democratic party in Southern States.

The administration's approach to the civil rights problem, obviously is by way of the ballot box and Negro registration. Brother Bobby occasionally has used his power as attorney general to apply federal pressure on reluctant Southern communities, notably by ordering U. S. marshals into the field of local heat.

LEADERS CONVINCED

This has helped convince Negro leaders that the administration is on the level. That conviction enables these Negroes to accept the political possibili- that compel Kennedy to avoid an all-out civil rights showdown in this Congress or, perhaps, in any Congress. The Kennedy brothers have worked for the confidence of U. S. Negroes and they've got it. This is a political asset of immeasurable value.

In January 1959, Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson introduced in the Senate a civil rights bill. The lefty Americans for Democratic Action promptly denounced it as a typical Johnson compromise, scratching the surface of civil rights and carefully refraining from digging down to its heart — school segregation. Perhaps ADA wanted to do some digging down in the heart with bayonets, which would be a bloody business. Or, more likely, ADA didn't and doesn't like Johnson or any of his projects.

It is notable, however, that getting Niggers to the ballot boxes and assuring that their votes would be counted was basic in the Johnson proposal. Perhaps Johnson helped shape Kennedy administration policy.

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Balto. Sun.
April 11
1962

Politics and People

By THOMAS O'NEILL

At the Roots

Washington.

By their early and public agreement to raise the full power of the filibuster against any loosening of racial restrictions upon voting registration, the Southern senators signaled their recognition that the ballot is basic to wiping out legalized discrimination rooted in skin color.

The Administration is committed to legislation to knock down one of the biggest barriers to Negro voting in the Deep South, the arbitrarily applied tests for literacy. Acting on a suggestion advanced by Dean Griswold, of the Harvard Law School, it proposes to establish a sixth-grade education as sufficient proof of literacy to qualify as a voter in Federal elections. Its enactment would put an end to subterfuges used to bar qualified Negroes that include a demand for the exact date Oklahoma became a State, or the Tenth Amendment took effect.

Failure to reply correctly to such obscure questions is enough to flunk a literacy test if the applicant is a Negro.

Genuine illiteracy, most of it among Negroes, still persists to a substantial degree in the plantation belt, perhaps a reflection of the quality of education in segregated schools. It reaches 25 per cent in Louisiana, a State which adds to mass disfranchisement by a 1921 law authorizing white registrars to require applicants to give an interpretation satisfactory to the registrar of any provision he offers from the 300-page State constitution.

• • •

All authorities are agreed that political rights can clear the way to other rights, and that the ballot if used would be an effective weapon against discrimination in other fields. The reasoning, of course, is that the elected official would be more closely attuned to the wishes of a solid voting force. It has worked that way in Southern urban centers, such as Atlanta, where hindrances to Negro voting have been removed.

No overnight achievement of that end would result from enactment of the pending proposal. To be effective, the ballot must be used. In areas of the nation where voting is open to all, Negroes generally have the lowest rate of participation in elections, a disinterest shared among lowest income groups and the object of continuing concern among racial leaders like Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of N.A.A.C.P.

In the hope of overcoming the lack of interest, the biracial Southern Regional Council is embarking in a two-year campaign to get Negroes to register and vote. Legislation of the kind backed by the Administration would facilitate the campaign, at least in populous centers. Its prospects in rural areas, where most Southern Negroes live, are questionable.

Intimidation, both physical and economical, remains as a formidable deterrent to keep Negroes away from the polls where the white population makes up its mind to reserve the vote to itself.

Shooting, bombing, cross burning are weapons of intimidation still used to discourage the exercise of the franchise. Sharecroppers find no buyers for their crops, small merchants are confronted by a loss of credit, jobs are withdrawn. Refinements include the practice in many counties where no Negroes are on the election rolls of requiring applicants to have a sponsor who is registered, and since all the voters are white no sponsors are to be found. That is a device that would go untouched by the literacy legislation.

Even so, that legislation faces a difficult course against a determined filibuster in a Congress eager to get back to its constituencies in an election year.

Unlike the recent sham battle in the Senate against the poll-tax amendment, the campaign upon which all the southerners are in agreement is intended as last ditch. Its extent can be surmised from the fight they put up in 1960 against a bill that did no more for voting rights than require registrars to preserve records for 22 months. They kept the debate going from February 15 to April 8, the longest since 1929.

• • •

A device which the Congress of 1866 fondly believed was the complete answer to voting rights has been a dead letter since the day of its adoption. That is the provision in the Fourteenth Amendment penalizing the congressional representation of a state to the same extent that the state denied the vote to citizens of legal age. Curiously, something of the same effect has flown from farm mechanization and the consequent migration of Negroes out of the Deep South. This outflow contributed to the population figures in the last census that cost Arkansas two seats in the House and Alabama and Mississippi one each.

The major advance in Negro voting rights since the collapse of the Fourteenth Amendment mechanism was the product of Supreme Court action. It knocked out regulations limiting the Democratic primary, the meaningful election in most of the South, to white voters. The poll tax has been withering, and is no longer an economic obstacle of great consequence. It lingers in only five states.

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MEMORANDUM April 11, 1962

To: WBranton
JMoss

From: LWDunbar

I had meant to get you two together this week to discuss the advisory meeting on voting research. Even after I get back to the office on Monday (I hope) I'll probably not have time to talk: from the 19th on, I'll be in the office only a few hours.

My thoughts will, therefore, have to be in this form. Will you two please get together and settle the plans? As I understand it, Jim needs soon to send to the conferees an agenda.

Here are my suggestions; please don't regard them as more than that.

I might preside at the start, and we might begin by having Wiley describe VEP and say also as much as he feels proper at the time about decisions reached so far and programs under way or definitely planned.

Jim could next explain to them the twin research aims:

(1) to study in more detail the factors inhibiting southern voting

(2) to evaluate effectiveness of organization and field methods employed to increase registration

(If firm by that time, Jim could also describe Ira Kaye's South Carolina project.)

The discussion might then resolve around such points as the following:

(1) Do they have any hypotheses they think should be examined on either of the two aims?

(2) What research now going on should we get next to? (A good place for Matthews or Prothro to describe what they are doing. Also, anyone else who is at work on something now.)

(3) Do they see ways we can be mutually helpful? (e.g., would they like to assign a student or students to working with or watching a program, who would do something for us in exchange?)

(4) Are there likely to be data produced by our program in which they would be interested and would like to have reported to them?

(5) What advice do they have for us regarding VEP's data collecting methods?

I think the conference should be run loosely enough so that we can talk up and down any by-ways which open.

As to the amenities, I think we would find it easiest to leave everyone on their own for lodging, breakfast, and dinner. Lunch we can provide in the office. Peggy says we can all come to the house after dinner for drinks, if that would be a good idea.

Objectives of Research Conference on Voting Behavior in the South.

1. Draft a census of recent research in the areas of Negro voter characteristics, registration and participation in the southern region.

2. Locate and identify reliable, documented sources of background data on the Negro voter in the South.

3/ Isolate and evaluate available materials on formal and informal restrictive and restraining influences upon the Negro registrant and voter.

* 4. Assessment of relationships between Negro voting behavior and other socio-economic aspects of Negro life.

* 5. Review available data on state action with regard to Negro suffrage:

a. Statistical breakdown of past and present Negro registration and voting within the state.

b. Influence of population shifts upon the size of both potential and active Negro voters - rural vs. urban, age, education, etc.

* c. Methods used, and social and cultural factors serving to limit and restrict Negro registration and voting.

* d. Individual and organizational strategies most successful in extending Negro suffrage.

* e. A state-by-state evaluation of Negro voting activities covering the two-year period of the project.

6. Discuss the feasibility of projecting future Negro voting behavior from the findings of the two-year project.

7. Discuss the areas in which the project can yield new information on voter characteristics, organization or participation.

Some questions bearing directly on the Voter Education Project:

* - Demographically and politically is there any evidence to support an assumption that effective voter registration and/or participation is a function of a particular type of organizational approach or strategy?

* - What are the minimum research controls necessary to assure uniformity in reporting and a sound evaluation of the project at its completion?

* - What constitutes a sound and feasible publication program for the project?

*Les suggests unstructured discussions perhaps around the points.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 23, 1962

To: LD From: JM

Subject:

The attached is a tentative prospectus for a research conference on voting. We have tentatively scheduled the conference for a day-ahd-a-half meeting to be held on April 5 and 6. Financial details and mechanics of lodging, etc., will be worked out.

Shall we proceed with these plans?

Manning Dauer
Univ. of Fla.
Did work on Presidential Preference Primary law.

Sam Cooke
Atlanta University

Doug Price (?)
Univ. of Fla. (?)

Donald Strong
Univ. of Alabama

Kenneth Vines
Tulane

Frederic Ogden
Univ. of Alabama
"Poll Tax in the South"

Lewis M. Killiam
Florida State

Objectives:

1. Draft a census of recent research in the areas of Negro voter characteristics, registration and participation in the southern region.

2. Locate and identify reliable, documented sources of background data on the Negro voter in the South.

3. Isolate and evaluate available materials on formal and informal restrictive and restraining influences upon the Negro registrant and voter.

4. Assessment of relationships between Negro voting behavior and other socio-economic aspects of Negro life.

5. Review available data on state action with regard to Negro suffrage:

   a. Statistical breakdown of past and present Negro registration and voting within the state.

   b. Influence of population shifts upon the size of both potential and active Negro voters - rural vs. urban, age, education, etc.

   c. Methods used, and social and cultural factors serving to limit and restrict Negro registration and voting.

A Tentative Prospectus for a Research Conference on Voting Behavior in the South

Date: April 5 and 6, 1962

Participants

Invited:	Will Attend	Unable to Attend
Dr. Vivian Henderson Fisk	X ✓	Gilman Cothran
Dr. Dan Thompson Dillard	X	
Dr. Jobert Steamer Louisiana State	X	
Prof. Tinsley Spraggins Virginia Union	X	
Dr. Donald Matthews U. of N.C.	X	
Dr. James Prothro U. of N.C.	X	
Dean Gomillion Tuskegee Institute	X ✓	
Mr. Harry Halloway Univ. of Texas	X	
Mr. Scamman Bureau of Census Washington, D.C.		X
Dr. William Havard Louisiana State		X
	Leslie Dunbar Wiley Branton George Barrett James Moss	

Alternative participants suggested to us are:

Prof. I.C. Newton
N. C. College, Durham
(Now with the Peace Corps)

J. E. Pierce
Alabama State
Did voting research in the 40's and 50's

John deGrove
U. of Fla. at Gainesville
Has Rockefeller Grant for study of Negro political organizations in selected communities.

d. Individual and organizational strategies most successful in extending Negro suffrage.

e. A state-by-state evaluation of Negro voting activities covering the two-year period of the project.

6. Discuss the feasibility of projecting future Negro voting behavior from the findings of the two-year project.

7. Discuss the areas in which the project can yield new information on voter characteristics, organization or participation.

Some questions bearing directly on the Voter Education Project:

- Demographically and politically is there any evidence to support an assumption that effective voter registration and/or participation is a function of a particular type of organizational approach or strategy?

- What are the minimum research controls necessary to assure uniformity in reporting and a sound evaluation of the project at its completion?

- What constitutes a sound and feasible publication program for the project?

3/30/62

A Tentative Prospectus for a Research Conference on Voting Behavior in the South.

Date: May 1 and May 2
Place: SRC Offices

Invited	Participants Yes	No	Waiting for Reply
Dr. Vivian Henderson - Fisk			X
Dr. Dan Thompson - Dillard	X		
Dr. Robert Steamer - Louisiana State	X		
Dr. Tinsley Spraggins - Virginia Union			X
Dr. Donald Matthews - Univ. of N.C.	X		
Dr. James Prothro - Univ. of N.C.	X		
Dr. Charles Gomillion - Tuskegee	X		
Mr. Harry Halloway - Univ. of Texas	X		
Mr. Seamman - Census Bureau, Washington		X	
Dr. William Havard - Louisiana State		X	
Dr. J. E. Pierce - Alabama State	X		
Dr. Donald Strong - Univ. of Tenn. (pro tem)	X		
Dr. Kenneth Vines - Tulane	X		
DR. B. BRAZEAL - MOREHOUSE	X		
	Leslie Dunbar		
	Wiley Branton		
	George Barrett		
	James Moss		

LD

LWD ✓
PA ✓

This Campaign Must Succeed

afro-American
4-14-62

With astute Arkansas attorney Wiley Branton as its guiding mentor, a massive two-year voter registration campaign was launched in Atlanta last week.

Two things differentiate the new drive from previous efforts.

One is that the five leading organizations — the NAACP, CORE, Urban League, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Southern Leadership Conference — have combined forces to promote the effort.

The second is that a total of $325,000 in foundation money has been poured into the coffers of the Southern Regional Council, earmarked specifically to inspire voter registrations, with pledges of additional appropriations if needed.

* * *

THERE IS MUCH work to be done.

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission in its enlightening report last week estimated that there are some five million colored persons of voting age in the Confederate states still unregistered.

If the 42.3 colored per cent of Mississippi's population were on the registration books, that state's James O. Eastland, the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, would not dare sit on the nomination of U.S. Appellate Judge Thurgood Marshall as he is presently doing.

If more than 13.7 of Alabama's 800,000 colored citizens of voting age were registered, no federal law suit would be needed to remove the words "white supremacy" from the official Democratic ballot.

If more than 23.0 per cent of Virginia's 700,000 colored residents of voting age had their names on the registration books, the segregationist machine of Sen. Harry Byrd long ago would have been swept out of power.

* * *

A SIMILAR CHANGE in registration patterns in other Confederate states would bring hasty ends to the careers of many rednecked politicians whose only qualification for office is their leather-lunged ability to shout their bitter hatred of colored people.

Significantly, the new project enjoys the unqualified endorsement of both the Democratic and Republican national committees.

Blessed with unlimited funds, the evident determination of the Federal Government to end voting disfranchisement and the crusading verve of Wiley Branton, the campaign cannot fail.

It might well fan the winds of change now gently blowing in the South into a revolutionary hurricane.

Abe's Feeble Gesture

This Ad- [illegible] there in Louisana and other Southern states to abolish racial segregation in its schools is particularly disappointing.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Notes on April 17 meeting of VEP cooperating agencies, by G. E. Barrett

Program for 1962 -

Eliminate Texas, Okla., Del., Md., Ky.

East Texas - Poll tax deadline - Jan. '31. Oct. 1 - till Jan. 31.

Book open for payment of poll tax

Deputy poll tax collectors appointed around Dec. 1 - operating until Jan. 31.

Urban League has an office in Fort Worth. Go into there around September to organize for push.

Arkansas - poll tax state - deadline, Oct. 1, 1961

Branton said no race of significance, hence no program this year. Next year, 1963, off year, little interest.

Patton thinks Ark. should be included in some program.

Wilkins - Rule out Ark. for this year, as far as U.E.P. is concerned.

Louisiana - Primary July 28, 1962. Last day to register, June 27, 1962.

McDew - Some working in N.E. La.

CORE - Some - one in Baton Rouge; 6th Congressional District; and in New Orleans, where a joint effort exists.

SCLC - Shreveport - And part of co-ordinate effort in New Orleans; 4th Congressional District - Bienville , etc. to Miss. Delta.

NAACP - Baton Rouge, Shreveport, New Orleans; petered out in northern parishes; middle & lower La. very active; part of joint effort in New Orleans - also in Monroe.

Urban - one of most capable persons in N.O.; provided leadership for group - one of places League could be effective.

CORE - cooperative effort not too successful.

NAACP - offered pattern to build on - on paper - makes sense

Young - Not every community can come up with a co=ordinate movement - New Orleans would accept leadership from Urban League.

CORE - Thinks might have trouble with Currons.

Young - Money being granted to an agency - hire directly in region.

Wilkins - Problem of mechanics in certain areas - pattern of grants - in local areas - what is purpose of national organization? Or how is national organization in areas to carry on a successful program.

Dunbar, three suggestions

1) Grant to co-operative group - direct
2) Pick agency - i.e., Urban League, which will provide general guidance
3) UEP - work with different groups individually - who make up the various cooperative groups

Current - Suggested an "Advance" to participating agencies for grants to local ~~agencies~~ area, i.e., New Orleans.

Young - Ideally, hope to establish coordinated committees in all areas. Grants to organization - with understanding that it will carry leadership or work responsibility for area or city where it is strongest, with stipulation that grant be passed on to area.

Branton - ~~Bpx~~ 1) Do we give pro rata share to each organization for its participants in area, or
2) Will we agree on one organization which will act as sponsor of local group, or
3) Will we make a direct grant.

~~Mrs~~ Morsell - fourth method - This departs from original idea. Grants to organization, with stipulation that program be carried on in certain areas.

SCLC - 2 facts: 1) Money available for areas
2) Sacrifices of identies - by organizations

Money to be channelled through organizations strongest in area

(n.O. Urban League, Memphis NAACP, etc.) - each organization have some specific area of concern, where it is strong.

Brooks thinks money comes through big five.

Patton - Areas of coordinated effort - funnel through national offices. In coordinated efforts - i.e., groups get together and decide how much money each agency put in.

Wilkins - agrees with Patton.

Dunbar - UEP grants to five organizations, with restrictions to areas.

Wilkins - Grants are free, with a guaranty of working in certain specific areas.

Young - Each agency get a flat amount for regional operation to stiumlate voter registration in area. In addition, specified amount for a particular city for coordinated effort.

Wilkins - Les wants some guaranty that local areas will be covered.

Les pointed out IRS restrictions. General grant to organizations unfeasible. But i.e. to buy a particular program of an organization, or buy a person, assistants of voter registration - or grant to each agency with guaranty of work in certain areas. Formulas - i.e. overhead contribution, or staff contributions.

Wilkins - original idea - Grant to organization on basis of program the organization submits. Allocation of this money - let to individual organizations. Did not envision grants on project basis.

Les - no contradiction here.

Patton - Possibility of local funds to help grants channelled in by national organizations.

Branton From legal standpoint - in view of IRS - Grants to organizations for registration in general, in absence of program - questionable legally.

Wilkins - IRS ruling granted right to make grants to voter education activity.

LUNCH

Branton VEP select areas of concern which can achieve results - Then determine what agencies are doing or propose to do in said area. That a flat grant be given to each agency - That targets - or specific areas - be designated for each agency - and in cooperation with other agencies. (Agencies agree to spend money in the areas designated.) Means - eith agency - or VEP - will push on coordination of agencies in areas. That a formula be developed = which permits operational cost for administrative cost. As need arises for additional money in target areas, supplemental grants can be made for such.

Young - VEP will identify area - and agency to assume such - hold agency responsible for reports - and cooperation of groups - Does this this call for submitting slight revision proposals?

Branton - reaction to formula

Walker - target areas - from where we are now working

Branton - Target area selected from statistics, areas of population, and information furnished - or to be furnished, after study. Then a grant of X dollars for target areas, assigned back to organizations based on need for coverage and desire to wor k there. Such could be exclusive, or cooperative with such area. Do not specify amount to be spent. Areas not assigned back to you - would not contribute to such. VEP staff would attempt to coordinate the efforts of the agencies.

Rich VEP should set up goals of information wanted.

Branton announced research meeting of May 1 & 2 - and SRC research staff statistics.

Young - Don't be too - as to acceptance of target areas - on basis of registration date and poll tax dates - because of magnitude of problem.

Branton pointed out limitation now as to time and money - and desire for some concrete results.

Wilkins - Need in 1962 - demonstrate some actual increase in voters - foundations will be to contribute.

Branton - may select couple of ten target areas now, for quick results.

Forman - tentative plans for VEP as to areas of concern.

Current - Uncertainty as to selecting areas of assignment - still original proposal - money available - be allocated based on area or cities where they can work - with accounting safeguards, etc. - leave question of work in target areas to discretion of national agencies

Branton - In assigning target area, i.e. 3 agencies - one city - the agencies are responsible as to working out degree of cooperating agencies.

Young - Weakness in plan - is because you do not hold one agency responsible for program - someone has to be boss in area.

Wilkins - Young wants one agency put in charge of a particular target area.

Wilkins - Real problem is jealousy of agencies - not wanting to work under each other.

Branton - Why can't agencies sell their branches on cooperation

Moon - Can you assign a coordinater from VEP?

Forman - VEP has responsibility to see that project is on-going - and before campaign is launched - to see that such is feasible.

Branton - Will have to coordinate these programs - if they won't cooperate move on to next town or program

Patton - How are you going to work out contribution from agencies - when you say you are not going to grant specific amounts for specific areas.

Branton - Assume you have 2 agencies in one community - if they won't cooperate, then VEP has responsibility for securing the cooperation necessary - grants are on quarterly basis and this will be the basis of securing cooperation./

O'Dell - Coordinator of a local community named by local group.

Branton - What is over-all reaction to this formula?

Wilkins - Starting place - with certain reservations - but willing tp say this is a starting place - to get off ground - with corrections when necessary.

McCain - need to go to work - now -

Young - Will buy this - as a demonstration of ability to work together - with realization of limitations of Urban League - but with certain standards, etc., of Urban League - Not broad - but selective control - show restraint to promote individual groups - at expense of VEP -

Rich - Basically buy it for now - few reservations

McDew - Accepted - designed for action of of various organizations - like to get started.

Walker - We are working - acceptable

Current - basis materials which can be drawn from a pool

Wilkins - Ground rules as to the use of materials - distressed by announcement of some claiming credity for everything.

Branton - Our budget should include cost for materials.

Moon - Editorial committee to work up literature, etc.

Branton - Wants reaction of all agencies - as to reservation of formula.

Moon - As to going into town on voter project and getting in another action.

Branton - Because of IRS - this must be a non-partisan effort - of voter registration.

Atlanta - deadline - May 5th - "All Citizens Voter Registration Committee" - group working to meet deadline - submitted a budget - made an emergency grant of $2,000 - based on concurrence of all local groups - not a precedent.

Reaction:

Wilkins - Good idea - NAACP has made direct grants - Urban League gave good directions.

Young:- Good idea - because organizations are represented - and groups - be in contact with national agencies.

Branton - Another grant under consideration - Durham - everyone removed from polls.

Brooks - Durham - NAACP - and Council of Negro Affairs - $750 budget - and 14 other spots ready.

Branton - - 10 days - write agencies - make a grant - on basis of formula.

In deciding on grant - and selecting target areas - necessary to talk to agencies - about areas

Urban League - Clarence Coleman

SCLC - Jack O'Dell

NAACP - Dr. Morsell or Current

CORE - James McCain

SNCC - Chuck McDew

Branton - Two agencies - serious need for financial assistance - SNCC and SCLC - any objection to preliminary grant at this time -

Patton - Why advance grants - if areas are going to be basis of grants -

Young - No objection - need is not unique for these two as an emergency - Urban League has certain emergencies at this time.

Wilkins - Same feeling as Young - but here project is 9 months old - 2 organizations have expanded in anticipation - little unfair to others - go into territory, stake out a claim - can't support - then come for emergency funds - a little unfair - Favor relieving emergency - but here where planning was uncertain - No agency should have planned - and resulting in an emergency.

McCain - And we have a - agree with Roy - could have created an emergency.

McDew - not a case of claim jumping - if only couple of weeks - we can wait

Walker - Attempt to get something started.

Branton - Leave it like this

Calhoun - Ga. has deadline of May 5 - 10 days will stop us.

Branton - Want what and where you are currently operating right now.

Back to States:

Tennessee

Memphis

NAACP - Memphis - Jackson - West Tenn.

Middle Tenn. - Columbia, Nash., Waverly - NAACP

SCLC - Nashville, Chattanooga & Knoxville

NAACP - Knoxville

Miss. - NAACP - Jackson - Laurel - Gulfport - Biloxi - Meridian - Columbus - Clarksdale, Vicksburg - Greenville - Hattiesburg

SNCC - (Bob Moses) - 4th Cong. Dist.

SCLC - 3rd Cong. Dist. - Holly Springs

CORE - Hines County

Coordinated effort, CORE & SNCC - SCLC

Type of federated council - state-wide organization

Deadlines - pay poll tax - 2 years - can register any time - can't vote without paying poll tax

Alabama - Deadline - Feb. 1 - Reg. - Apr. 20 - Get people register

SCLC - Birmingham, Montgomery

SNCC - Montgomery

Ala. State Coordinating Committee

Georgia - NAACP - Macon, Albany, Milledgeville, Augusta

De Kalb County - Savannah

Deadline - May 5

SCLC - Macon, Albany - Columbua - and 15 counties - 6th & 1st Cong. Dist. and 3rd and 10th.

SNCC - 2nd & 3rd Cong. Dist.

May 5 = deadline for primary & general election.

Florida - Last date April 7th - Book re-open Fla. May 28th - Tampa, Orlando, Tallahassee

Tampa
Jacksonville
Miami

Urban League - Jacksonville - (Tampa, Miami not equipped) - NAACP good youth group

South Carolina

SCLC - 1st & 2nd Cong. Dist. NAACP*

Date - May 12th

CORE - Knows SC.

North Carolina - Durham, High Point - May 12th

Urban League - Winston-Salem

NAACP - N. C.

Virginia - all major cities + Urban League + Richmond

Brooks -

Training for staff

Conference of practitioners

D R A F T

April 18, 1962

Minutes of April 17, 1962 meeting of cooperating agencies, SRC Conference Room

Present were: Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young, Jr.
Clarence D. Coleman
Gloster B. Current
Heman M. Sweatt
Henry Lee Moon, NAACP
Wyatt Tee Walker, SCLC
John M. Brooks, NAACP
James T. McCain, CORE
Marvin Rich, CORE
Charles McDew, SNCC
John A. Morsell, NAACP
J. H. O'Dell, SCLC
W. C. Patton, NAACP
Bob Moses, SNCC
James Forman, SNCC
John C. Calhoun, SCLC

The meeting opened at 10:00 with geographic discussion, which quickly got down to a discussion of the mechanics of how grants were to be made. After some discussion three suggestions were discernible.

1. The grants would be made to cooperative groups directly, i.e., New Orleans.

2. Grants would be made to organizations whose leadership is particularly strong in a certain area. The grant would provide for that organization to assume general leadership of the program.

3. The Voter Education Project would work with different groups individually, being the groups that make up the various cooperativ e endeavors.

Branton asked three questions. (1) Do we give a pro-rata share to each organization for its participants in an area, or (2) Will we agree on one organization which will act as a sponsor of local groups, or (3) Will we make direct grants.

Dr. Morsell suggested a fourth alternative, that grants be

made to organizations with the stipulation that programs be carried on in certain areas. After some discussion of the legal limitations on grants by the IRS we adjourned for lunch.

Following lunch, Mr. Branton opened the discussion with the following suggestions. That the Voter Education Project select areas of concern where results could be achieved in voter registration. Then determine what organizations or agencies are doing or propose to do in these selected areas. After determining, that a flat grant be given to each agency. That the target or specific area be designated for each agency in cooperation with other agencies, with it being understood that the agency selected agree to spend the money in that area. This means that either the agency or the Voter Education Project will push on the coordination of the agencies in the areas. That a form will be developed which permits for operational costs of the grant. As needs arise for additional money in target areas supplemental grants can be made for such.

Young inquired if the Voter Education Project would identify the areas and hold the agencies responsible for securing the cooperation of others in the area. Walker inquired if the target areas were where they are at present working.

Branton said that the traget areas would be selected from statistics, areas of population, and information to be furnished after a study, after which a grant of X dollars would be made for the area which would be then be assigned back to the agency based on a need for coverage and desire to work in that area. Such could be exclusive or cooperative with other agencies. It would not

include a specific grant for a specific area. The Voter Education staff would attempt to coordinate the operations of the agencies.

Young and Wilkins agreed that the weakness of the plan was in the fact that no one was left responsible for a particular area. Branton suggested that it would be the responsibility of the agencies to see that their respective organizations cooperated in a particular area. If such cooperation was not forthcoming it is anticipated that the Voter Education Project would be so advised and would then be in a position to inform the non-cooperative agencies of their responsibility to cooperate. Branton also pointed out that if these organizations could not cooperate, then they should bear in mind that the grants are made on a quarterly basis, and that such could prove an effective inducement to cooperation.

At that time Branton polled the agencies to determine their attitude towards the formula. Wilkins agreed that this was a good starting place. Young, McCain, Rich, McDew, and Wyatt Walker agreed.

Current suggested the need for a basic materials which could be available to all of the agencies, with Wilkins suggesting ground rules for the distribution of the materials. Branton agreed that the Voter Education Project budget should cover the cost of some materials, and Moon suggested an editorial committee to work up some material and literature.

After a consensus was reached on this the discussion continued

along geographical lines, taking the southern states and discussing the possibility of programs in the near future in light of dates of registration, poll tax, etc. Branton announced the grant to the Atlanta group and disclosed the selection of Durham as a possible pilot project. All the agencies agreed both of these acts.

Branton advised the agencies that further conversations will be held on an individual basis as to the areas of their particular concern, and that it was hoped that some definite decision could be reached within the next ten days to two weeks as to grants. The agencies were instructed to advise the Voter Education Project at once of programs they have in operation at present and feasibility of work in areas within the next three to six months, in view of registration and poll tax deadlines.

Branton then brought up the question of the emergency of SNCC and SCLC. Neither Young, Wilkins, nor McCain thought such emergency grant would be justified at this time in view of forth= coming grants.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:00.

GEB/mr

PA

The Vise

Year by year, the melancholy conviction grows that the great body of traditional American liberties is being squeezed to death in some gigantic vise.

Now and then our masters give the handle a hard spin, and the jaws lurch forward rapidly: The President, acting in blind fury, effectively denies to the steel industry its right to price its own commodities according to the judgment of the market-place. Again, the military establishment threatens a young private with the lifelong stigma of court-martial for the sin of complaining to his U. S. Senator. Again, the House passes a tax bill, establishing a divided withholding plan, that would temporarily confiscate the income of persons who owe little or no Federal tax.

But the vise does not always close in big swings. Almost as significant are the tiny turns of a micrometer screw. These imperceptible constrictions upon man's liberty often pass unnoticed in the news. They merit a continuing concern. We are minded, therefore, to keep an eye out for such events in coming months, and to call special attention to them in these columns.

For example: The National Labor Relations Board ruled this week, 4-1, that an employer must consult with his union before sub-contracting work that the employees have been doing. The case involved a company in Lawton, Okla., manufacturing mobile home trailers. The company had maintained its own hauling operations. Late in 1959, when a contract with a newly organized Teamsters Union increased this expense materially, the company abandoned its own hauling and contracted to have the work performed. The union charged the company with an unfair labor practice. The NLRB agreed, by ruling that the drivers had been dismissed in reprisal for joining the union, but the Board's decision went much further: Even if the considerations had been entirely economic, and based solely upon a business judgment of production costs, the company still could not have changed its system of operation without the union's consent. The company was ordered to rehire the men and to resume its own trucking operations.

The *Wall Street Journal* describes the NLRB ruling as "far-reaching." By extension, it certainly is. For the time being, however, we note it simply as one more small tightening of the vise that compresses a free society.

Our Record in New Guinea

The crisis in West New Guinea has brought hardly a sound from the State Department. During the past few weeks, armed Indonesian soldiers have been invading the Dutch territory as a token threat to back up Sukarno's raging hunger for a land which is divided from his country ethnically, geographically, and culturally. Until Senator Dodd, a member of the Senate Subcommittee on Far Eastern Affairs, demanded a full hearing on New Guinea policy this week, the administration had taken only one official notice of the situation: When the Netherlands two months ago tried to transport troops to New Guinea to support her defense obligations, the U. S. denied Dutch commercial airliners bearing soldiers in civilian dress the privilege of refueling at American Pacific bases. Since then there has been nothing but ominous silence.

It is difficult to see any rational basis for Indonesia's claim. West New Guinea is a thousand miles away from the major sections of Indonesia; it belongs to the Australian continental shelf, instead of the South Asian shelf. Its Papuan inhabitants are of Melanesian stock, unlike the Malayans of Indonesia. When the Netherlands granted Indonesia's independence, it

The Netherlands government was given by the UN the express duty of governing West New Guinea because its people are among the most primitive on earth. Far from exploiting the land, the Dutch have poured millions into its administration. In the civilized areas—where about half the population lives—80 per cent of the children are now in school. Within eight years, 95 per cent of the civil service posts will be held by natives, and the country will be ready for the self-determination vote which the Dutch have always maintained they should have.

Sukarno's demands are hardly distinguishable from the Communist goal for total domination of the Far East. West New Guinea is smack in between the Philippines and Australia, the strongest bastions of freedom left in the South Pacific. East New Guinea, the other half of the island, is actually administered by Australia, which is a few score miles to the south. New Guinea is a strategic place to mount an invasion.

Sukarno is probably the professed non-Communist closest to communism. At home, he has imprisoned the leaders and banned the activities of all opposition parties — except the Communists. Communist ambassadors and

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Sukarno is probably the professed non-Communist closest to communism. At home, he has imprisoned the leaders and banned the activities of all opposition parties — except the Communists. Communist ambassadors and representatives receive recognition at official functions, while Sukarno parrots their line. The Communists could take over Indonesia at any time by blowing a whistle, but at the moment it suits their ends to have a non-Communist image in power.

Meanwhile, the U. S. has been secretly pressuring the Hague to appease Sukarno in order to avoid trouble. We have been urging the Hague to ignore its legal right and duty to resist a man who flouts the UN Charter by using force to invade a sovereign territory. Senator Dodd has recently returned from Southeast Asia and has sounded the fears of our allies; he has done a service in demanding that we speak up clearly for the record.

The Band Wagon:

Mrs. Ernest Ives, sister of Adlai Stevenson, has grandly resigned from the Daughters of the American Revolution because "a growing number of official policies of the organization are wholly out of line with the policies of the United States of America, as formulated by both parties and as overwhelmingly endorsed by a majority of the American voters."

Please repeat the question for Mrs. Ives. Just as that band was going by, we asked not what do the American People think, but what does *she* think?

Getting Out the Negro Vote

A good deal of attention is being devoted nationally to the suddenly intensified effort of Negro groups to qualify hundreds of thousands of new colored voters in the South. The story has been well covered locally, but some details may usefully be filled in.

In a recent column, Victor Riesel disclosed that the AFL-CIO has allocated a substantial sum from the budget of its own Committee for Political Education to be spent under the authority of Martin Luther King. After a conference with King, "big Joe Overton of Harlem, vice president of the Negro American Labor Council, and Phil Weightman, assistant national COPE director, declared war on some Southern political leaders." In several Southern communities, Riesel reported, notably Sumter, S. C., the Congress of Racial Equality is organizing highly efficient "clinics" to train prospective Negro registrants in the techniques of qualification.

The Communist *Worker* reported on April 8 that the Taconic Foundation has put up $250,000 and the Field Foundation $75,000, to be spent through the Southern Regional Council in support of Negro registration efforts. Among other organizations backing the project, said the *Worker*, are the American Friends Service Committee, the American Jewish Committee, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, and the National Council of Churches of Christ.

The *Worker's* account quotes Martin Luther King to the effect that six professional registration workers already have been hired by his Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Their assignment is "to double the Negro vote in the South." The Congress of Racial Equality also is setting up a six-man staff, and the NAACP's Voter Registration Committee is putting on six full-time workers and 300 local campaign managers.

We view all this activity with equanimity. Under the Constitution of the United States, every qualified citizen has a right to vote; it is spelled out in just those words: A *right* to vote. Those of us who believe in the Constitution, and insist that it be obeyed, have to believe in the whole Constitution and insist that all of it be obeyed. To the extent that some Southern communities have willfully denied the right of franchise to qualified Negroes, the communities are in violation of the basic law of the land; their conduct cannot possibly be condoned.

What is more to the point is to inquire what efforts are being made to improve the dismal record of registration and voting by Southern whites? Several million potential white voters have proved to be just as apathetic as the Negroes. Some of our friends farther South waste entirely too much energy fretting about the Negroes' lawful and justified campaigns to get out the Negro vote. They would be far better advised to put their energy into hiring a few dozen organizers and spending some money of their own.

Say 'Splat, Splat'

McComb, Miss., Journal

New Frontiersman Luther Hodges may soon find himself adorned with a muzzle as tight as the ones that have been applied to anti-Communist military men.

The Secretary of Commerce surprisingly is concerned about the waste of—of all things—paper towels and he abandoned New Frontier thinking to put into a recent address the following plug:

"If everyone washing his or her hands and using paper towels for drying would shake his hands and say 'splat, splat' before using a group of towels, I'll bet the cost of towels could be cut in half. Try it. You'll find it takes one towel instead of several."

Doesn't the secretary know that waste creates prosperity? Hasn't he heard that scattering money creates jobs and increases tax revenue sufficiently to pay the cost?

Splat-splatting would reduce the demand for paper towels and play hob with employment in the forests and paper mills.

BArclay 7-5371
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street – New York
CHICAGO, ILL.
CHICAGO COURIER
31 1962

2 N. Y. Groups Vow Dixie Vote Help

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

NEW YORK—Voter registration, a vital step in the Negro's stride toward freedom, will receive an all important assist from two New York City foundations that have earmarked one-half million dollars to underwrite a voter registration drive in the South.

The funds, donated by the Taconic and Field Foundations ($250,000 each), were first brought to the attention of the public by the controversial writer-producer, Louis E. Lomax, on radio Station WBAI last October.

Mr. Lomax had charged that the lack of action on the part of Negro leadership organizations had imperiled the granting of the funds because some organizations had been slow in accepting the program.

■

THE NAACP was the only organization to publicly contradict Mr. Lomax when Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of that organization, charged a week later that the writer had been irresponsible and had "substituted his own guess" for the facts involved.

The Courier learned last week that a tax exemption status had been approved by the Internal Revenue Department for "the voter education program," in Atlanta, Ga., as had been outlined by Mr. Lomax.

The voter registration foundation is to be directed by Arkansas lawyer, Wiley Branton, who gained national prominence representing the embattled "Little Rock Nine."

■

MR. BRANTON is reported to have given up his law practice in Arkansas to move to Atlanta to head the voter education program.

The Southern Regional Council will supervise the funds and the VEP is reported to have offices in the same building as this council in Atlanta.

It is expected that the pro-

Vote Drive In South Hailed As Service

4-20-62 TA

Durham Labor Jl.

A drive to increase the number of Negro and white southerners registered and voting has been praised by AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany as "a valuable service to advance and make meaningful the democratic process for all Americans." VEP

The campaign has been launched by the Southern Regional Council, in cooperation with a number of civil rights groups. The two-year Voters Education Project has received financial grants of $250,000 from the Taconic Foundation and $75,000 from the Field Foundation.

In a letter to Wiley Branton, Arkansas attorney who is heading the program, Meany said the project "is wholly in accord with the policy objective of the AFL-CIO to assure all American citizens their full and free exercise of the franchise."

NASHVILLE, TENN.
TENNESSEAN
D. 128,798 S. 205,371
APR 6 1962

Robinson To Speak At Rally Here Sunday

Jackie Robinson, a member of Baseball's Hall of Fame, and Wiley Branton, director of voting for the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, will speak at a rally Sunday, April 15, at Ryman Auditorium under the sponsorship of the Davidson County Independent Political Council.

Robinson, best known as the first Negro to play baseball in the major leagues, was a 24-letter athlete in his student days at the University of California and the only person ever selected to play both in a college All-Star football game and the All-Star basketball game.

Robinson

Branton, of Little Rock, Ark., was the chief attorney of the NAACP representing Negro children in Arkansas school desegregation cases. He will speak on voter registration.

Candidates for governor have been invited to attend the rally as platform guests.

The object and purpose of the DCIPC is to promote and encourage citizenship and the use of the ballot by Negro citizens.

Avon Williams, local attorney, is president of the council with Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, business and economics department chairman of Fisk University, serving as chairman.

BArclay 7-5371
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street – New York
GREENVILLE, MISS.
DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
D. 13,212 S. 13,161
APR 3 1962

South's Low Vote Registration To Get SRC Study

ATLANTA (UPI)—The Southern Regional Council has announced a new program to study the causes of low voter registration in the South.

The program called Voter Education Project, will also attempt to ascertain the most effective methods for increasing the Southern electorate.

Wiley A. Branton will head the study.

A special aspect of the program, Branton said, will be "to study the most effective methods of bringing more Southerners into voter participation."

"Over a two-year period we shall observe and analyze the voter registration programs of other agencies in order to collect our data," Branton said.

"When necessary we shall grant funds to other agencies to make possible programs which we believe will advance the study."

Branton said discussions have already been held with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality.

"The largest group of nonvoters in the South are Negroes, especially in the Deep South. There will be no true democracy in the South until they become active citizens. But voting participation of all Southerners is low, and needs to be encouraged," Branton said.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

April 23, 1962

Minutes of meeting of cooperating agencies, April 17, 1962

Present were: Roy Wilkins, NAACP
Whitney Young, Jr., National Urban League
Clarence D. Coleman, " " "
Gloster B. Current
Heman M. Sweatt
Henry Lee Moon, NAACP
Wyatt Tee Walker, SCLC
John M. Brooks, NAACP
James T. McCain, CORE
Marvin Rich, CORE
Charles McDew, SNCC
John A. Morsell, NAACP
J. H. O'Dell, SCLC
W. C. Patton, NAACP
Bob Moses, SNCC
James Forman, SNCC

The meeting opened at 10:00 with a discussion of voter education along geographic lines, which quickly got down to a discussion of the mechanics of how grants were to be made. After some discussion three suggestions were discernible.

1. The grants would be made to cooperative groups directly (i.e., New Orleans).

2. Grants would be made to organizations whose leadership was particularly strong in a certain area. The grant would provide for that organization to assume general leadership of the program in that area.

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After some discussion of the legal limitations on grants by the IRS, lunch was served.

Following lunch, Mr. Branton opened the discussion with the following suggestions: that the Voter Education Project select areas of concern where results could be achieved in voter registration; then determine what organizations or agencies are doing or propose to do in these selected areas; after determining such, give a flat grant to each agency; that the target or specific area be designated for each agency in cooperation with other agencies, with it being understood that the agency selected agree to spend the money in that area.

This means that either the agency or the Voter Education Project will push on the coordination of the agencies in the areas. A formula will be developed which permits for operational costs of the grant. As needs arise for additional money, in target areas, supplemental grants can be made.

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Young and Wilkins agreed that the weakness of the plan was in the fact that no one was left responsible for a particular area so as to secure cooperation of the agencies. Branton suggested that it would be the responsibility of the agencies to see that their respective organizations cooperated in a particular area. If such cooperation was not forthcoming it is anticipated that the Voter Education Project would be so advised and would then be in a position to inform the non-cooperative agencies of their responsibility to cooperate. Branton also pointed out that if these organizations could not cooperate, then they should bear in mind that the grants are made on a quarterly basis, and that such could prove an effective inducement to cooperation.

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After a consensus was reached on this the discussion continued along geographical lines, taking the southern states and discussing the possibility of programs in the near future in light of dates of registration, poll tax, etc.

Branton announced the grant to the Atlanta group and disclosed the selection of Durham as a possible pilot project.

Branton advised the agencies that further conversations will be held on an individual basis as to the areas of their particular concern, and that it was hoped that some definite decision could be reached within the next ten days to two weeks as to grants.

The agencies were instructed to advise the Voter Education Project at once of programs they have in operation at present and the feasibility of work in areas within the next three to six months, in view of registration and poll tax deadlines.

Branton then brought up the question of the emergency of SNCC and SCLC. Neither Young, Wilkins, nor McCain thought such emergency grant would be justified at this time in view of forthcoming grants.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:00.

GEB/mr

Vote Is the Key

Key to VEP

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 4, 1962

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, in the finest traditions of the Bay State's militant vigilance in behalf of individual liberty, the Boston Globe has published the following outstanding editorial:

THE VOTE IS THE KEY

Historically, the ballot has been the lever with which American minorities have gained status. It is probably the key to the civil rights problem in the South, where 60 percent of the whites and only 30 percent of the Negroes are registered to vote.

Of value in obtaining the ballot for the Negro is court action by the Department of Justice. A Federal law suggested by Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School to qualify as literate every one with 6 years schooling could be useful. So could an antipoll tax amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

But in the long run the vote guaranteed by the 15th amendment must be obtained for the Negro—and by him—in the South. The 2-year drive to get him registered there, now being launched by the Southern Regional Council, an organization of southerners of both races, is therefore immensely important.

Endorsing this effort are the national committee chairmen of both political parties. It deserves universal commendation. In particular it challenges those who have criticized freedom riders on the ground that readjustment of race relations in the South should be gradual and orderly. How can that be better accomplished than by implementing the fundamental constitutional right to vote?

Cong. Rec. 5/2/62

file V.E.P

Reproduce for SRC-VEP MAIN FILE

...precisely the kind of ...mer in.

Bruce Galphin

Negro Defends Kennedy Program

Rebuttal to recent liberal criticism of the Kennedy administration for "timidity" in civil rights actions is made in the May Harper's Magazine by the distinguished Negro author Louis E. Lomax.

The import of the piece is that far from being timid, the administration is "deeply involved in an unprecedented campaign" to add hundreds of thousands of Southern Negroes to voters' rolls. And this is the area, Lomax asserts, in which the federal government can be most effective.

He hints broadly—apparently for the first time in public print—that the voter education project being administered by the Southern Regional Council with private foundation funds is only one step away from being a government-sponsored program.

When various civil rights organizations were first approached with the idea of a united, foundation-supported drive, Lomax writes, "several Negro leaders became convinced that the sponsors were unofficial emissaries from the White House."

The power of the vote is of course not a new idea in civil rights circles, nor is it an unproved theory.

But there has been a tendency, one gathers, among more militant Negroes, to view the emphasis on voting as a tactic for diverting attention from more immediate desegregation goals.

But the fact that the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, CORE and Urban League all have agreed to participate in the SRC-administered drive indicates someone has been doing a good selling job on the importance of the vote.

These are some of the points Lomax makes for the emphasis on voting:

1. The Justice department has more legal authority to proceed in voting matters than in any other civil rights area. It not only can, but has initiated numerous voting rights prosecutions—and launched even more investigations.

2. Discrimination against Negro voting generally is strongest in precisely those areas where Negroes constitute the greatest percentage of the population. Therefore any substantial increase in Negro voting in those areas would change not only the local situation but could change the complexion of Congress, thereby improving the chances of passing civil rights legislation.

3. "Voter registration is the one civil rights item white supremacists cannot afford to oppose publicly, for the right to vote is basic to the American system of government."

Lomax predicts that come the fall of 1964, President John F. Kennedy "will have more sway with the liberal voters . . . than his critics will." Anyway, the writer leaves few doubts in which direction his vote will be cast.

fee - UCP

May 8, 1962

WBranton LWDunbar

SEY EOYWY BOBHD

Here are some various things I have been meaning for some time to bring up with you. I decided the only way I could do so is to note them on paper. I will be glad to discuss any of them with you at any time you wish.

(1) You and I need to get together fairly soon to discuss the VEP budget.

(2) As you know, I have tended always to think that you should have two helpers. Perhaps when we really get rolling there will be a need for more, but I doubt that you will be able at any time to get by with less. I more than ever believe that you would do well to consider choosing one of your helpers to be a sort of combination research and field man. I think we need to be more clear than we are about the division of research responsibilities between your office and the Director of Research. Generally, I have always seen it this way: basic responsibility for SRC's research planning and subsequent publications should be over here carried on, however, with your close participation and advice; responsibility for carrying out SRC's research plans should be over here but again in intimate association with you; what we might call operations research, that is, the fact-finding needed for field programs, the assembly of statistics and other information needed for field programs, and the observation of programs should be your

responsibility primarily and the Research Director should provide only advice and services.

(3) We should give a lot of thought soon to the possibility of VEP preparing literature that could be used by all of the agencies. I notice in the minutes of the meeting of April 17 that Henry Moon brought this up again. This would be another example of the usefulness of your having on your staff a person with research and publications skills.

(4) I would like to reiterate that George Barrett can operate under your direction as long as you feel that he is needed but that when you prefer he can be reassigned and taken off your budget. I say this neither to encourage you one way or the other, but merely to emphasize that you should feel completely free to decide his status as you think best in the interest of VEP. It is, of course, possible that we can use George on other assignments as well as and at the same time as VEP and this kind of flexibility would possibly be best all around. If we do this there should be some budgetary adjustment.

(5) It seems to me imperative that files be set up on each of the places where VEP has undertaken program. As per your letters of May 4 and, of course, including the earlier Atlanta and Durham commitments. We shall have to be in a position to have some documentation in our records of what was done and what was achieved in each of these places.

(6) In the above connection, I think one of the more interesting things which came out of last week's meeting was the willingness of some of the professors to select for us graduate students who could write up local situations. I don't think you would necessarily want to do an extensive report which would require this kind of added staff in each case, but I believe you might well consider the possibility in some few cases especially if the services of the graduate students could be obtained at a reasonable cost. I think we should approach the professors with the

assumption that this is as much an opportunity for their students as it is a service to us.

(7) The Atlanta registration drive is now over. I wonder if we should not move promptly to write up a report on what has been achieved here. Some of the newspaper coverage has indicated that there have been fairly substantial gains made. If this is true, we should not lose any time in writing our report of it; especially because it could be of probable value in fund-raising.

(8) Now that we have got the 90-day wonders off, VEP needs to be drawing long-run plans. I would define this to mean plans for field programs during the remainder of this year, plans for staff and organizational preparation -- both done with an eye on 1963 and 1964.

(9) You and I should now give first priority to preparing ammemorandum for Harold Fleming indicating projects that cannot be financed with present funds at all or to the degree we would like.

file - VEP

May 8, 1962

Mr. F. Woods Beckman
5908 Magazine Road
Knoxville 20, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Beckman:

We have your letter of May 2 and I can well understand your uncertainty. Perhaps I can help if not to remove it at least to clarify it.

Our Voter Education Project is intended to supplement, not replace, the work being done by organizations already in this field, and to contribute some planning to their efforts. An organization such as Southern Christian Leadership Conference will receive, and has received, financial support through our Voter Education Project. The SCLC, however, plans to raise funds and carry on program outside our Project. Several of the other cooperating agencies do also.

Thus, if you donate directly to SCLC your money will be used in program outside our Project. You may, indeed, receive solicitations from other agencies. If you donate to the VEP directly, your money will go into its common funds and be part of the money we have available

for support of the coordinated campaign. So I think it is pretty much a matter of whether you would prefer to support a specific agency or whether you would prefer contributing to the various programs which our Project chooses to help.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

PA

F. WOODS BECKMAN
5908 MAGAZINE ROAD
KNOXVILLE 20, TENNESSEE

2 May 1962

S.R.C.
Atlanta

I have a request from Martin Luther King Jr. for a contribution to S.C.L.C for the "registration and voting educational campaign. —

Will I be solicited from all or many of the organizations working for this purpose with your leadership? — Or will you collect funds and allocate in accordance with the activities of the various organizations in this field? —

Whatever little my wife and I can contribute we would like to see that it is most effective for the purpose —

Please inform me

Yours very truly

F Woods Beckman

June 6, 1962

Mailed to:

Max Hahn
SR Currier
Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young
Chas. McDew
James Farmer
M. L. King, Jr.
HCFleming
Helen Hill Miller (Mrs.)

File Vep

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Arkansas Gazette
June 3, 1962

Wiley Branton Heads Campaign For Negro Voters

By Roy Reed
Of the Gazette Staff

WILEY BRANTON, a Negro lawyer known for his school integration lawsuits, has moved into a new line of work. He now is trying to get more Negroes registered to vote in the South. He is running a big new consolidated registration movement called the "Voter Education Program," an activity that could have as much long term significance as the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision.

Branton has been on the job since early this spring. In a few days he will move his wife and six children from Pine Bluff—the scene of his family roots for several generations—to Atlanta where he has his new office. Up to now he does not even have a complete office staff. But already the Voter Education Program can see results from its work. A handful of "crash" registration programs backed by VEP money are showing Negro registration increases that Branton calls "terrific" and long range projects are getting under way all across the South.

Branton talked about his new job last week end at Pine Bluff. He had returned to attend to business, which included a look at the Little Rock desegregation suit in which he represents the Negro parents and students. (He threatened to take the School Board back to court if it didn't desegregate faster.)

At The Capitol

The Voter Education Program was the subject of the lead article in the May issue of Harper's Magazine by Louis E. Lomax, a writer on Negro problems. Lomax sees increased registration of Negro voters as part of a two-pronged civil rights attack by President Kennedy and his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy. The other part is official government policy, pushing legal action against vote disfranchisement through the Justice Department.

The private part, voter registration education and promotion, is being pushed and financed by private foundations with money and by several established Negro action groups including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, the Congress on Racial Equality, Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee. The administrator of the program is the Southern Regional Council, an interracial group that promotes racial harmony.

The VEP is under the jurisdiction of the Southern Regional Council.

WITHOUT saying how he knows, Lomax claims that the voter registration movement is tied to the Kennedy administration just as effectively as the Justice Department's drive to abolish poll discrimination.

He wrote, "Although the public is scarcely aware of it, the Kennedy administration is now deeply involved in an unprecedented campaign to get hundreds of thousands of Southern Negroes to vote for the first time in their lives.

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He wrote, "Although the public is scarcely aware of it, the Kennedy administration is now deeply involved in an unprecedented campaign to get hundreds of thousands of Southern Negroes to vote for the first time in their lives.

"If successful, this plan will also advance those very civil rights which some of the President's critics accuse him of neglecting—in such fields as schools, housing, and jobs. And, not least important, it will help rivet the Negroes' loyalty to the Democratic Party for a long while to come."

Branton takes issue with Lomax. So far as Branton knows there is no connection between the Kennedy administration and the Voter Education Program, he said. He pointed out that the national chairmen of both the Democratic and Republican parties had endorsed the program.

In fact, the president has disappointed many liberals with his civil rights performance, Branton said. He cited Mr. Kennedy's bill to take the sting out of state literacy tests. Congress refused to pass it this spring. Mr. Kennedy declined to use the weight of his office to pass the bill and that killed it, Branton said.

The Kennedy administration is "very definitely" an improvement over the Eisenhower administration in civil rights but it has not come up to expectations, Branton said.

★ ★ ★

ASIDE FROM that, Branton could appreciate Lomax's estimate of the importance of the voter movement. This movement could change the face of the South's politics and that in turn could make big differences in Congress and its legislation. That could mean more liberal laws, including civil rights laws, Lomax says.

Lomax summed up the possibilities in a little piece of theatrical whimsy that went like this: In the first act he had 5,000 Negroes singing and praying and marching on the voter registration office at Jackson, Miss. White officials peep from the courthouse windows, horrified. Act II had Attorney General Kennedy flying to Jackson and persuading the white officials, through argument and legal action, to let the Negroes vote. Act III was a short dialogue between two Southern senators on Capitol Hill:

"First Senator: 'By God, niggers are voting in my state.'

"Second Senator: 'Hell, they are a-voting in mine too; and furthermore, they ain't niggers, they are colored citizens'."

That may be a long time coming but Branton is convinced it is on its way.

★ ★ ★

THE VEP has sampled its effectiveness in two or three places already. It funneled $3,000 into a Georgia group known as the Atlanta All Citizens Registration Committee and when the registration deadline passed May 5 Atlanta had registered almost 6,000 more Negroes than it registered last year. The VEP has put money into a similar crash program at Durham, N. C., and although Branton had no figures on it he said he understood it had been "very successful." Ninety-day registration drives are on in six states that still are registering for coming elections and reports are showing substantial increases in Negro registrants, he said. Those drives are in Louisiana, Tennessee, Mississippi, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina. Long range work will begin in Georgia and Alabama right away, he said.

In these states Negroes still find some resistance to their exercise of the ballot right. Here the VEP and local co-operating organizations will concentrate on (1) teaching Negroes the importance of voting and (2) instructing them in how to pass the literacy tests and how to surmount other obstacles placed in their way by white voting officials.

In other Southern areas—Arkansas, East Texas and Florida—Negroes find few obstacles but they need to be stimulated to get out and vote, Branton said.

The VEP probably will start a poll tax drive in Arkansas late this year or next year, he said.

Branton has no complaint about voting rights in Arkansas. He knows of no recent cases of Negroes' being kept from voting or paying poll taxes. There remains a problem of Negro indifference, however, and that's what the VEP hopes to overcome.

MEMORANDUM June 22, 1962

To: Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Mr. Maxwell Hahn

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

-:-

The Committee on Political Action (COPE) of the AFL-CIO has agreed to grant $5,000 for non-partisan voting registration work in New Orleans. The recipient will be an organization known as the Coordinating Committee.

I inform you of this as an example of cooperation which we hope to be able to effect at other times and places. The action by COPE was suggested by us and the Coordinating Committee recommended by us as the most effective agency to carry it out. We delayed undertaking any Voter Education project in New Orleans while COPE deliberated. We have agreed to maintain close observation and coordination of the New Orleans program.

As the principal donors to the Voter Education Project, we wanted you to know of this, and to know that we shall be alert to similar possibilities of drawing support from organizations with similar aims. We must still adhere to the policy, of which we have informed you, against assuming responsibility for fund-raising for the voting project. COPE is not, of course, a fund-granting organization, and it is only from such organizations as it, which have a

direct interest in enlarging the southern electorate, that we shall actively seek financial cooperation.

With best wishes,

LWD/mmj

bcc: Harold C. Fleming
W. Branton

June 22, 1962

WBranton LWDunbar

Just a reminder that we are committed to Joe Haas to inform, by some means, non-Negro organizations of the possibility of VEP help. Let's discuss some time.

-:-

LD

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • AREA CODE 215 • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

WB

If you feel the Raleigh program is worthy of consideration you might send a carbon of your letter to Bob Parker

July 13, 1962

Dr. Les Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am not sure whether Dorothy Dawson mailed you any information about the Raleigh Voter Education Project before she left. However, it just occurred to me that you should have some information on this Project for your files. I have enclosed a report that we used for the May meeting of the Southern Project Advisory Committee and a list of the students who are actually working with the Project now. The latest report from Dorothy, which was sent a few days ago, was that they have registered 700 people.

Please let me know if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Connie

Constance Curry, Director
Southern Project, NSA

CC/cl

Enclosures 2

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • Nat'l Citizens Committee for UN Day • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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EDWARD R. GARVEY
University of Wisconsin
Assistant to the President
SHEILA C. McCANN
Emmanuel College

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ROBERT P. ROBINSON
University of Illinois
Public Relations Director
SCOTT KEECH
University of California
Academic Freedom Project Director
NEAL W. JOHNSTON
University of Chicago

•

Southern Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
West Coast Office
2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California

•

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University of Oklahoma
Director of Special Exchanges
FRANK CRUMP
Columbia University

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Educational Travel, Inc.
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New York 18, New York
2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California

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fifteenth NATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS
OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY • AUGUST 19 TO AUGUST 30, 1962

REPORT ON 1962 VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT

For Southern Advisory Committee Meeting

May 31, 1962, Atlanta, Ga.

I. Dates and Location -- Raleigh, North Carolina
June 15th-August 3rd

II. Project Personnel -- Advisor, Reverend Roy G. Smith
Director, Dorothy Dawson

III. Seminar Mailing -- Beginning on April 15, letters of announcement and application forms were sent to the following groups:

A. All NSA member schools
B. All Southern members of the National Executive Committee of NSA
C. Members of the Southern Advisory Committee
D. 1961 Seminar participants
E. All students at the spring SNCC conference
F. Members of the Northern Student Movement
G. Members of Students for a Democratic Society
H. Approximately 150 individual student, faculty, and organization contacts

IV. Applications -- We received 43 applications from students, including 16 men and 26 women applicants, 28 Northerners and 14 Southerners, 10 Negroes and 32 white students, and one man from Ceylon.

V. Selections -- Members of the Selection Committee were Miss Ella Baker, Southern Student YWCA; Mr. Paul Potter, National Affairs Vice-President, NSA; Miss Constance Curry, Southern Project Director, NSA; and Miss Dorothy Dawson, Voter Registration Project Director. Selections were made with attention to experience, maturity, and potential for leadership in civil rights, and with consideration of:

A. Geographical representation (Northern or Southern)
B. Balance of men and women students
C. Balance of Negro and white students
D. Some personal interviews made by NSA staff or staff of civil rights organizations

VI. Program --
The group will be living at St. Augustine's College in Raleigh. The students will work with the Raleigh Citizens Association, which represents all Negro organizations in the city and has a Political Action Committee devoted specifically to voter registration. Their work will include the following: mapping the registered and unregistered voters, door-to-door canvassing, organizing block and precinct meetings, keeping records, disseminating information to voters about election procedures, and facilitating registration through car pools and baby-sitting.

Raleigh is a town of approximately 94,000 people, 25,000 of whom are Negro. Only 4,000 Negro citizens are registered, and it is estimated that 500 of these names are not current. The books will be open throughout the summer.

List of Participants - see other list
(tentative)

Mr. Jimmy Lee Bennett, awaiting re-instatement to Southern U.
Miss Kathryn F. Calhoun, Swarthmore College
Mr. Jack Cannon, Weber College in Utah
Miss Ann Cook, Sarah Lawrence College
Miss Brenda E. Dean, Denison University
Miss Sharon Jeffrey, University of Michigan
Mr. Andrew Miller, Johns Hopkins University
Miss Jane Phillips, Immaculate Heart College
Miss Martha Prescod, University of Michigan
Mr. Ray Raphael, Reed College
Mr. Tracy V. Rogers, Talladega College
Mr. Charles Siler, awaiting re-instatement to Southern University
Miss Jane Stembridge, Union Theological Seminary
Mr. Willie J. Thomas, University of Ohio
Mr. Walton E. Ward, University of Tennessee

PROPOSED BUDGET
for
Voter Registration Project

Income:

Marshall Field Foundation (left over from the grant of 1959-1961)	$2,731.17
Voter Education Project	1.140.00
TOTAL	$3,871.17

Expenditures

Insurance for participants	$ 60.00
Room and Board at St. Augustine's College	1,350.00
General Administration (postage, telephone, etc.)	35.00
Advisor's travel	200.00
Local Transportation in Raleigh	76.17
Educational Materials and Speakers	250.00
Recreation (weekend trip)	140.00
Honorarium for Advisor	200.00
Personal Expenses for Students (laundry, haircuts, etc.)	560.00
Travel for Students to and from Project	1,000.00
TOTAL	$3,871.17

VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT

PARTICIPANTS' ADDRESSES

CARLETON COLLEGE (Minn.)
Mr. Robert Althauser
c/o Carleton College
Northfield, Minn. (till June 11)
or
6815 Glendora Ave.
Dallas 38, Texas (after June 11)

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY (La.)
Mr. Jimmy Lee Bennett
728 Plum Street
Minden, La.

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE (Pa.)
Miss Kathryn Calhoon
104 Pine Lane
Chapel Hill, N. C.

WEBER COLLEGE (Utah)
Mr. Jack Cannon
2559 Grammercy
Ogden, Utah

DENISON UNIVERSITY (Ohio)
Miss Brenda Dean
Huffman Hall, Denison Univ.
Granville, Ohio (till June 11)
or
1346 Otis Place N.W.
Washington 10, D. C. (after June 11)

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
Miss Sharon Jeffrey
1210 Washtenaw
Ann Arbor, Mich. (till June 12)
or
10045 Grandville
Detroit, Mich. (after June 12)

~~BEREA COLLEGE (Ky.)~~
~~Mr. Gerald Mitchell~~
~~1309 Arapahoe St.~~
~~Massilon, Ohio~~

IMMACULATE HEART COLLEGE (Calif.)
Miss Jane Phillips
2344 West 30th St.
Los Angeles 18, Calif.

REED COLLEGE (Oregon)
Mr. Ray Raphael
14 East 75th St.
New York 21, N. Y.

TALLADEGA COLLEGE (Ala.)
Mr. Tracy Rogers
527 Malain St.
New Iberia, La.

RADCLIFFE COLLEGE (Mass.)
Miss Susan Schwartz
1823 Asylum Ave.
West Hartford, Conn.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
Miss Jane Stembridge
45 Greenbrier Apts.
Lynchburg, Va.

~~TALLADEGA COLLEGE (Ala.)~~
~~Miss Jo Ann Tyler~~
~~7755 S. Langley St.~~
~~Chicago 19, Ill.~~

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
Mr. E. Walton Ward
Route 11
Kingsport, Tenn.

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE AT DURHAM
Mr. Ira L. Williams
501 Umstead St.
Durham, North Carolina

HIGH SCHOOL -- LOUISVILLE
Miss Nancy Pennicks

LD.
~~W13~~ -

if this is approved,
I would suggest you
consider prayerfully the
need for $3000 travel
allowance for partisans.
Don't they have expense
account? ~~SL~~

Wiley Branton, Harold Letts, J. Oscar Lee July 16, 1962
Leslie W. Dunbar, George Barrett

Will D. Campbell

RECEIVED
JUL 17 1962

Voter Education Manual

I. Introduction.

Within the next few months the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches will publish a manual on voter education intended for the use of local congregations. (See memo dated July3 , 1962.)

In order to make the most effective use of this manual the Southern Office of the Department proposes to convene a consultation of Southern bishops and high level denominational officials for the purpose of discussing with them what role they might play in promoting voter registration in their conferences and judicatories.

We do not view this conference as a training session in techniques and methods, but rather as an effort to get unanimous commitment and cooperation from denominational officials who have direct access to local congregations and with whom some concentrated program may be planned. A great deal of work has been accomplished through local churches in voter registration, but it has not had the active support needed to make it a phase of denominational structure and program.

II. Goals.

The consultation would have the following goals:

1. To stimulate an interest in voter registration in a group which has considerable influence and power among deep South Negro citizens, a resource and vehicle largely untapped at present.

2. To inform bishops and other clergy as to the full significance of mass voter registration in the whole field of civil rights.

3. To challenge them to the point of direct involvement in the total voter education project by making voter registration an integral part of their promotional program. I. e., voter registration should now take its place as a promotional item along with evangelism, stewardship, missions, etc.

3. To organize a continuing committee which might make reports, follow-up suggestions, set goals, make awards, issue releases, etc.

5. To encourage the ecumenical movement by bringing top level clergymen together on an issue of mutual concern.

III. Agenda and program.

It is proposed that there be established an ad hoc committee com-

George Barrett

posed of such Nashville leaders as Bishop B. W. Doyle and Bishop Charles F. Golden who would serve as honorary hosts and would assist in planning the program. Following one or two formal presentations, the work would be done by small groups, possibly along the different denominational lines, who would make suggestions, reports, declarations of intention, and recommendations to the plenary session.

Some political figure known for his interest in civil rights (Senator Douglas, Senator Javits, Congressman Diggs, etc.), would be asked to set the basic theme, stressing the importance of full citizenship participation. A clergyman of the stature of Dr. GayrandWilmore of Pittsburg Theological Seminary, Dr. Howard Thurmond of Boston University, or Dr. William Faulkner of Chicago may be asked to address the group on moral and theological dimensions of the problem. A service of dedication and commitment would conclude the program. This service might be held in the Upper Room Chapel of the Methodist Board of Evangelism. It might be desirable also to have either Mr. Branton or Mr. Barrett spend some time with the group in interperting the over-all picture in the South and suggesting ways in which churches can fit into the total picture.

IV. Location.

The consultation would probably be held in Nashville, Tennessee.

V. Number.

No more than forty people should be invoàved, representing those communions with large Negro memberships in the South. There are two bishops in the African Methodist Episcopal Church with conferences in the South, seven A. M. E. Zion, five Christian Methodist Episcopal, and five in the Methodist Church, Central Juresdiction. Presidents of the BaptistsConventions, moderators, presidents, etc. from other groups would also be included. Each official would be asked to name one key leader to accompany him, preferrably one with literature publication or public relations responsibilities. Certain race relations officials from the denominations should also be invited to participate.

VI. Time.

It is proposed that the consultation be held in the date fall of 1962.

VII. Budget.

In order to gain the best possible attendance, it is felt that travel and entertainment expenses should be provided for the participants. Administration of the consultation including secretarial assistance, would be borne by this office. The following budget is proposed:

A.	Travel for forty participants-- (Approximately $75.00 each)	$3,000.00
B.	Travel and expenses for five guest speakers and leaders. (Approximately $125.00 each)	$625.00
C.	Lodging and meals-- (Approximately $10.00 per day)	400.00

George Garrett

D. Supplies, postage, telephone, etc.	$300.00
E. Miscellaneous expenses	$100.00
Total budget--	$4,425.00

Request is hereby made to the Voter Education Project for a grant in the amount of $4,425.00 to be used in holding the above described consultation.

Either Dr. J. O. Lee of the New York office or I will be glad to discuss this proposal with you at your convenience.

The Augusta Chronicle
The South's Oldest Newspaper - Established 1785
AUGUSTA HERALD

2B Sunday, July 29, 1962

Behavior that hurts Georgia

After reading of an incident that occurred Wednesday night in rural Terrell County, we know why some Americans regard Georgians as backward and bigoted.

The affair took place in a small church at Sasser, Ga., where some 40 Negroes had gathered to receive an explanation of how to register to vote.

State Editor Bill Shipp of The Atlanta Constitution, a newspaper man whose integrity is known to us to be beyond question, was present and reported what occurred. What he saw and heard should mortify any Georgian who possesses a spark of decency or a shred of honor.

Shipp reported that Terrell County Sheriff Z. T. Mathews and two of his deputies, along with about 15 white citizens whom the sheriff said were "getting disturbed" over "these secret meetings," stormed into the church just as the opening prayer had been concluded and broke up the gathering. Some of the men were wearing their hats and smoking cigarets inside the church. They took the names of all those present, including the newsmen.

★ ★ ★

That an "outside agitator" — a white youth from Massachusetts—was conducting the meeting could have been a motivating factor behind the sheriff's action, although the paucity of Negro voters in Terrell County would suggest that the official simply is opposed to Negro voters. In any event, we cannot condone the methods employed by Sheriff Mathews, and we deplore his comment that "we're getting mighty fed up . . . with this voter registration business."

The sheriff must certainly know —or he should know—that voting is a constitutionally guaranteed right of any citizen who can qualify to cast a ballot. Not even a sheriff may deny that right.

★ ★ ★

The Chronicle - Herald is not unaware of the efforts of "outside agitators" to foment strife and discord. We have expressed our distaste for these professional troublemakers, and we have read the testimony of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover that members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., are doing all they possibly can to exploit the Negro in furtherance of party aims.

But there is no denying the stark fact that in 1960 there were 4,533 white persons and 8,209 Negroes in Terrell County, yet 2,894 whites were registered to vote as opposed to only 51 Negroes.

This fact, and the fact, too, that the Terrell County Board of Registrars is currently under federal court order prohibiting discrimination against Negro voter applicants seem to underscore the crassness of Sheriff Mathews' assertion that he broke into the church meeting because "we want our colored people to stay just like they have been for the last 100 years — peaceful and happy."

★ ★ ★

No matter how the sheriff attempts to justify his actions and words, the point is that few persons will understand why he found it necessary to take a delegation of civilians with him, or why he permitted them to desecrate a church.

They may even wonder if he condoned the childish behavior of some of his "posse" in letting the air from the tires on the automobile of one of the newspaper men.

September 24, 1962

Mr. Adrian W. DeWind
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Bill:

I am enclosing the first status report of the Voters Education Project which I would like for you to have. Please be discreet in showing it to others.

As always, we would be interested in any comments or suggestions you may have.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosure: #13

file
VETP

12-5-62

Wiley Branton Leslie Dunbar

Washington Meeting

So that I can finally throw away my pencilled notes on our September meeting in Washington, I would like to record a couple of items which came out of that conference. I know that you have considered them and I believe you have decided not to act on them, for justified reasons. I suspect, however, we may hear of them again and should, therefore, be prepared to speak to them.

1) The proposal that we coordinate an audience with the President to emphasize the terroristic conditions in some of the Black Belt.

2) Fleming's proposal for widespread and advance publicity for a voting campaign in a hard core county.

3) This was not exactly a suggestion but you will recall John Brooks statement that what he needed was money for additional field personnel.

PROPOSED BUDGET _ VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Salaries:	Director	$15,000.	
	(2) Fld. Csts.	17,000.	
	Secretary	4,000.	$36,000.00
Social Security Taxes			485.00
Initial Staff Costs (moving expenses, etc.)			1,500.00
Travel			12,000.00
Rent (@140 mo.)			1,680.00
Office Supplies			600.00
Telephone & Telegraph			2,400.00
Postage			600.00
Staff Benefits			600.00
Consultant Fees & Travel			2,500.00
Books, Subscriptions & Research Materials			600.00
Printing			2,000.00
Accounting			600.00
Miscellaneous			500.00
		TOTAL	$62,065.00

Total Expenses of Project to April 1, 1962	$7,000.00 (appx.);
9/12ths of total annual budget of 62,065	46,548.00
10 % overhead for SRC	6,200.00
Research Costs	5,000.00
TOTAL ANTICIPATED EXPENSES 1962	$64,748.00

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT - 1962

	CORE	NAACP	NUL	SCLC	SNCC	LOCAL & OTHER
GA.				State Wide		Atlanta E. Baton Rouge Parish
LA.	Baton Rouge City	Shreveport Baton Rouge City Lake Charles Monroe		Shreveport Caddo Parish		
MISS.	Jackson	Jackson			Jackson Marshall Co. 3rd Cong. 4th Cong. Hattiesburg	
N.C.		High Point Fayetteville Charlotte Rocky Mount Wilmington Edenton	Winston-Salem	Chowan Co. Eliz. City		Durham Raleigh (N.S.A.)
S.C.	6th Cong. Clarendon Co. Sumter Co. York Co.	Beaufort Columbia Greenville Charleston		Charleston	Orangeburg Co.	Davidson & 3 contiguous counties Jackson (A.F.S.C.)
TENN.		Memphis Fayette Co. Haywood Co. Knoxville Chattanooga Clarksville		Knoxville Chattanooga		
VA.			Richmond	4th Cong.		

Attachment "B" - VEP's 1st Status Report

January 4, 1963

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

On March 29, 1962, the Field Foundation granted $75,000 for a one-year period in support of the Voter Education Project. The first year of the Project will end March 31, 1963, and we are accordingly placing before you now this request for additional assistance.

Attachment A is a synoptic financial statement for the Project's operations to date. The Project's receipts and expenditures as of December 31, 1962 will be included in our annual audit, which will be forwarded to you when completed.

Attachment B is the Project's first status report, which was previously submitted to you. Attachment C is a revision, in part, of pages 7-8 of that report, showing results of the Project's first series of field programs (VEP-1). Attachment D is a revision of pages 16-17 of the report, showing data on the Project's second series of programs (VEP-2).

During the first months of operations, highly capable and respected staff has been recruited for

the Project. Mr. Wiley A. Branton, of Pine Bluff, (Ark.), one of the country's leading civil rights attorneys, is Project Director. He is assisted by Jack E. Minnis, who expects shortly to receive his Ph.D. in political science from Tulane University; and - after February 1, 1963 - by Randolph T. Blackwell, now Associate Professor of Political Science at Alabama M. & N. College a law graduate of Howard University, and an experienced registration worker. The need for another staff member to assure adequate field supervision and program planning is being considered. Mrs. Jean Levine is administrative secretary.

We hope that you will find time to review Attachment C carefully. We think that the results, set forth there, are highly encouraging. By the end of the Project year we shall compile the results of the second series of programs (VEP-2), and shall forward them to you. We realize that in an off-year spectacular registration results cannot be expected; nevertheless, we anticipate that the record will again, despite some unevenness, show steady and strong progress.

In planning program, a basic question has been the division of effort between areas of small legal and social resistance, where quantitatively large results can be anticipated; and hard core areas of intense resistance. In the nature of things, there has been and will be a greater investment in the former. We have, nevertheless, believed that where, in hard core areas, there exists a willingness to work and a viable organization, that the Project should assist, not with expectation of quick results but because of the political and psychological gains that may be realized, and because such activity may supply the occasion for federal suits that strengthen voting rights. We intend to continue this general policy. We are, however, carefully studying the feasibility of selecting a couple or more relatively liberal areas for large scale, almost saturation efforts.

In addition to results, these early months have been a period of preparation. The organizations doing the field work are strengthening their procedures and structure, and learning from experience; and, it may as well be noted, with the exception of some veterans such as the NAACP or the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, learning has been required. The Project has

itself brought a few organizations into existence; e.g., the Council of Federated Organizations (Miss.) and the Jefferson County Voter Registration Campaign (Ala.). What we are working toward is sound, south-wide preparation and organization in readiness for 1964, when popular interest in the Presidential election should enhance the chances for large registration increases.

The Project is, as you know, conceived as a research enterprise. This underlying purpose has been pursued to date chiefly by prescribing and collecting field reports, and by extensive statistical collection and analysis. The reporting methods in use are inadequate, and the enlargement of Project staff will now make possible much more attentive observation and reporting. We have also now before the Rockefeller Foundation a proposal which, if granted, would permit the enlistment of academic scholars to contribute to Project field reporting and the other research processes of the Project. (The proposal is for funds which would be paid wholly to universities for the cost of work in conjunction with V. E. P.). We mention this, not from any assurance that the proposal will be approved, but as one aspect of research planning. We are currently engaged in a restatement of research design, and a copy of this will be sent to you when completed, within the next several weeks.

At the Project's inception, with an assured income for the first year of $262,000, we budgeted:

$187,692 -- for grants-in-aid
64,615 -- for Project operations
9,693 -- for S.R.C. overhead

This initial budget was, of course, made without benefit of experience, and allocation of funds will be reconsidered in preparing the second year's budget.

As you can see from Attachment A, however, grants-in-aid during the first months of the Project have been at approximately the budgeted rate. On the whole, we have found that this represents what seems to be a more or less optimum level for the present time, unless Project staff available for supervising field work could be enlarged beyond present budget expectations.

We are, however, convinced that the Project, in order to achieve the hopes and purposes of its sponsors and agents, requires financing that will permit (a) Project continuance into the Fall of 1964; and (b) grants-in-aid during the latter half of 1963 and 1964 at a higher rate than at present.

In considering the renewal of its grant, we hope that the Field Foundation will consider the amount and duration of its grant in light of the above.

We are, as always, grateful to the Foundation for its strong support to the cause of equal opportunity and southern advancement.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

ATTACHMENT A

Grants Received or Committed

Field Foundation	$ 75,000	for a one-year period
Taconic Foundation	250,000	" " two-year period
Stern Family Fund	124,000	" " two-year period
Other	3,649.49	

Grants-in-Aid from the Voter Education Project Committed as of January 5, 1963

VEP-1.:

All-Citizens Registration Committee	$ 3,600	
Durham Committee on Negro Affairs	2,500	
Congress of Racial Equality	8,625	
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	11,500	
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee	6,375	
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	17,250	
National Urban League	5,750	
Davidson County Intependent Political Council	3,000	
National Student Association	1,140	
American Friends Service Committee	2,000	
Federated Organization for the Cause of Unlimited Self-Development	1,000	
Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting	1,500	
Total		$ 64,240

VEP-2.:

Congress of Racial Equality	$12,800
Womanpower Unlimited (Mississippi)	1,000
Albany (Georgia) Movement	4,000
Council of Federated Organizations (Mississippi)	14,000
Greater Little Rock Voter Registration Campaign	2,000
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	15,700
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee	5,254
National Urban League	4,382
Jefferson County Voter Registration Campaign (Birmingham)	9,000
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	22,000
Madison County Coordinating Committee (Ala.)	1,200

Attachment A - continued
Page 2

All Citizens Registration Committee of Northern Virginia	$ 200		
Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters	4,000		
Total		$ 95,536	
Grand Total			$159,776

Expenditures of V.E.P. Office for 1962	$ 41,611.26
Overhead Payment to S.R.C. for 1962	$ 7,269.18

ATTACHMENT C

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
Crash Program Results

Agency	Location	Number of Voters Registered
Alabama Coordinating Association	40 Alabama Counties	1,742
All Citizens Registration Committee	Atlanta, Georgia	5,015
American Friends Service Committee	Jackson, Tennessee	969
CORE	Bishopville, South Carolina	293
	Sumter, South Carolina	1,099
CORE-NAACP	Baton Rouge, La., (1st Ward)	104
	Jackson, Mississippi	61
Durham Committee on Negro Affairs	Durham, North Carolina	3,700
Federated Organization for the Cause of Unlimited Self-Development	Baton Rouge, Louisiana (2nd Ward)	297
NAACP	Beaufort, South Carolina	423
	Columbia, South Carolina	349
	Greenville, South Carolina	150
	Clarksville, Tennessee	1,162
	Memphis, Tennessee	4,154
	Fayette/Haywood Counties, Tennessee	63
NAACP-SCLC	Charleston, South Carolina	1,135
	Chattanooga, Tennessee	1,800
	Knoxville, Tennessee	1,123
National Student Association	Raleigh, North Carolina	1,641
National Urban League	Winston-Salem, North Carolina	147

Attachment C - continued
Page 2

Agency	Location	Number of Voters Registered
SCLC	Ware, Liberty, Noxubee and Wilkes Counties	0
	Shreveport, Louisiana	137
	Chowan and Pasquotank Counties, North Carolina	250
	4th Congressional District, Virginia	3,100
SNCC	Jackson, Mississippi and the Delta	41
	Total Registered in Crash Programs	28,955

ATTACHMENT D

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
List of Grants
As of January 5, 1963
(Grants for Period August 1, 1962 - March 31, 1963)

Agency	Location	Total Amount of Grant
Congress of Racial Equality	Miami and Dade County, Florida $2,800	
	Pointe Coupee, Iberville, W. Baton Rouge, Washington, W. Feliciana, E. Feliciana, St. Helena, Tangipahoa, E. Baton Rouge (1st Ward only) Parishes, Louisiana $4,000	
	6th Congressional District, York, Sumter, Spartanburg, Clarendon, Fairfield Counties, South Carolina $6,000	$12,800
Womanpower Unlimited	Mississippi	1,000
The Albany Movement	Albany, Georgia	4,000
Council of Federated Organizations	Mississippi - primarily the Delta	14,000
Greater Little Rock Voter Registration Campaign	Little Rock, Arkansas	2,000
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	Caddo, Claiborne, DeSoto, Bienville, Webster Parishes, Louisiana $3,400	
	Etowah, Calhoun, Montgomery Counties, Alabama $2,000	

Agency	Location	Total Amount of Grant
	Tallahassee, Florida $ 600	
	Chattanooga, Tennessee $ 700	
	Chowan, Pasquotank, Northhampton, Bertie, Hertford Counties, North Carolina $2,000	
	Amelia, Appomattox, Brunswick, Dinwiddie, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nottoway, Powhatan, Prince George, Southampton Counties and Petersburg and Hopewell, Virginia $3,000	
	Bulloch, Mitchell, Sumter, Spaulding, Dekalb, Rockdale, Telfair, Hall, Greene, Morgan, Wilkes Counties and Columbus, Rome and Waycross, Georgia $4,000	$15,700
SNCC	Terrell, Peach, Marion, Lee, Early, Baker, Worth, Randolph, Calhoun Counties, Georgia $4,554	
	Orangeburg, South Carolina $ 700	5,254
National Urban League	Fort Worth, Texas	4,382
Jefferson County Voter Registration Campaign	Birmingham and Jefferson Counties, Alabama	9,000

Agency	Location	Total Amount of Grant
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	Louisiana - 5th Congressional District $3,000 Florida - Volusia, Broward, Alachua, Polk, Duval, Columbia, Orange, Bay, Escambia, Hillsborough, Pinellas, Polk Counties $6,000 North Carolina - Mecklenburg, Edgecombe-Nash, New Hanover Counties $4,000 South Carolina - Richland County $1,000 Tennessee - Hardeman, Haywood, Montgomery Tipton, Knox, Shelby, Fayette, Lauderdale $5,000 Virginia - Buckingham, Cumberland, Greensville, Prince Edward, Isle of Wight, Nansemond, Surry, Sussex counties, and Fredericksburg, Portsmouth, Roanoke, and Suffolk City $3,000	$22,000
Madison County Coordinating Committee	Huntsville, Alabama	1,200
All Citizens Registration Committee of Northern Virginia	Alexandria, Arlington, Fairfax, Loudoun, Prince William, Warren, Clark, and Fauquier Counties	200

Attachment D - continued
Page 4

Agency	Location	Total Amount of Grant
Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters	Chatham County $3,000	
	Liberty, McIntosh, Screven, Burke, Tatnall, Emanuel, Bryan, and Long Counties $1,000	4,000.00
		$95,536.00

RTB
JM
JL
JS

CORRECTED
VEP Financial Statement
As of January 16 1963

RECEIPTS:

Brought forward from December 10, 1962		$201,002.86
1/2/63 - Taconic grant	$65,000.00	
Individual donor (12/17/62)	10.00	
Local donations - VEP 2-21	2,314.46	
		67,324.46
TOTAL RECEIPTS		$268,327.32

DISBURSEMENTS:

Grants made by VEP to date	$134,611.54	
Reimbursed VEP 2-21	2,314.46	
Overhead to date	49,514.78	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS		186,440.78
VEP BANK BALANCE TO DATE		$ 81,886.54

ENCUMBERED FOR FUTURE GRANTS:

12/5/62	VEP 2-21 (Hold)	$ 3,000.00
1/1/63	VEP 2-18 (Hold)	7,850.00
1/15/63	VEP 2-22 (Hold)	11,000.00
2/10/63	VEP 2-25	1,000.00
3/10/63	VEP 2-25	1,000.00
TOTAL		$ 23,850.00

FOUNDATION GRANTS PLEDGED FOR 1963

Taconic Foundation	$125,000.00	
Stern Family Fund	62,000.00	
TOTAL PLEDGED		$187,000.00

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

January 18, 1963

Mr. Bob Repas, Asst. Professor
School of Labor and Industrial
Relations
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Mr. Repas:

Mr. Dunbar has asked that I reply to your letter of January 11th, inquiring about conditions in the Mississippi Delta. I spent three days in and around Clarksdale, Mississippi, last week conferring with people who are involved in the Civil Rights movement there.

I should like to be able to give you precise figures on the number of deprived families who are in desperate need of assistance. Unfortunately, I do not have such figures, nor I suspect, does anyone else. The people who are working with Mr. Aaron Henry, Fourth Street Drug Store, Clarksdale, have assembled a file of applications from people who need assistance. I do not know the exact number of applications they have taken, but I believe it would be in the neighborhood of 150. I would imagine these 150 applications represent somewhere between 700 and 1,000 people, and this number refers only to Coahoma County.

Similar circumstances exist in at least half-a-dozen other counties in the Mississippi area. In at least one county, Leflore, the county governing body has refused to participate in the distribution of federal surplus commodities. In those counties in which federal commodities are distributed, the programs are under the direct control of local white officials. Such officials are able to play off the desperate need of the people against their desire to vote, so long as the whites control distribution of the federal largesse. It is extremely difficult actually to document any connection between the deprivation of the right to vote and the distribution of federal commodities; However, responsible persons, both Negro and white, with whom I discussed this matter, have no doubt there is a connection. They speak of it as a fact, and not as speculation.

An active, continuing and determined drive to get Negroes registered to vote in the Mississippi Delta has been going on for the past thirteen months. You ask has the registration program run into any particular problems. I can assure you that the program has run into every problem which the white authorities could devise. These problems range from outright physical violence to registration workers, through arrests and trials and convictions on spurious criminal charges and the loss of jobs

and credit, to slow-down tactics by registrars themselves - even the outright refusal of registrars to accept registration applications, and the refusal of sheriffs to accept payments of Poll Tax. The whites in Mississippi who do not want Negroes to vote have the benefit of several generations of experience in preventing Negro political participation, and they are extremely effective in bringing this experience to bear every day. Their determination to prevent Negroes from voting is equaled only by the determination of the Negroes to register and vote.

The genesis of the present destitution of Negro families in and around the Clarksdale area appears to lie in a series of natural occurances. As I understand it, it has been an extremely dry year in the cotton producing areas, and the drought caused the cotton to mature about two months earlier than usual. This meant that a large number of Negro families whose subsistence throughout the year is dependent upon that last two months of cotton chopping are now faced with the problem of feeding, clothing and housing themselves without money, and without the prospect of jobs. Then, too, I understand that the unusually wide-spread use of machines for picking the cotton has added to the Negroes' difficulty.

I have attempted to give you here an objective appraisal of all I have observed on two field trips to the Clarksdale area, one recently and one in the early fall. My own personal observations have been, of course, supplemented by the reports of the registration workers which come into our office on a regular monthly basis. If the foregoing appears to be emotion-laden, please be assured that emotions have had nothing to do with observing and reporting conditions as they exist.

I hope this will be of some help to you, and if we can be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Best regards,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

Encl.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

February 5, 1963

To: Members of the Executive Committee
From: Leslie W. Dunbar

You will recall that at several meetings last year the staff was questioned on its formulation of research plans for the Voter Education Project. The subject was also discussed from the floor at the Annual Meeting.

We have now sufficient experience with our material and with our reactions to that material to describe our ideas, goals, and methods more narrowly.

The staff has just concluded a re-statement of research plans, and I send it to you attached.

We are not planning to put discussion of this on the agenda of the February, 1962 meeting. I am sure, however, that there will be time for discussion if any of you wish to bring it up. Wiley Branton, Jack Minnis, Staige Blackford, and I would be delighted to have your comments or suggestions at any time.

I am sending copies of this also to the following members of the Council, all of whom are social scientists, and am similarly inviting their study and comment:

Bell I. Wiley, Professor of History, Emory University
B. R. Brazeal, Dean, Morehouse College
C. G. Gomillion, Chairman, Division of Social Science, Tuskegee
Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina
Robert J. Harris, Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University

February, 1963

A STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH AIMS AND METHODS OF THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

I. BACKGROUND

A. Before undertaking the Voter Education Project, the Southern Regional Council applied for and obtained a favorable ruling from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, holding that the Project was consistent with SRC's tax-exemption. In letters to the Commissioner, dated December 14, 1961 and February 9, 1962, the Project was described. The following statements, excerpted from those letters, define the research objectives:

> 1. The purpose of the Project is to enable the Council to promote and to study and evaluate methods for teaching and encouraging exercise of the right to register and vote in areas in the South which, from the Council's past research, are known to be comparatively lowest in registration and voting. The work will necessarily largely involve the Negro population.
>
> 2. The purpose of the Project is to develop educational programs which will be most effective in providing voters with the knowledge and will to register.
>
> 3. Upon the completion of the Project... a report, analysis and evaluation of the Project will be published. Such publication will describe the Project and recommend, on the basis of Project experience, the best methods of education designed to overcome low voter

registration in the various geographic and cultural areas of the South.

B. From the foregoing, it is clear that

1. VEP shall not only study registration efforts, but shall promote them for the purposes of study.

2. VEP is specifically to work and research in areas "known to be comparatively lowest in registration and voting." Indeed, this is stated almost as an exclusive interest. This was not, however, intended to be the case and the fuller context of the application amply shows that.

3. Research includes voting, as well as registration, experience.

4. This is primarily experimental research, through which VEP seeks to develop effective prcgrams.

5. Recommendations, therefore, are to constitute a large part of the research product.

II. OBJECTIVES

V.E.P. is substantially the largest research ever undertaken by the Council. The resulting publication will be, unlike the usual SRC release, of book length.

Nevertheless, we do not intend nor should we, to depart from the established objectives of SRC research and publishing. These are:

(a) to inform national opinion accurately and with sound interpretation;

(b) as a special end, to inform southern leaders, both directly and through the press;

(c) to contribute to the formulation of public policies.

Stated this way, there is nothing to preclude research done according to the exacting standards of the social sciences. We do, however, need to keep in mind that the three objectives set out above do preclude the statement of research findings in such ways as require interpretation or translation: our business is to speak directly to the public.

Moreover, our business is to address ourselves to the concerns of public policy, and not to those of social science. As do any disciplines, the social sciences have developed problems which are largely intra-mural in their interest. All the issues of public policy are of interest to the social sciences; the reverse is neither obviously nor probably so. The VEP will not, therefore, seek to serve social science in such ways as the refinement of methodologies or the verification of statistical probabilities.

III. RESEARCH PROBLEM

The research problem of the VEP might be re-stated as:

> A study of the effectiveness of organized effort - political activity in the broadest sense - in attacking the cause of low registration in the various sections of the South.

Stated this way, the relationship between the VEP and the Matthews-Prothro work is made more obvious. For the, after close and exhaustive analysis of the social and economic variables of registration, raise the question of the relative importance of these variables, on the one side, against political and legal factors and organized Negro and white supremacist activity on the

other. The following is quoted from their paper at the Duke University Conference of July 12 - 14, 1962:*

> We have seen that both social and economic factors and political and legal factors are associated with Negro voter registration in the 11 southern states. Which type of factor is more important in shaping Negro registration rates?
>
> ...In so far as statistical analysis will answer such a broad and complex question, it would appear that political variables are of about equal importance to socio-economic ones.
>
> . . .
>
> Moreover, our analysis suggests that substantial changes in the level of Negro voter registration can be attained by political and legal means. It is not necessary to await the arrival of basic social and economic change before attempting, with reasonable expectations of moderate success, to enfranchise more southern Negroes. The abolition of the poll tax and modification of literacy requirements to assure fair treatment of Negroes might enhance the southwide vote of Negro registration by 10 or more percentage points. Encouraging the candidacy of politicians -- both Negro and white -- who are favorable to the Negro cause should bring out many more Negro votes, even when they have little chance of success. Finally, heightened organizational efforts by Negroes would increase Negro registration levels over what they would otherwise be. All of these reforms would have a positive effect on Negro registration rates without waiting for massive social and economic change.

---

*"Negro Voter Registration in the South."

VEP can, of course, only take note of and seek to analyze and evaluate legal changes and political candidacies. This will be done. But the "heightened organizational efforts" spoken of by Matthews and Prothro is VEP's special problem. VEP is experimental research, where by organized methods VEP will seek to make the findings set down as objectives in the I.R.S. letters quoted above.

Moreover, the political process is a primary means by which the social and economic benefits of society are distributed. The social and economic variables and the political and legal variables do not, therefore, represent the two sides of a dichotomy. Rather, they represent the two phases of a process in which, at any given moment, existing social and economic conditions are conducive to or permissive of certain political and legal innovations; and they, in turn, will have their effect in altering the social and economic conditions.

The VEP will accept the Matthews-Prothro analysis as the latest authoritative study of the social and economic variables. The Matthews-Prothro analysis of racial attitudes will also be assumed,* except where explicitly questioned.

The various parts of the re-statement above may be separately considered:

(a) "a study of the effectiveness of organized effort"

VEP is dealing with a wide variety of organizations -- all devoted to civil rights -- including national organizations such as

*"Southern Racial Attitudes: Conflict, Awareness, and Political Change," Annals of the American Academy. November 1962.

NAACP, the National Urban League, CORE;

a regional body, the

Southern Christian Leadership Conference;

and the unique

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee;

including also a large number of local organizations, ranging from such sophisticated groups as

All-Citizens Registration Committee (Atlanta)

Durham (N.C.) Committee on Negro Affairs

to inexperienced groups such as

Federated Organization for the Cause of Unlimited Self-Development (FOCUS) - Baton Rouge;

the organizations include also ad hoc ones that VEP helped bring into existence, such as

Council of Federated Organizations (Miss.)

Jefferson County (Ala.) Voters Campaign;

and popular crusades such as the

Albany (Ga.) Movement.

The organizations differ greatly - in their structure, their attitudes, their methods of work, their uses of publicity, and their reputations. All of these differences are deserving of study, and of some critique as to effectiveness. The VEP should not shirk the opportunity of contributing some informed evaluations of the varieties of organized Negro political activity, at this still

formative period of a relatively new development that will undoubtedly persist and grow, long after the dramatic controversies of civil rights have been ended.

Some organizations tend to work in different local situations, and this is usually a matter of deliberate choice on their part. This, itself, raises an issue of research interest, because the choices represent, to some degrees, divergent views of strategy. One view favors a concentrated, almost sole, effort in the more liberal locales, where the barriers are essentially only the apathy or alienation of Negroes. The other inclines toward work in the heavily resistant, Black Belt locales. Evaluation of these two approaches merely in terms of new registrants would be pointless, because those will undoubtedly be comparatively few in the resistant areas. The work there, however, represents a strongly held belief that political leverage can be realized by token gains, by opening the bottle, by laying the basis for court suits, by stimulating national publicity, by exposing the crudity of the segregationists' methods, and most of all, by providing the initial opportunity for residents to organize themselves. VEP cannot hope to evaluate such work quantitatively, but the notion that social science is confined to quantitative findings is a recent one, and perhaps not an unrelenting tenet. In fact, nearly all interesting social study of a quantitative sort has had to be given stimulus and direction by preceding observation, analysis, and interpretation of disciplined minds.

Another matter of great interest will be the observation of the effectiveness of local groups. As mentioned above, these include both the experienced and the inexperienced. Some operate with the support -- of various sorts -- of national and regional organizations (other than VEP), and some without.

(b) "political activity in the broadest sense."

The VEP is wisely restricted to work with non-partisan groups and efforts. Registration itself is, however, a political act, and each registration contributes a mite of influence on political alignments and decisions. How much, however, is that influence, how does it work, and to whose benefit in the differing situations of the South, and at differing levels of total white and total Negro registration? Such questions as the following are interesting:

1. does the simple act of Negro registration, or knowledge of the existence of an organized effort to stimulate registration, provoke response, of any ascertainable kind, from officials or from official bodies or from private whites?

2. does increased Negro registration stimulate white registration <u>and</u> voting?

3. what ascertainable increase in Negro voting is produced by increased Negro registration?

4. what are the repercussions of increased Negro registration, or organized efforts to that end, on national politics and policies?

(c) "in attacking the causes of low registration in the various sections of the South."

A great deal of research has been done in the past, some by SRC, some by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, and some by academic scholars, on the causes of low registration. These have been generally concluded to be:

1. outright governmental prohibition of Negro registration (since the outlawing of the white primary this has ended as an openly acknowledged practice and, for the most part, has ended in practice, though a few isolated instances persist where local authorities, without pretense otherwise, will not register Negroes).

2. governmental cheating, i.e., the administration of qualifications more strictly for Negroes than for whites, or the capricious or arbitrary rejection of Negroes, or the administration of registration in ways to slow or make personally uncomfortable Negro registration.

3. governmental restrictions against new registrations in such a way as to limit both whites and Negroes (e.g., poll taxes).

4. governmental harassment in reprisal against Negro registration, by such multiform devices as capricious arrest of registration workers, cancellation of governmental services for properties used in registration activities, investigations, etc., etc.

5. private harassment, intimidation, violence, and economic reprisal.

6. Negro indifference (apathy)

7. Negro alienation

8. Negro ignorance, i.e., inability to pass literacy requirements

9. Negro fear

10. in some areas (e.g., Virginia) an effective, if infrequently stated, bias against democratic control, to such an extent that voting, by either Negroes or underprivileged whites, is not part of the tissue of civic values.

These causes do, of course, have extreme variations of importance, according to time and place, and there exists a considerable body of analysis of each.

A basic research interest of the VEP will be, in each area, to appraise, against a defined pattern of local obstacles, the effectiveness of certain organizational structures and methods.

* * * * *

To sum up, the VEP, as a program of experimental research, has set itself the problem of devising, within its

limited field of concern, means by which the political participation of deprived groups within the United States can be stimulated. The VEP supposes that increased political participation is a feasible means of bettering the living conditions of deprived groups. The implicit assumption is that the political process is a primary means by which the benefits of society are distributed. This assumption is, of course, basic to democratic theory.

IV. GENERAL OUTLINE

An attempt at this stage to outline the final publication would be foolhardy. The scheme set out below is, therefore, only an aid to visualizing content and a scheme for organizing work assignments.

1. Background material
   a. most accurate and complete figures yet as to registration totals by race
   b. Analysis of these, in terms of such subjects as:
      - geographic variation
      - rural/urban comparisons
      - educational levels
      - economic indices (e.g., housing costs)
   c. Descriptive and interpretive essay on southern politics during period of VEP
2. VEP record
   a. a report, made up chiefly of figures, on each project and its success
   b. a concise narrative history of the projects
3. Research findings
   a. As of the initiation of each drive, what were the factors inhibiting registration?

b. Methods used to overcome

1. organizational

2. techniques

3. success

c. Anatomy of the factors

1. apathy: prevalence, characteristics, manifestations

2. alienation: ditto

3. apprehension of terror, and response

4. apprehension of white disapproval, and response

5. reaction to official cheating

d. Suitability of organized efforts to cope with the factors

4. Registration and reform

a. During the VEP period, what effects did increased registration have on elections, and also on other civil rights interests?

b. Based on observed trends, what effects can be expected?

V. MODES OF WORK

The statistical compilations and analysis noted above in 1a and 1b will be done by VEP staff, supplementing official and other published records with data gathered from the field programs.

The data required for sections 2a and b, 3a, and 3b will be obtained in several ways:

a. From field reports sent in by the cooperating agencies. VEP prescribes

the forms of these reports. Many of the agencies are not good reporters, and this is hardly unexpected. On the other hand, some of the reporting has been remarkably good and valuable. (Examples of this kind of quality are the report of the Middle Tennessee Voter Registration Project: the National Urban League's report on its Winston-Salem campaign; the reporting of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in its Summer, 1962 Mississippi work; and, among several others, the reporting of the Albany Movement.)

b. From field observations carried on by VEP staff. Limitations of staff make impossible the close field study of each project. VEP plans to visit each, however, and will do intensive field study of some, selected for distinctive characteristics.

c. From news reports, government sources including legal proceedings, correspondence and conversations with informed local persons, and other sources.

The data required for section 3c and, in part, for sections 3d and 4a will be obtained in the same manner. This is a convenient place to note specifically that rigorously controlled survey research is not contemplated as a regular research tool. The findings for 3c (as well as 3a) will be drawn from the full range of field reports and observations. Some of the cooperating agencies are carrying out interviews, and these are useful. But systematic sampling and interviews are beyond the range of our resources and research interests. VEP is using conversations heavily, and will expand these even more, but

with selected informed and involved persons. These include officials, workers within the cooperating agencies, and other informed people. VEP recognizes that the selection of officials and "other informed people" will be determined not only by availability, but also by the referral of cooperating agencies and by VEP's own judgment as to the value of the interview.

The work on section 3d will be supplemented by staff review and evaluation; on 4a, by statistical compilation done by VEP staff.

Direct planning and supervision of all the above work will be the responsibility of the VEP Director.

The work of synthesis and interpretation, under 1c and 4b, will be a joint undertaking of VEP staff and the SRC Research staff.

The final ordering of data and writing will be under the direction of the SRC Executive Director.

SBV
JMV
MJ-file

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 22, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

February 9, 1963

RECEIVED
FEB 12 1963
RECEIVED

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness and kindness in sending me a copy of your February 5 memorandum to members of the executive committee.

I have read the memorandum with much interest. I have not had experience in the type of research involved in the Voter Education Project and I doubt that my opinion of the ideas, goals and methods outlined in the memorandum is of much value.

The plan outlined in the memorandum seems to me to be comprehensive, sound and practical. I am especially well impressed by the clarity with which the plan is presented.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Bell I. Wiley

W/h

SBV
JM
MJ-file

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 5 TENNESSEE

Department of Political Science

12 February 1963

RECEIVED
FEB 14 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thanks very much for your sending me the statement concerning the voter education project. I am sure you have submitted a copy of this either to James W. Prothro or Donald Matthews, whose brief published study you mention on page three, and whose larger study is still in process. I have no comments otherwise. It looks very good to me.

With all best wishes, I am,

Cordially yours,

RJH

Robert J. Harris

RJH/ca

RB — Good stuff!! File

February 20, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley Branton

From: R. T. Blackwell

I have spent the past four days working my way through all parts of the important reports and files in an effort to obtain a better picture of the VEP program. I have in this regard reduced to eleven statements, my immediate reaction to the overall project. These statements represent, in some instances, questions in my own mind; in some instances, suggestions that I would make; in some instances, criticisms or shortcomings in areas where I would need some briefing:

1. It would appear to me that some standard should be had of measuring leadership interest, and the ability to conduct registration drives. The very fact that an individual, or a group of individuals is in a civil rights organization, or that there are individuals with a civil rights struggle, is not sufficient proof of interest in voter education.

2. Reports that I have found in the files fail to show any widespread or voluntary help, and yet we know there are many individuals that are willing to give their time and engrgies if afforded the opportunity.

3. Our records seem to be void of information as to what is being said to individuals in order to instruct them in political action.

4. I do not find in the files enough evidence of the Atlanta office presenting the VEP as a program of regional scope. I rather think that each project thinks of itself individually - separate and apart.

5. There does not seem to be any program for exploiting the atrocities in Mississippi, or the election successes to the benefit of stronger voter registration programs in the more liberal areas.

6. Techniques that are found to be successful are not systematically passed on to the other projects.

7. There is not enough emphasis on the all-important matter of total community involvement except in a few isolated instances.

8. It does not appear that the Atlanta office has concerned itself with the possibility of helping local projects find economies in their operations; nor do the files evidence clearly whether VEP has initiated projects.

9. It does not appear that the research being done by the Atlanta office is being made available to persons in the field in those instances where it will be useful.

10. There does not appear to be activities geared to overcome known problems in voter education - "fear, apathy, disappointment, illiteracy."

11. It does not appear that there is any program in VEP that has tried in a direct, or indirect way to interpret what we mean by voter education.

R. T. Blackwell

RTB:js

Same ltr. w~~ith~~ sent to: James Farmer, CORE; M. L. King, Jr., SCLC; James Foreman, SNCC; Whitney Young, ~~NAACP~~ NUL.

February 27, 1963

Mr. Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Roy:

I am enclosing a copy of our Financial Statement for the calendar year 1962 taken from the full audit for that year. The sixth page is a statement of receipts and disbursements for the Voter Education Project.

I believe that Wiley's office has kept you well informed about the Project. If you should wish added information as to any matters pertaining to the Project, either Wiley or I will do our best to supply it.

It seems to me that through the efforts of your organization and those of the other cooperating groups the Voter Education Project promises to achieve an outstanding success.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

February, 1963

A STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH AIMS AND METHODS OF THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

I. BACKGROUND

A. Before undertaking the Voter Education Project, the Southern Regional Council applied for and obtained a favorable ruling from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, holding that the Project was consistent with SRC's tax-exemption. In letters to the Commissioner, dated December 14, 1961 and February 9, 1962, the Project was described. The following statements, excerpted from those letters, define the research objectives:

> 1. The purpose of the Project is to enable the Council to promote and to study and evaluate methods for teaching and encouraging exercise of the right to register and vote in areas in the South which, from the Council's past research, are known to be comparatively lowest in registration and voting. The work will necessarily largely involve the Negro population.
>
> 2. The purpose of the Project is to develop educational programs which will be most effective in providing voters with the knowledge and will to register.
>
> 3. Upon the completion of the Project... a report, analysis and evaluation of the Project will be published. Such publication will describe the Project and recommend, on the basis of Project experience, the best methods of education designed to overcome low voter

registration in the various geographic and cultural areas of the South.

B. From the foregoing, it is clear that

1. VEP shall not only study registration efforts, but shall promote them for the purposes of study.

2. VEP is specifically to work and research in areas "known to be comparatively lowest in registration and voting." Indeed, this is stated almost as an exclusive interest. This was not, however, intended to be the case and the fuller context of the application amply shows that.

3. Research includes voting, as well as registration, experience.

4. This is primarily experimental research, through which VEP seeks to develop effective programs.

5. Recommendations, therefore, are to constitute a large part of the research product.

II. OBJECTIVES

V.E.P. is substantially the largest research ever undertaken by the Council. The resulting publication will be, unlike the usual SRC release, of book length.

Nevertheless, we do not intend nor should we, to depart from the established objectives of SRC research and publishing. These are:

(a) to inform national opinion accurately and with sound interpretation;

(b) as a special end, to inform southern leaders, both directly and through the press;

(c) to contribute to the formulation of public policies.

Stated this way, there is nothing to preclude research done according to the exacting standards of the social sciences. We do, however, need to keep in mind that the three objectives set out above do preclude the statement of research findings in such ways as require interpretation or translation: our business is to speak directly to the public.

Moreover, our business is to address ourselves to the concerns of public policy, and not to those of social science. As do any disciplines, the social sciences have developed problems which are largely intra-mural in their interest. All the issues of public policy are of interest to the social sciences; the reverse is neither obviously nor probably so. The VEP will not, therefore, seek to serve social science in such ways as the refinement of methodologies or the verification of statistical probabilities.

III. RESEARCH PROBLEM

The research problem of the VEP might be re-stated as:

> A study of the effectiveness of organized effort - political activity in the broadest sense - in attacking the cause of low registration in the various sections of the South.

Stated this way, the relationship between the VEP and the Matthews-Prothro work is made more obvious. For the, after close and exhaustive analysis of the social and economic variables of registration, raise the question of the relative importance of these variables, on the one side, against political and legal factors and organized Negro and white supremacist activity on the

other. The following is quoted from their paper at the Duke University Conference of July 12 - 14, 1962:*

> We have seen that both social and economic factors and political and legal factors are associated with Negro voter registration in the 11 southern states. Which type of factor is more important in shaping Negro registration rates?
>
> ...In so far as statistical analysis will answer such a broad and complex question, it would appear that political variables are of about equal importance to socio-economic ones.
>
> . . .
>
> Moreover, our analysis suggests that substantial changes in the level of Negro voter registration can be attained by political and legal means. It is not necessary to await the arrival of basic social and economic change before attempting, with reasonable expectations of moderate success, to enfranchise more southern Negroes. The abolition of the poll tax and modification of literacy requirements to assure fair treatment of Negroes might enhance the southwide vote of Negro registration by 10 or more percentage points. Encouraging the candidacy of politicians -- both Negro and white -- who are favorable to the Negro cause should bring out many more Negro votes, even when they have little chance of success. Finally, heightened organizational efforts by Negroes would increase Negro registration levels over what they would otherwise be. All of these reforms would have a positive effect on Negro registration rates without waiting for massive social and economic change.

---

*"Negro Voter Registration in the South."

VEP can, of course, only take note of and seek to analyze and evaluate legal changes and political candidacies. This will be done. But the "heightened organizational efforts" spoken of by Matthews and Prothro is VEP's special problem. VEP is experimental research, where by organized methods VEP will seek to make the findings set down as objectives in the I.R.S. letters quoted above.

Moreover, the political process is a primary means by which the social and economic benefits of society are distributed. The social and economic variables and the political and legal variables do not, therefore, represent the two sides of a dichotomy. Rather, they represent the two phases of a process in which, at any given moment, existing social and economic conditions are conducive to or permissive of certain political and legal innovations; and they, in turn, will have their effect in altering the social and economic conditions.

The VEP will accept the Matthews-Prothro analysis as the latest authoritative study of the social and economic variables. The Matthews-Prothro analysis of racial attitudes will also be assumed,* except where explicitly questioned.

The various parts of the re-statement above may be separately considered:

(a) "a study of the effectiveness of organized effort"

VEP is dealing with a wide variety of organizations -- all devoted to civil rights -- including national organizations such as

*"Southern Racial Attitudes: Conflict, Awareness, and Political Change," Annals of the American Academy. November 1962.

NAACP, the National Urban League, CORE;

a regional body, the

Southern Christian Leadership Conference;

and the unique

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee;

including also a large number of local organizations, ranging from such sophisticated groups as

All-Citizens Registration Committee (Atlanta)

Durham (N.C.) Committee on Negro Affairs

to inexperienced groups such as

Federated Organization for the Cause of Unlimited Self-Development (FOCUS) - Baton Rouge;

the organizations include also ad hoc ones that VEP helped bring into existence, such as

Council of Federated Organizations (Miss.)

Jefferson County (Ala.) Voters Campaign;

and popular crusades such as the

Albany (Ga.) Movement.

The organizations differ greatly - in their structure, their attitudes, their methods of work, their uses of publicity, and their reputations. All of these differences are deserving of study, and of some critique as to effectiveness. The VEP should not shirk the opportunity of contributing some informed evaluations of the varieties of organized Negro political activity, at this still

formative period of a relatively new development that will undoubtedly persist and grow, long after the dramatic controversies of civil rights have been ended.

Some organizations tend to work in different local situations, and this is usually a matter of deliberate choice on their part. This, itself, raises an issue of research interest, because the choices represent, to some degrees, divergent views of strategy. One view favors a concentrated, almost sole, effort in the more liberal locales, where the barriers are essentially only the apathy or alienation of Negroes. The other inclines toward work in the heavily resistant, Black Belt locales. Evaluation of these two approaches merely in terms of new registrants would be pointless, because those will undoubtedly be comparatively few in the resistant areas. The work there, however, represents a strongly held belief that political leverage can be realized by token gains, by opening the bottle, by laying the basis for court suits, by stimulating national publicity, by exposing the crudity of the segregationists' methods, and most of all, by providing the initial opportunity for residents to organize themselves. VEP cannot hope to evaluate such work quantitatively, but the notion that social science is confined to quantitative findings is a recent one, and perhaps not an unrelenting tenet. In fact, nearly all interesting social study of a quantitative sort has had to be given stimulus and direction by preceding observation, analysis, and interpretation of disciplined minds.

Another matter of great interest will be the observation of the effectiveness of local groups. As mentioned above, these include both the experienced and the inexperienced. Some operate with the support -- of various sorts -- of national and regional organizations (other than VEP), and some without.

(b) "political activity in the broadest sense."

The VEP is wisely restricted to work with non-partisan groups and efforts. Registration itself is, however, a political act, and each registration contributes a mite of influence on political alignments and decisions. How much, however, is that influence, how does it work, and to whose benefit in the differing situations of the South, and at differing levels of total white and total Negro registration? Such questions as the following are interesting:

1. does the simple act of Negro registration, or knowledge of the existence of an organized effort to stimulate registration, provoke response, of any ascertainable kind, from officials or from official bodies or from private whites?

2. does increased Negro registration stimulate white registration <u>and</u> voting?

3. what ascertainable increase in Negro voting is produced by increased Negro registration?

4. what are the repercussions of increased Negro registration, or organized efforts to that end, on national politics and policies?

(c) "in attacking the causes of low registration in the various sections of the South."

A great deal of research has been done in the past, some by SRC, some by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, and some by academic scholars, on the causes of low registration. These have been generally concluded to be:

1. outright governmental prohibition of Negro registration (since the outlawing of the white primary this has ended as an openly acknowledged practice and, for the most part, has ended in practice, though a few isolated instances persist where local authorities, without pretense otherwise, will not register Negroes).

2. governmental cheating, i.e., the administration of qualifications more strictly for Negroes than for whites, or the capricious or arbitrary rejection of Negroes, or the administration of registration in ways to slow or make personally uncomfortable Negro registration.

3. governmental restrictions against new registrations in such a way as to limit both whites and Negroes (e.g., poll taxes).

4. governmental harassment in reprisal against Negro registration, by such multiform devices as capricious arrest of registration workers, cancellation of governmental services for properties used in registration activities, investigations, etc., etc.

5. private harassment, intimidation, violence, and economic reprisal.

6. Negro indifference (apathy)

7. Negro alienation

8. Negro ignorance, i.e., inability to pass literacy requirements

9. Negro fear

10. in some areas (e.g., Virginia) an effective, if infrequently stated, bias against democratic control, to such an extent that voting, by either Negroes or underprivileged whites, is not part of the tissue of civic values.

These causes do, of course, have extreme variations of importance, according to time and place, and there exists a considerable body of analysis of each.

A basic research interest of the VEP will be, in each area, to appraise, against a defined pattern of local obstacles, the effectiveness of certain organizational structures and methods.

* * * * *

To sum up, the VEP, as a program of experimental research, has set itself the problem of devising, within its

limited field of concern, means by which the political participation of deprived groups within the United States can be stimulated. The VEP supposes that increased political participation is a feasible means of bettering the living conditions of deprived groups. The implicit assumption is that the political process is a primary means by which the benefits of society are distributed. This assumption is, of course, basic to democratic theory.

IV. GENERAL OUTLINE

An attempt at this stage to outline the final publication would be foolhardy. The scheme set out below is, therefore, only an aid to visualizing content and a scheme for organizing work assignments.

1. Background material
   a. most accurate and complete figures yet as to registration totals by race
   b. Analysis of these, in terms of such subjects as:
      - geographic variation
      - rural/urban comparisons
      - educational levels
      - economic indices (e.g., housing costs)
   c. Descriptive and interpretive essay on southern politics during period of VEP
2. VEP record
   a. a report, made up chiefly of figures, on each project and its success
   b. a concise narrative history of the projects
3. Research findings
   a. As of the initiation of each drive, what were the factors inhibiting registration?

b. Methods used to overcome

1. organizational

2. techniques

3. success

c. Anatomy of the factors

1. apathy: prevalence, characteristics, manifestations

2. alienation: ditto

3. apprehension of terror, and response

4. apprehension of white disapproval, and response

5. reaction to official cheating

d. Suitability of organized efforts to cope with the factors

4. Registration and reform

a. During the VEP period, what effects did increased registration have on elections, and also on other civil rights interests?

b. Based on observed trends, what effects can be expected?

V. MODES OF WORK

The statistical compilations and analysis noted above in 1a and 1b will be done by VEP staff, supplementing official and other published records with data gathered from the field programs.

The data required for sections 2a and b, 3a, and 3b will be obtained in several ways:

a. From field reports sent in by the cooperating agencies. VEP prescribes

the forms of these reports. Many of the agencies are not good reporters, and this is hardly unexpected. On the other hand, some of the reporting has been remarkably good and valuable. (Examples of this kind of quality are the report of the Middle Tennessee Voter Registration Project: the National Urban League's report on its Winston-Salem campaign; the reporting of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in its Summer, 1962 Mississippi work; and, among several others, the reporting of the Albany Movement.)

b. From field observations carried on by VEP staff. Limitations of staff make impossible the close field study of each project. VEP plans to visit each, however, and will do intensive field study of some, selected for distinctive characteristics.

c. From news reports, government sources including legal proceedings, correspondence and conversations with informed local persons, and other sources.

The data required for section 3c and, in part, for sections 3d and 4a will be obtained in the same manner. This is a convenient place to note specifically that rigorously controlled survey research is not contemplated as a regular research tool. The findings for 3c (as well as 3a) will be drawn from the full range of field reports and observations. Some of the cooperating agencies are carrying out interviews, and these are useful. But systematic sampling and interviews are beyond the range of our resources and research interests. VEP is using conversations heavily, and will expand these even more, but

with selected informed and involved persons. These include officials, workers within the cooperating agencies, and other informed people. VEP recognizes that the selection of officials and "other informed people" will be determined not only by availability, but also by the referral of cooperating agencies and by VEP's own judgment as to the value of the interview.

The work on section 3d will be supplemented by staff review and evaluation; on 4a, by statistical compilation done by VEP staff.

Direct planning and supervision of all the above work will be the responsibility of the VEP Director.

The work of synthesis and interpretation, under 1c and 4b, will be a joint undertaking of VEP staff and the SRC Research staff.

The final ordering of data and writing will be under the direction of the SRC Executive Director.

PRESS RELEASE

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Ja5-0595

March 1, 1963
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The following statement was released today by Wiley A. Branton, Director of the Voter Education Project:

"On the night of February 28, 1963, in LeFlore County, Mississippi, white men, from their moving car, shot and seriously wounded a young Negro registration worker. The victim was James Travis of Jackson, Mississippi, a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. This attack, with intent to kill, was made by men who had been observed throughout the evening watching a building in Greenwood where registration workers were meeting.

"After the meeting, Travis, Robert Moses, Director of the Council of Federated Organizations, and Randolph Blackwell, Field Director of our Voter Education Project, drove from Greenwood down U.S. Highway 82. Some miles outside Greenwood the attackers' car drove alongside and opened rifle or pistol fire. Fortunately, only Travis was wounded.

"Travis was returned to a hospital in Greenwood. The local police and the Department of Justice were promptly notified. On March 1, Travis was moved to a hospital in Jackson.

"This is but the latest of brutal attacks in Mississippi, southwest Georgia, and other areas of the South, against

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

registration workers and would-be Negro voters. These registration workers are people cooperating with the Voter Education Project. This Project, which has the endorsement of the chairmen both of the Democratic and Republican National Committees, is a large scale effort to find the best ways of increasing the electorate in the South, in order to bring into participation in American democracy citizens who have not before exercised, or been allowed to exercise, their responsibilities. In most areas of the South, work carried on in cooperation with the Project has been without disturbance, and in some cases even welcomed by local authorities.

"But in certain outlaw communities registration workers have been constantly harassed and put in danger of life. Negroes seeking to register have been cruelly treated.

"These are intolerable conditions to expose people to, and they cannot be allowed to continue. Accordingly, there is a need to establish once and for all that in this land people do not have to be afraid to be free.

"The state of Mississippi has repeatedly thrown down a gauntlet at the feet of would-be Negro voters, not only by the discriminatory practices of the registrars, but also by economic pressures, threats, coercion, physical violence, and

death to Negroes seeking the right to vote. The time has come for us to pick up the gauntlet. LeFlore County, Mississippi, has elected itself as the testing ground for democracy and we are accordingly meeting the challenge there.

"We are, therefore, announcing that the full resources of the agencies cooperating with us in the Voter Education Project will be immediately concentrated in LeFlore County, Mississippi. Mr. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Mr. James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Mr. James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality, have agreed with us today to put all necessary support at once into a concerted campaign to get every qualified Negro in LeFlore County registered to vote, if he or she has any desire to do so.

"Our methods will, at all times, be peaceable and lawful and will be conducted in the best traditions of American democracy.

"The campaign will be conducted openly. Voter registration is a civic duty, and registration workers will dignifiedly and publicly carry on their activities, which

will include literacy schools, meetings, and individual contacts.

"Based on the unhappy experience of recent months we must anticipate that our efforts will be met by continued harassment and violence. The state of Mississippi and the United States government each have a responsibility to protect those seeking the right to vote for all citizens. The state of Mississippi has not only failed to provide this protection in the past but, in fact, has cooperated with those who would deny basic rights to American citizens of color. The federal Congress and Executive have, in the past, failed to meet the minimum requirements for protecting the rights of Negro citizens in Mississippi.

"Recently, the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has said: 'This Committee finds that the Federal Government has not provided the citizens of Mississippi the protection due them as American citizens.' We concur in this finding.

"Regardless of past attitudes and actions, we are advising the Governor of Mississippi of our plans for action in LeFlore County and have asked that the state of Mississippi provide protection.

"We have also notified the Attorney General of the

United States that this campaign is being undertaken and we have called to his attention our past experiences regarding the failure of the state and federal governments to protect the citizens of Mississippi. We have requested that federal protection be provided immediately to assure the personal safety of those working in voter registration or who seek the right to vote. We are asking the Justice Department to take the necessary legal action to see to it that discriminatory practices by the registrar cease and desist.

"Voting is a federally guaranteed right, and when its exercise is prevented by community lawlessness, the United States government has an obligation not only to punish that lawlessness but to put it down.

"We, therefore, call upon the President of the United States to use his executive powers to help make meaningful the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment - 100 years late."

(30)

Telegram Dated March 1, 1963 to Attorney General Robert F Kennedy:

As I am sure you are aware, James Travis, a voter registration worker, was seriously wounded last night by gunfire in LeFlore County, Mississippi. Mr. Travis and two other men, one a staff member of this office, were attacked while peaceably driving in their car on a U. S. highway. This is but the latest of these vicious assaults against registration workers and applicants in Mississippi. This cannot longer be tolerated. We are accordingly today announcing a concentrated, saturation campaign to register every qualified Negro of LeFlore County. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality, and James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, pledge their full resources. The campaign will begin immediately. You must anticipate that this campaign will be met by violence and other harassment. We are notifying you in advance so that you can provide at once the necessary federal protection to prevent violence and other forms of intimidation against registration workers and applicants. We shall keep you regularly informed.

Wiley A. Branton

Telegram Dated March 1, 1963 to Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi:

As I am sure you aware, James Travis, a voter registration worker, was seriously wounded last night by gunfire in LeFlore County, Mississippi. Mr. Travis and two other men, one a staff member of this office, were attacked while peaceably driving in their car on a U.S. highway. This is but the latest of these vicious assaults against registration workers and applicants in Mississippi. This cannot longer be tolerated. We are accordingly today announcing a concentrated, saturation campaign to register every qualified Negro of LeFlore County. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality, and James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, pledge their full resources. The campaign will begin immediately. You must anticipate that this campaign will be met by violence and other harassment. We are notifying you in advance so that you can provide at once the necessary state protection to prevent violence and other forms of intimidation against registration workers and applicants.

Wiley A Branton

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Mar. 1, 1963

MR. BERL BERNHARD
STAFF DIRECTOR
U. S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM WAS SENT THIS AFTERNOON TO ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT F. KENNEDY:

&& AS I AM SURE YOU ARE AWARE, JAMES TRAVIS, A VOTER REGISTRATION WORKER, WAS SERIOUSLY WOUNDED LAST NIGHT BY GUNFIRE IN LEFLORE COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI. MR. TRAVIS AND TWO OTHER MEN, ONE A STAFF MEMBER OF THIS OFFICE WERE ATTACKED WHILE PEACEABLY DRIVING THEIR CAR ON A U. S. HIGHWAY. THIS IS BUT THE LATEST OF THESE VICIOUS ASSAULTS AGAINST REGISTRATION WORKERS AND APPLICANTS IN MISSISSIPPI. THIS CANNOT LONGER BE TOLERATED. WE ARE ACCORDINGLY TODAY ANNOUNCING A CONCENTRATED, SATURATED CAMPAIGN TO REGISTER EVERY QUALIFIED NEGRO OF LEFLORE COUNTY. ROY WILKINS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, JAMES

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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E

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MR. BERL BERNHARD - 2.

FARMER OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, AND && JAMES FOREMAN OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE PLEDGE THEIR FULL RESOURCES. THE CAMPAIGN WILL BEGIN IMMEDIATELY. YOU MUST ANTICIPATE THAT THIS CAMPAIGN WILL BE MET BY VIOLENCE AND OTHER HARASSMENT. WE ARE NOTIFYING YOU IN ADVANCE SO THAT YOU CAN PROVIDE AT ONCE THE NECESSARY FEDERAL PROTECTION TO PREVENT VIOLENCE AND OTHER FORMS OF INTIMIDATION AGAINST REGISTRATION WORKERS AND APPLICANTS. WE SHALL KEEP YOU REGULARLY INFORMED.

WILEY A. BRANTON, DIRECTOR
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT.

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MR. JOHN A. HANNAH, CHAIRMAN
U. S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE ~~FOLLOW~~ FOLLOWING TELEGRAM WAS SENT THIS AFTERNOON TO ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT F. KENNEDY:

AS I AM SURE YOU ARE AWARE, JAMES TRAVIS, A VOTER REGISTRATION WORKER, WAS SERIOUSLY WOUNDED LAST NIGHT BY GUNFIRE IN LEFLORE COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI. MR. TRAVIS AND TWO OTHER MEN, ONE A STAFF MEMBER OF THIS OFFICER WERE ATTACKED WHILE PEACEABLY DRIVING THEIR CAR ON A U. S. HIGHWAY. THIS IS BUT THE LATEST OF THESE VICIOUS ASSAULTS AGAINST REGISTRATION ~~AN~~ WORKERS AND APPLICANTS IN MISSISSIPPI. THIS CANNOT LONGER BE TOLERATED. WE ARE ACCORDINGLY TODAY ANNOUNCING A CONCENTRATED, SATURATED CAMPAIGN TO REGISTER EVERY QUALIFIED NEGRO OF LEFLORE COUNTY. ROY WILKINS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, JAMES FARMER ~~OF~~ OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL ~~EQU~~ EQUALITY, AND JAMES

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WILEY A. BRANTON, DIRECTOR
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT.

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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THE HON. BURKE MARSHALL
ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL
CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM WAS SENT THIS AFTERNOON TO ATTORNEY-GENERAL ROBERT F. KENNEDY:

AS I AM SURE YOU ARE AWARE, JAMES TRAVIS, A VOTER REGISTRATION WORKER, WAS SERIOUSLY WOUNDED LAST NIGHT BY GUNFIRE IN LEFLORE COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI. MR. TRAVIS AND TWO OTHER MEN, ONE A STAFF MEMBER OF THIS OFFICE WERE ATTACKED WHILE PEACEABLY ~~DRIVING~~ DRIVING THEIR CAR ON A U. S. HIGHWAY. THIS IS BUT THE LATEST OF THESE VICIOUS ASSAULTS AGAINST REGISTRATION WORKERS AND APPLICANTS IN MISSISSIPPI. THIS CANNOT LONGER BE TOLERATED. WE ARE ACCORDINGLY TODAY ANNOUNCING A CONCENTRATED, SATURATION CAMPAIGN TO REGISTER EVERY QUALIFIED NEGRO OF LEFLORE COUNTY. ROY WILKINS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, JAMES FARMER

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VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT.

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THE HON. ROBERT F. KENNEDY
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTOND, D. C.

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THE HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

THE HON. ROSS BARNETT
GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI
STATE OFFICE BUILDING
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

AS I AM SURE YOU ARE AWARE, JAMES TRAVIS, A VOTER REGISTRATION WORKER, WAS SERIOUSLY WOUNDED LAST NIGHT BY GUNFIRE IN LEFLORE COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI. MR. TRAVIS AND TWO OTHER MEN, ONE A STAFF MEMBER OF THIS OFFICE WERE ATTACKED WHILE PEACEABLY DRIVING THEIR CAR ON A U. S. HIGHWAY. THIS IS BUT THE LATEST OF THESE VICIOUS ASSAULTS AGAINST REGISTRATION WORKERS AND APPLICANTS IN MISSISSIPPI. THIS CANNOT LONGER BE TOLERATED. WE ARE ACCORDINGLY TODAY ANNOUNCING A CONCENTRATED, SATURATED CAMPAIGN TO REGISTER EVERY QUALIFIED NEGRO OF LEFLORE COUNTY. ROY WILKINS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, JAMES

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WILEY A. BRANTON, DIRECTOR
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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JL ✓
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March 4, 1963

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

I thought I might summarize for you some of the points we have from time-to-time discussed regarding the financing of the Voter Education Project. As you know, VEP has had for its first year of operation a total grant of $262,000, plus a few small contributions. The Taconic and Stern grants, totalling $187,000, are pledged for a second year. We have an application before Field for renewal of its grant, with the expressed hope that it may exceed the $75,000 given for the first year.

I am not sure we could have intelligently spent more during the first months than we have; consequently, we have not as yet been handicapped.

We think the Project is, however, underfinanced, and we say this with full recognition of the generosity of the three principal grantors, whom no one could expect to do more. We shall, of course, do the best job we know how, but unless additional and substantial funds can be obtained we do not think that the high expectations which all of us have had can be probably realized.

There are four problems; the first two listed below are critical.

(1) Present financing envisages a two-year Project. As we began April 1, 1962, this means a termination on March 31, 1964. I don't have to tell you that between April and the fall of 1964 - just prior to the Presidential election - the opportunities for fruitful work will be greatest. It is imperative, therefore, that the Project be extended six or seven months.

(2) During the last year of the Project, when opportunities will be ripe and organizations perfected or greatly improved, we need to be able to spend at a greatly increased rate, deisrably at least double the present rate. Assuming for the moment that the present rate of expenditure is continued for the first 18 months of the Project we would need $393,000 for that period. If the expenditure could be doubled during the last 12 months we would require for that $524,000. This would mean a total VEP budget of $917,000 for 2½ years, as against an expectable budget of $524,000 for two years. To sum up, additional grants of $393,000 are needed in order to extend the Project six months and to increase the expenditure rate during the last year.

(3) $917,000 is a lot of money, but you will remember that in the gestation days people spoke glibly of a million. Therefore, I note now that we could from this time (March 1963) forth be able very probably to make good use of more money, both for grants and for strengthening the VEP, which is, we are convinced, an economical way of strengthening field program effectiveness.

(4) We have not reserved the money we should for writing and publication. When the field work ends, we'll write a book and it's going

to be a good book. My gamble is that the expenses can be separately raised in due time or saved from the general VEP budget over the months. Certainly we would feel more secure if we were setting funds aside; we shall not do so, however, unless the grants to us surpass $917,000.

I happened to be reading not long ago an article by Ray Marshall titled "Some Facotrs Influencing the Growth of Unions in the South." There is no date on the reprint I have, but it came from the Proceedings of the 13th annual meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association. A footnote in it provides a measuring rod to appraise the size of the VEP budget:

> It is impossible to calculate the exact membership results and costs for various unions during the CIO's 1946 'Operation Dixie.' The estimated cost of the campaign was to have been $1,800,000 a year. (CIO Executive Board Minutes, March 15 and 16, 1946, pp. 217-224), but this was reduced considerably because the unions would not pay the amount pledged for the campaign. (Ibid., January 22, 23, 1948) The average amount spent during the campaign by the CIO directly was about $90,000 a month. In addition, other unions spent large amounts. The TWUA, with the largest stake in the South, spent $95,000 a month itself, at least during the first part of the campaign. An estimate of $8,000,000 spent during the campaign is probably an understatement. The director of the Southern campaign claimed 400,000 members when the drive started and an additional 400,000 organized through January, 1948, which would have given the CIO 800,000 members in the South in 1948, which is the number claimed by Phil Murray. Troy estimated 400,500 CIO members in the South in 1953. (Leo Troy, "The Growth of Union Membership in the South," Southern Economics Journal, Vol. XV (April, 1958), p. 409.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Wiley A. Branton

3 Accused Of Shooting At 3 Negroes

File

Atlanta Constit. 3/6/63

GREENWOOD, Miss. (AP)—Three white persons, including a teenager, were arrested Tuesday in connection with a shooting attack on three Negroes who were trying to register voters.

A 17-year-old boy, who was not identified in keeping with policy regarding young first-offenders, will be turned over to LeFlore County Juvenile Court. The boy was charged with felonious assault.

One Negro, Jimmy Travis, 20, of Jackson, Miss., was wounded in the neck and shoulder by bullets during the attack last Thursday.

Sheriff John Ed Cochran said the investigation was still under way. He identified the other prisoners as William H. Greenlee and Wesley Kersey, both of Greenwood.

Greenlee, a bulk gasoline dealer, and Kersey, service manager of a roadbuilding equipment firm, were picked up at work. They were charged with felonious assault.

The attack came last Thursday night. Robert Moses, Greenville, said a hail of bullets came from a car that passed the auto in which he and Travis were riding.

Both Travis and Moses are field secretaries for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Moses and Randolph Blackwell, Atlanta, also in the car at the time, were not hurt.

IF YOU ARE NOW TAKING

March 10, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Wiley Branton

From: Randolph Blackwell

This memo is prepared on the eve of the close of the first fiscal year of the Voter Education Project. It is our feeling that there are some few programs that can be added to the overall structure of the project by the time the second fiscal year begins that will be significantly beneficial. Some of what will be suggested here will not be entirely new, nor does it all have its origin in my mind. It just so happens that many of the ideas of merit that we have talked about have not been given the attention that they deserve because circumstances more immediate have not allowed for such.

An effort is made here to spell out just one or two of these ideas in much greater detail than they have been spelled out before, so that the relative merits of each can be weighed in the light of their cost, required personnel, and results that can be expected. Before entering upon a discussion of each of these ideas, it would be desirable first to just set each idea out so that it is clearly understood, and not lost in the course of spelling out what would be necessary to implement the idea.

As I examine the numerous ideas that are presented in the course of each day, it would seem that there are several that seem to come up again and again, and on which there is general agreement. These ideas are set out below:

I. The Voter Education Project is by far, the most important program in this history of the civil rights struggle, not only because of the objectives towards which it strives, but also because this is the first time in the entire history of the Negro people that all major civil rights organizations have been pretended to agree on the importance of any one single program. (Further discussion is found in Section I.)

II. The Voter Education Project has in its first fiscal year, sought to accomplish its objectives mainly through the operations of the "big five" civil rights organizations, and a few isolated independent organizations. The cooperation and loyalty that has characterized this relationship in the past must be preserved. And yet, the very fact that there are many communities that these organizations will not reach seems to dictate that the VEP should initiate a program designed

to aid these communities, and to involve them in the overall program. To not do so will be to mark off a possible 70,000 additional new voters. The VEP must remain ever cognizant of the fact that there was some sort of political concern in just about every Negro community long before it came into existence. (Further discussion of this will be found in Section II).

III. The Voter Education Project is less than one year old, and so it is perhaps too early to arrive at any hard, fast conclusions as to what the facts and forces are that have kept the Negro people registering in large numbers in the past. It would appear, however, that the experiences of the past twelve months substantiates some opinions in this regard of long standing. It is often suggested that many Negro people have not registered in the past because of apathy, a feeling of inferiority, a lack of information, lack of inspiration, and fear - both physical and economic. The VEP must develop programs designed to deal with each of these causes. (Suggestions relative to overcoming these causes for not registering are discussed in Section III).

IV. The civil rights struggle can only hope to be successful in proportion to its ability to communicate with the masses of the American public. This history of the NAACP dictates the truth of this proposition more clearly than perhaps any other single organization. This, of course, means that there must be some sort of publishing house to which organizations engaged in the struggle have free and immediate access at the lowest possible cost. One of the difficulties that these organizations have had to labor under has been the very limited number of sympathetic printing sources. Thousands of things are said daily that ought to be communicated to thousands of Americans, but cannot be, for some several reasons - mainly cost. Too often, they have had to rely on having the press represent them to the public. Which, of course, is always done within their frame of understanding at their convenience, and to the degree that it feels it important. (Further discussion of this is included in Section IV.)

R. T. Blackwell

RTB:js

SECTION ITEM I

Believing that the objectives towards which the VEP strive are too important to leave a single stone unturned, the attached sample newsletter is proposed as in instrument that would serve well to present registering as a matter of region-wide concern, and also to create a kind of wholesome competition between communities and organizations that could pay big dividends in terms of new voters. It would be expected that sections of such a newsletter would be devoted to reporting what is being done in each state each month. Along with feature stories and photographs of special happenings, here we could report progress on such things as the Poll Tax Amendment, as well as descriptions of registration activities that prove to be unusally successful. It would be hoped that 20,000 such newsletters could be published and distributed each month.

COST

If we buy the printing equipment:

20,000 copies per month .....$ 215.00

20,000 copies per month for a year.....$2,580.00

If we have the newsletter printed:

20,000.copies per month .....$ 365.00

Cost of distributing 20,000 copies.....$ 60.00

****

One of the first articles!

INTRODUCING THE VEP NEWSLETTER

You are reading the first edition of the official organ of the Voter Education Project, which will be published on the 15th of each month for the duration of the project. This newsletter is the only publication of its kind in the entire nation. It has as its sole purpose that of publishing news about and related to registration and practical political education in the southern states. This purpose is broad enough to allow for inquiry into such matters as how registration programs are conducted, methods and techniques used, how interest is aroused, what difficulties and obstacles are encountered in carrying on voter registration programs, the measures used to overcome those difficulties and obstacles, the results of voter registration programs throughout the South, both as to the numbers of increased registration and the general effect on the political life of the community.

This Newsletter is non-partisan and will remain so; seeking in no way to influence the outcome of elections or legislation.

The VEP was begun in the spring of 1962 and is expected to continue at least through 1964. It operates on funds granted to the Southern Regional Council by various foundations and other interested organizations. The work of the Project in the main is conducted through the five major civil rights agencies: NAACP, CORE, SNCC, SCLC, NUL. However, sometimes special grants are made to local organizations with a proven record of success in voter registration drives when local conditions seem to justify so doing. The project is always eager to provide guidance, materials, professional advice and information even though it may not be possible to provide funds at a given time.

A considerable body of information has been assembled about voter registration programs that have been conducted during the past nine months throughout the South. This information is available to all who are interested in using it to further registration efforts in their communities. In turn, the Project seeks to cooperate with all who are working in southern voter registration so that its fund of information can be as complete as possible.

The project is staffed by five individuals.

Attorney Wiley Branton, from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, is in charge of the project. Attorney Branton accepted the position as Director of VEP after some ten years of law practice in the South. He was the attorney for the plaintiffs in the famous Little Rock school integration case in 1957.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Attorney Randolph Blackwell is Director of Field Activities for VEP. Attorney Blackwell was graduated from Howard University Law School in 1953, and has since taught political science and business law in North Carolina and Alabama. He has maintained an abiding interest in social action throughout his career.

Jack Minnis is Director of Research. He is a doctoral candidate in Political Science from Tulane University in New Orleans.

Mrs. Jean Levine is VEP's Administrative Secretary and Mrs. Janet Shortt is her assistant.

Attorney Blackwell, as Field Director, maintains contact with the groups and organizations who are working in voter registration throughout the South. He observes and reports on the conduct of voter registration programs with which VEP is connected. He is always available for advice and consultation on any problems which registration workers may encounter.

Mr. Minnis, as Research Director, is responsible for gathering information about how registration programs are conducted, what success they have, what problems they meet, and how they solve these problems.

Mrs. Levine, who is also Mr. Branton's secretary, maintains the financial records of the project and handles the thousand and one administrative details that go with the day-to-day operation of the VEP office. She is assisted, most ably, in these duties by Mrs. Shortt.

Attorney Branton, as Director of the Project, oversees and coordinates all these activities and sets major policy for the project.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SECTION II.

This section is devoted, in the main, to a discussion of what is here called Plan "B". An understanding of Plan "B", and how it fits into the total structure of the VEP can best be had by reading the attached sample letter.

In order to put Plan "B" into operation for one year, the following budget would be needed:

One Assistant Field Director.....	$4,800.00
Travel and Expenses.....	1,000.00
Mailing.....	500.00
Telephone allowance.....	200.00
Printing.....	2,570.00
TOTAL-----	$9,070.00

The printing cost of the above budget is projected on the basis of having in operation, five hundred (500) Plan "B" projects. It is structured on the assumption that we own the equipment on which to prepare the material.

500 General Instruction books 40 pages, 8½ x 11	$ 108.00
20,000 "Don't Talk Politics In Here If You Are Not Registered" display cards 9 x 12; 40 for each of the projects.....	456.00
80,000 "Everybody In This Household is a Registered Voter" 5 x 6½	456.00
500,000 sheets of Doger paper Assorted colors; 6 x 9	450.00
Paper and supplies for letterheads, mass meetings, programs, etc., ...	1,000.00
	$ 2,570.00

Voter Education Project

SAMPLE

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

March 7, 1963

Mr. John Doe
1000 Jackson Street
Winston Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Doe:

Your name has been supplied to us by one who has for sometime expressed an interest in the establishment in our country, a living democracy in every sense of the word. It has been suggested that you share an interest in this all-important objective, and that you would possibly like to join the thousands of Americans all over the land who are ready and willing to admit our shortcomings, and work constructively to overcome them.

Most workers in this camp of patriots are agreed that the first and major consideration should be given to the right of Negro people to register and participate in the election processes of our government.

It might be that the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council has not come to your attention. After you shall have read the enclosed V.E.P. Newsletter, you will have a better idea of the kind of work that we are presently doing.

May I just explain at this point that the V.E.P. has as its objective, the business of encouraging registration in the Negro community, and studying the techniques used and the successes gained. In doing this, we have two basic plans of sponsorship that we call Plan A and Plan B.

PLAN A covers those community programs for which the V.E.P. supplies to an existing organization the money that it determines would be necessary to conduct an effective registration drive. Sponsorship under Plan A, of course, means that the organization must meet certain standards such as leadership, registration experience, availability, willingness and capacity of workers, and community potential registration.

PLAN B is designed to govern those communities that cannot, at the time, meet the standards required of Plan A. Under Plan B, the V.E.P. makes available expert professional advice on how to conduct a registration drive, along with the necessary printed literature made to your order. In the area of literature, the V.E.P. supplies Registration Kits which contains a general instruction book and samples of hand bills, mass meeting programs, canvass forms, display cards for businesses and many other pieces that can be ordered in quanity without cost.

Now that we have, in a general way, placed before you our purpose and plan, may we request that you read our newsletter and then fill out and mail the enclosed card? We need your reaction to this communication in order to continue our work effectively.

Hoping to hear from you soon.

Very truly yours,

Mr. Wiley Branton:

I have read your description of the V.E.P. Program.

( ) I am interested ( ) I am not interested.

I would like to communicate with you further relative to:

( ) Plan A ( ) Plan B

Please communicate with:

Miss
Mr. _____
Mrs.

Address _____

City and State _____

( ) I would like to receive the V.E.P. Newsletter monthly.

_____

This is a list of cities in the eleven (11) southern states with a population of more than 10,000. Of this list, there are 340 cities in which we have no activity. These cities alone with 160 college campuses would serve as a basis for [illegible] 500 Plan "B" projects.

ALABAMA

CITY	POPULATION
Alexander City	13,140
Andalusia	10,263
✗ Anniston	33,657
Auburn	16,261
✗ Bessemer	33,054
✗ Birmingham	340,887
Chickasaw	10,002
Cullman	10,883
Decatur	29,217
Dothan	31,440
Enterprise	11,410
Fairfield	15,816
Florence	31,649
✗ Gadsden	58,088
Homewood	20,641
✗ Huntsville	72,365
Jasper	10,799
Mobile	202,779
Montgomery	134,393
Mountain Brook	12,680
Opelika	15,678
Phenix City	27,630
Prichard	47,371
✗ Selma	28,385
Sheffield	13,491
Sylacauga	12,857
Talledega	17,742
Troy	10,234
Tuscaloosa	63,370

ARKANSAS

Benton	10,399
Blytheville	20,797
Camden	15,823
Conway	12,500
El Dorado City	25,292
Fayetteville	20,274
Forrest City	10,544
Fort Smith	63,309
Helena	11,500
Hot Springs	28,337

Arkansas (cont.)

Jacksonville	14,488
Jonesboro	21,418
✗Little Rock	107,813
Magnolia	10,651
North Little Rock	58,665
Pine Bluff	44,037
Springdale	11,895
Texarkana	19,788
West Memphis	19,374

FLORIDA

Bartow	12,849
Belle Glade	11,273
Boynton Beach	10,467
Bradenton	19,380
Brownsville	38,417
Carol City	21,749
✗Clearwater	34,653
Cocoa	12,294
Coral Gables	34,793
Daytona Beach	37,395
De Land	10,755
Delray Beach	12,230
Eau Gallie	12,300
Fort Lauderdale	83,648
Fort Myers	22,523
Fort Pierce	25,256
Fort Walton Beach	12,147
✗Gainesville	29,701
Hallandale	10,483
Haileah	66,972
Hollywood	35,237
✗Jacksonville	201,030
Jacksonville Beach	12,049
Key West	33,956
Lakeland	41,350
Lake Worth	20,758
Leesburg	11,172
Melbourne	11,982
✗Miami	291,688
Miami Beach	63,145
Miami Springs	11,229
North Miami	28,708
North Miami Beach	21.405

Florida (cont.)

Ocala	13,598
✗Orlando	88,135
Palatka	11,028
Panama City	33,275
Pensacola	56,752
Pinellas Park	10,848
Plant City	15,711
Pompano Beach	15,992
Riviera Beach	13,046
St. Augustine	14,734
✗St. Petersburg	181,298
Sanford	19,175
Sarasota	34,083
✗Tallahassee	48,174
✗Tampa	274,970
Warrington	16,752
West Palm Beach	56,208
Westwood Lakes	22,517
✗Winter Haven	16,277
Winter Park	17,162

GEORGIA

✗Albany	55,890
Americus	13,472
Athens	31,355
✗Atlanta	487,455
✗Augusta	70,626
Bainbridge	12,714
Brunswick	21,703
Carrollton	10,973
College Park	23,469
✗Columbus	116,779
Cordele	10,609
Dalton	17,868
Decatur	22,026
Dublin	13,814
East Point	35,633
Forest Park	14,201
Gainesville	16,523
Griffin	21,735
Hapeville	10,082
La Grange	23,632
Macon	122,876
Marietta	25,565
Midway-Hardwick	16,909
Milledgeville	11,117
Moultrie	15,764
Newnan	12,169

Georgia (cont.)

North Atlanta	12,661	
Rome	32,226	
Savannah	149,245	
Smyrna	10,157	(10,157)
Thomasville	18,246	
Valdosta	30,652	
Warner Robins	18,633	
Waycross	20,944	

LOUISIANA

Abbeville	10,414
Alexandria	40,279
Bastrop	15,193
Baton Rouge	152,419
Bogalusa	21,423
Bossier City	32,776
Crowley	15,617
Eunice	11,326
Goosport	16,778
Gretna	21,967
Hammond	10,563
Houna	29,772
Jefferson Heights	19,353
Jennings	11,887
Kenner	17,037
Lafayette	40,400
Lake Charles	63,392
Minden	12,785
Monroe	52,219
Morgan City	13,540
Natchitoches	13,924
New Iberia	29,062
New Orleans	627,525
Opelousas	17,417
Ruston	13,991
Shreveport	164,372
Sulphur	11,429
West Monroe	15,215

MISSISSIPPI

Biloxi	44,053
Clarksdale	21,105
Cleveland	10,172
Columbus	24,771
Greenville	41,502

Mississippi (cont.)

Corinth	11,453
Greenwood	20,436
Gulfpprt	30,204
Hattisburg	34,989
Jackson	144,422
Laurel	27,889
McComb	12.020
Meridian	49,374
Natchez	23,791
Pascagoula	17,155
Tupelo	17,221
Vicksburg	29,130
Yazoo	11,236

NORTH CAROLINA

Albemarie	12,261
Asheville	60,192
Burlington	33,199
Chapel Hill	12,573
Charlotte	201,564
Concord	17,799
Durham	78,302
Elizabeth City	14,062
Fayetteville	47,106
Gastonia	37,276
Goldsboro	28,873
Greensboro	119,574
Greenville	22,860
Henderson	12,740
Hickory	19,328
High Point	62,063
Jacksonville	13,491
Kannapolis	34,647
Kinston	24,819
Lenoir	10,257
Lexington	16,093
Lumberton	15,305
Monroe	10,882
New Bern	15,717
Raleigh	93,931
Reidsville	14,267
Roanoke Rapids	13,320
Rocky Mount	32,147
Salisbury	21,297
Sanford	12,253

North Carolina (cont.)

Shelby	17,698
Statesville	19,844
Thomasville	15,190
Wilmington	44,013
Wilson	28,753
Winston-Salem	111,135

SOUTH CAROLINA

Orangeburg	13,852
Rock Hill	29,404
Spartanburg	44,352
Sumter	23,062
Union	10,191

TENNESSEE

Athens	12,103
Chattanooga	130,009
Bristol	17,582
Clarksdale	22,021
Cleveland	16,196
Columbia	17,624
Donelson	17,195
Dyersburg	12,499
East Ridge	19,570
Elizabethton	10,896
Fountain City	10,365
Greeneville	11,759
Inglewood	26,527
Jackson	34,376
Johnson City	31,187
Kingsport	26,314
Knoxville	111,827
Lebanon	10,512
Madison	13,583
Maryville	10,348
Memphis	497,524
Morristown	21,267
Murfreesboro	18,991
Nashville	170,874
Oak Ridge	27,169
Red Bank-White Oak	10,777
Shelbyville	10,466
Tullahoma	12,242
Whitehaven	13,894
Woodbine-Radnor-Glencliff	14,485
Woodmont-Green Hills-Glendale	23,161

TEXAS

Abilene	45,570
Alice	20,861
Amarillo	137,969
Andrews	11,135
Arlington	44,775
Arlington	44,775
Austin	186,545
Bay City	11,656
Baytown	28,159
Beaumont	119,175
Beeville	13,811
Bellaire	19,872
Big Spring	31,230
Borger	20,911
Brownfield	10,286
Brownsville	48,040
Bryan	27,542
Cleburne	15,381
College Station	11,396
Corpus Christi	167,690
Corsicana	20,344
Dallas	679,684
Del Rio	18,612
Denison	22,748
Denton	26,844
Eagle Pass	12,094
Edinburg	18,706
El Paso	276,687
Farmers Branch	13,441
Fort Worth	356,268
Freeport	11,619
Gainesville	13,083
Galena Park	10,852
Galveston	67,175
Garland	38,501
Grand Prairie	30,386
Greenville	19,087
Groves	17,304
Harlingen	41,207
Highland Park	10,411
Houston	938,219
Huntsville	11,999
Hurst	10,165
Irving	45,985
Kermit	10,465
Kilgore	10,092
Killeen	23,377
Kingsville	25,297
La Marque	13,969
Lamesa	12,438

Texas (cont.)

Laredo	60,678
Levelland	10,153
Longview	40,050
Lubbock	128,691
Lufkin	17,641
McAllen	32,728
Mc Kinney	13,763
Marshall	23,846
Mercedes	10,943
Mesquite	27,526
Midland	62,625
Mineral Wells	11,053
Mission	14,081
Nacogdoches	12,674
Nederland	12,036
New Braunfels	15,631
Odessa	80,338
Orange	25,605
Palestine	13,974
Pampa	24,664
Paris	20,977
Pasadena	58,737
Pecos	12,728
Pharr	14,106
Plainview	18,735
Port Arthur	66,676
Richardson	16,810
Robstown	10,266
San Angelo	58,815
San Antonio	587,718
San Benito	16,422
San Marcos	12,713
Seguin	14,299
Snyder	13,850
Sweetwater	13,914
Temple	30,419
Terrell	13,803
Texarkana	30,218
Texas City	32,065
Tyler	51,230
University Park	23,202
Uvalde	10,293
Vernon	12,141
	33,047

Texas (cont.)

Waco	97,808
Waxahachie	12,749
Weslaco	15,649
West University Place	14,628
White Settlement	11,513
Wichita Falls	101,724

VIRGINIA

Alexandria	91,023
Bristol	17,144
Charlottesville	29,427
Covington	11,062
Danville	46,577
*Fairfax	13,585
Falls Church	10,192
Fredericksburg	13,639
Hampton	89,258
Harrisonburg	11,916
*Hopewell	17,895
Lynchburg	54,790
Martinsville	18,798
Newport News	113,662
*Norfolk	304,869
*Petersburg	36,750
Portsmouth	144,773
Pulaski	10,469
*Richmond	219,958
Roanoke	97,110
Salem	16,058
South Norfolk	
Springfield	10,783
Staunton	22,232
Suffolk	12,609
Vienna	11,440
Waynesboro	15,694
Winchester	15,110

file - bp

March 14, 1963

Mrs. Elizabeth Johns
United Church of Christ
Council for Christian Social Action
289 Park Avenue, South
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Johns:

Mr. Leslie Dunbar has shown me your letter of March 8 in which you enclosed a check in the amount of $24 for use in the voter registration program. We are very grateful to the members of the neighborhood unit of Grace Congregational Church for this contribution and the spirit and interest in which it was given.

The money will go into the general grant fund of the Voter Education Project, which is the fund we use in making grants to the five major participating agencies and many local organizations for work in voter registration.

While the Voter Education Project is a program of the Southern Regional Council, in terms of its administration and operation, we like to think of it as a cooperative venture with NAACP, CORE, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, and the National Urban League, as well as many local organizations throughout the South. We make financial grants to these other organizations to assist them financially in their own voter registration projects and we try to make assignments of responsibility on a geographic basis where we feel the need is greatest. We try to do this in such a manner as to prevent unnecessary ommission or duplication of effort.

Our small staff checks on the various projects of the other agencies and makes a study of the various methods and techniques being used by these agencies and we pass on suggestions to them from time to time and assist them through our research program.

We again thank you and the donors for their interest and support in our endeavors.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION

289 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK · GR 5-2121

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Mrs. William A. Gordon
U.N. Representative

March 8, 1963

Answered by Jack Newman

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Exec. Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

CR 3/13/63
RHA

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We are enclosing a check for $24.00 for use in the voter registration program, which we understand the Southern Regional Council is supervising throughout the South. This money was given by a small neighborhood unit which is a part of Grace Congregational Church in New York City. The members of this group became interested and decided that they should make some small sacrifice each week for a month or two and contribute the money to your program.

We would appreciate very much having a general report on your voter registration work and also it would be helpful if you could report back to our group on what aspect of the program our small contribution is helping to support.

We are very aware of the crucial importance of the voter registration approach to the whole civil rights program in the United States, and extend best wishes to you in this work in the days ahead.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Johns

Elizabeth Johns

J/h

Encl.: Check

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

1207 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired, otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE SHIP	

NO. WDS.	CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
				Southern Regional Council 522-8764	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To President John F. Kennedy 3-28-63 19

Street and No. Washington, D.C.

Care of or Apt. No. *Destination*

Deppite the denials of Greenwood police, a minister was actually bitten by a dog being used by police yesterday in unlawfully interfering with a group of Negro citizens who were walking back to their church from the court house where they had gone to register. Rev. D. L. Tucker suffered severe shock and injuries to his leg when bitten by the police dog. He was given emergency treatment by a private physician and then treated at Greenwood hospital. Local police have not only failed to protect people seeking to register but now use violence and intimidation themselves against Negro citizenw active in voter registration. I urge you to act at once to restore law and order to Leflore County, Mississippi and protect the lives and property of Negro citizens. Will you please inform me as to what stepp will be taken to aid these citizens.

Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
Atlanta, Georgia 525-0595

Senders's name and address (For reference)

5 Forsyth St., N.W., Room 206

Sender's telephone number

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired, otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1207 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired, otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE SHIP	

NO. WDS.	CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
				Anthony Kennedy Council Sec'l	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy 3-29- 1963

Street and No. Washington, D. C.

Care of or Apt. No. _____ Destination _____

Despite the denials of Greenwood police, a minister was actually bitten by a dog being used by police yesterday in unlawfully interfering with a group of Negro citizens who were walking back to their church from the courthouse where they had gone to register. Rev. D. L. Tucker suffered severe shock and injuries to his leg when bitten by the police dog. He was given emergency treatment by a private physician and then treated at Greenwood hospital. Local police have not only failed to protect people seeking to register but now use violence and intimidation themselves against Negro citizens active in voter registration. I urge you to act at once to restore law and order to Leflore County, Mississippi and protect the lives and property of Negro citizens. Will you please inform me as to what steps will be taken to aid these citizens.

Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
Atlanta, Georgia

Sender's name and address (For reference)
5 Forsyth St., NW Room 206

Sender's telephone number
525-0595

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired, otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$
S
E

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1207 (1-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE SHIP	

SB
PA
JL

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			Southern Regional Council 522-8764	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Governor Ross Barnett 3-29-63 19

Jackson, Mississippi

Street and No.

Care of or Apt. No. *Destination*

Despite the denials of Greenwood police, a minister was actually bitten by a dog being used by police yesterday in unlawfully interfering with a group of Negro citizens who were walking back to their church from the court house where they had gone to register. Rev. D. L. Tucker suffered severe shock and injuries to his leg when bitten by the police dog. He was given emergency treatment by a private physician and then treated at Greenwood hospital. Local police have not only failed to protect people seeking to register by now use violence and intimidation themselves against ~~[illegible]~~ Negro citizens active in voter registration. I urge you to act at once to restore law and order to Leflore County, Mississippi and protect the lives and property of Negro citizens. Will you please inform me as to what steps will be taken to aid these citizens.

Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project

Senders's name and address (For reference) *Telephone number*

5 Forsyth St., N.W.Room 206 Atlanta, Georgia 525-0595

MISSISSIPPI VIOLENCE

file

Veep

vs

HUMAN RIGHTS

This story must be told in every American home. Those who have shown the courage to stand in the defense of Democracy must not stand alone and without protection. Every church, club, and union must obtain copies for distribution. We desire to distribute in the millions, our presses are rolling. We need only the cost of publication; 7¢ per copy order thousands today.

FIRST CLASS MAIL

ATLANTA, GA. FEDERAL ANNEX
MR 30 5 PM
1963

Leslie W. Dunbar
Rm 201
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Distributed By

Committee For The
Distribution of the
Mississippi Story
P. O. Box 564
Atlanta, Georgia

Greenwood citizens in mass meeting. (3/28/63)

Rev. Tucker and a group of Greenwood, Miss. citizens leaving the Leflore county courthouse after applying to register. Taken before police turn dogs on them. (3/28/63)

The Voter Education Project released today a chronological listing of 64 acts of violence and intimidation against Negroes in Mississippi since January 1961. Almost all of the incidents are directly related to efforts by Negroes to register to vote.

The last item on the list is the March 27 dispersal by Greenwood policemen and their dogs of Negro registration applicants, and the jailing of registration workers.

"We are sure this is not a complete list," said Wiley A. Branton, Director of the Voter Education Project. "It does demonstrate conclusively, however, the pattern of discrimination and violence which exists in Mississippi, and makes Constitutional rights virtually inoperative in that state."

The listing, he pointed out, does not include the riot at the University of Mississippi last fall, nor subsequent harassment of James Meredith. "All the world knows that story, as it does the earlier stories of Emmett Till and Mack Parker. This listing, nearly all of which has been compiled from the daily press, shows that what happened at the University should have been expected by anyone familiar with the Mississippi record."

Because of the near-fatal gun attack of February 28, 1963 against three voter registration workers, a concerted, saturation registration campaign was announced on March 1, 1963 in Leflore County, Mississippi, of which Greenwood is the county seat.

The LeFlore campaign represents the combined efforts of the Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the local NAACP Youth Council.

The announced objective of the campaign is to get every qualified Negro in LeFlore County registered to vote, if he or she has any desire to do so.

This unprecedented concentration of resources in LeFlore County has led, said Branton, to unprecedented results. "For the first time in a Mississippi county, there has been a breakthrough of the fear which has held Negroes back. Since March 1, over 500 have waited determinedly at the Greenwood court house, trying to register. Because of the long drawnout process in Mississippi, how many will be passed by the registrars is not yet known. Weekly mass meetings are thronged, and LeFlore Negroes are saying emphatically and courageously that they will not wait any longer to be treated as American citizens. And police suppression will not stop them."

Branton also noted that the U. S. Department of Agriculture had made a welcome contribution to Negro morale by successfully pressuring the county to resume, on April 1, distribution of federal surplus food, which had been cut off by the county last fall.

"This was interpreted by the local people," he said, "as an act of support and encouragement by the federal government ."

"However," he continued, "the federal government has done little to protect the peace in LeFlore, or elsewhere in Mississippi. Sixty-eight years ago, in the case of IN RE DEBS, the Supreme Court said that the 'entire strength of the nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers and the security of all rights entrusted by the Constitution to its care.' The peace of the United States is broken and shattered by the lawlessness in Mississippi. The federal government has an obligation, which it is not fulfilling, to restore it."

The Voter Education Project is a program of the Southern Regional Council, with offices in Atlanta.

CHRONOLOGY OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION IN MISSISSIPPI SINCE 1961

1961

JANUARY 1, GREENVILLE, WASHINGTON COUNTY: Two young white men rode a motorbike through a residential area and, according to the local police chief, fired a volley of shots into a group of Negroes. George Mayfield, 18, was seriously wounded in both legs; Percy Lee Simmons, 19, was shot in the right leg.

MARCH 30, JACKSON, HINDS COUNTY: Club-swinging police and two police dogs chased more than 100 Negroes from a courthouse where nine Negro students were convicted for staging a sit-in demonstration. Several were struck by the clubs and at least one person was bitten by the dogs.

MAY 7, JACKSON, HINDS, COUNTY: Several white youths, riding in an open convertible, lassoed nine-year-old Negro Gloria Laverne Floyd with a wire and dragged her along the street. The girl suffered a deep gash in her head that required three stitches, cheek bruises, a laceration of her right shoulder, and burn marks on her neck. Police made arrests.

AUGUST 15, AMITE COUNTY: Robert Moses, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) registration worker, and three Negroes who had tried unsuccessfully to register in Liberty, were driving toward McComb when a county officer stopped them. He asked if Moses was the man "...who's been trying to register our niggers." All were taken to court and Moses was arrested for "impeding an officer in the discharge of his duties," fined $50 and spent two days in jail.

AUGUST 22, AMITE COUNTY: Robert Moses went to Liberty with three Negroes, who made an unsuccessful attempt to register. A block from the courthouse, Moses was attacked and beaten by Billy Jack Caston, the sheriff's first cousin. Eight stitches were required to close a wound in Moses' head. Caston was acquitted of assault charges by an all-white jury before a justice of the peace.

AUGUST 26, MCCOMB, PIKE COUNTY: Hollis Watkins, 20, and Elmer Hayes, 20, SNCC workers, were arrested while staging a sit-in at the F. W. Woolworth store and charged with breach of the peace. They spent 36 days in jail.

AUGUST 27 and 29, MCCOMB, PIKE COUNTY: Five Negro students from a local high school were convicted of breach of the peace following a sit-in at a variety store and bus terminal. They were sentenced to a $400 fine each and eight months in jail. One of these students, a girl of 15, was turned over to juvenile authorities, re-

leased, subsequently rearrested, and sentenced to 12 months in a state school for delinquents.

AUGUST 29, MCCOMB, PIKE COUNTY: Two Negro leaders were arrested in McComb as an aftermath of the sit-in protest march on city hall, charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors. They were Curtis C. Bryant of McComb, an official of the NAACP, and Cordelle Reagan, of SNCC. Each arrest was made on an affidavit signed by Police Chief George Guy, who said he had information that the two "...were behind some of this racial trouble."

AUGUST 30, MCCOMB, PIKE COUNTY: SNCC workers Brenda Travis, 16, Robert Talbert, 19, and Isaac Lewis, 20, staged a sit-in in the McComb terminal of the Greyhound bus lines. They were arrested on charges of breach of the peace and failure to obey a policeman's order to move on. They spent 30 days in jail.

SEPTEMBER 5, LIBERTY, AMITE COUNTY: Travis Britt, SNCC registration worker, was attacked and beaten by whites on the courthouse lawn. Britt was accompanied at the time by Robert Moses. Britt said one man hit him more than 20 times. The attackers drove away in a truck.

SEPTEMBER 7, TYLERTOWN, WALTHALL COUNTY: John Hardy, SNCC registration worker, took two Negroes to the county courthouse to register. The registrar told them he "...wasn't registering voters" that day. When the three turned to leave, Registrar John Q. Wood took a pistol from his desk and struck Hardy over the head from behind. Hardy was arrested and charged with disturbing the peace.

SEPTEMBER 13, JACKSON, HINDS COUNTY: Fifteen Episcopal ministers (among them three Negroes) were arrested for asking to be served at the lunch counter of the Greyhound bus terminal. They were charged with inviting a breach of the peace. They were found not guilty of the charge on May 21, 1962, by County Judge Russell Moore.

SEPTEMBER 25, LIBERTY, AMITE COUNTY: Herbert Lee, a Negro who had been active in voter registration, was shot and killed by white state representative E. H. Hurst in downtown Liberty. No prosecution was undertaken, the authorities explaining that the representative had shot in self-defense.

OCTOBER 4, MCCOMB, PIKE COUNTY: The five students who were arrested as a result of the August 29 sit-in in McComb returned to school, but were refused admittance. At that, 116 students walked out and paraded downtown to the city hall in protest. Police arrested the entire crowd, but later released all but 19, all of whom were 18

years old or older. They were charged with breach of the peace and contributing to the delinquency of minors and allowed to go free on bail totalling $3,700. At the trial on October 31, Judge Brumfield, finding the students guilty, and sentencing each to a $500 fine and six months in jail, said: "Some of you are local residents, some of you are outsiders. Those of you who are local residents are like sheep being led to the slaughter. If you continue to follow the advice of outside agitators, you will be like sheep and be slaughtered."

OCTOBER 5, MCCOMB, PIKE COUNTY: Charles Sherrod was arrested on the street, thrown into a police car, and charged with resisting arrest. Cordelle Reagan was also arrested and charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Both were field workers for SNCC.

OCTOBER 11, MCCOMB, PIKE COUNTY: Paul Potter of Philadelphia, a vice president of the National Student Association and Tom Hayden of Atlanta, both white, were dragged from their car and beaten as they drove alongside a group of Negroes making an anti-segregation march. When the two slowed their car for a traffic light, a heavy-set white man opened the door and dragged the driver out and hit him several times. He then walked around to the other side of the car, opened the door and knocked the second man to the street. The incident occured in the business section of the city.

OCTOBER 13, MCCOMB, PIKE COUNTY: Police Officer B. F. Elmore shot and killed a Negro motorist. Police Chief George Guy said that Elmore said he had stopped Eli Brumfield at 4 a.m. for speeding. Brumfield allegedly jumped from his car with a pocket knife in his hand and attacked Elmore. A coroner's jury ruled Elmore fired in self-defense.

OCTOBER 22, JACKSON, HINDS COUNTY: Dion Diamond, a SNCC worker, was arrested for "running a stop sign" after being followed all day. In court the next day, the arresting officer told the judge, "He is a Freedom Rider. Throw the book at him." Diamond was refused legal counsel and fined $168.

NOVEMBER 9, MCCOMB, PIKE COUNTY: Jerome Smith, 22, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) field man, and four companions, Dorothy Smith, 18, Alice Thompson, 22, Thomas Valentine, 23, and George Raymond, 18, were attacked by a mob of 30 to 40 whites when they sought service at the lunch counter of the Greyhound bus terminal in McComb. Smith, who suffered head injuries when he was slugged with brass knuckles during the attack, said FBI agents were present at the time of the attack, but did "nothing but take notes" while the mob kicked and beat his companions. The victims were rescued from the mob by a Negro truck driver and Negro cab drivers.

NOVEMBER 10, JACKSON, HINDS COUNTY: Jessie Divens, twelve-year-old, was arrested for refusing to move to the rear of a city bus. Judge Carl Guernsey released the girl to the custody of the Rev. G. R. Horton, chaplain at Campbell College where she attended classes. Judge Guernsey continued the case until November 17, "with the understanding that the Rev. Mr. Horton and the child come back with a workable plan which would cause the child's mind to be concerned with education rather than social reformation."

NOVEMBER 18, MCCOMB, PIKE COUNTY: Persons unkown fired a shotgun blast into the bedroom of Dion Diamond and John Hardy at 702 Wall Stree. Investigating officer Frank Williams found shotgun pellets embedded in the window frame.

DECEMBER 1, MCCOMB, PIKE COUNTY: Four white men attacked three newsmen on the street, sending one crashing into a plate glass window of a store. The newsmen were Tom Uhrborck and Don Underwood, LIFE MAGAZINE, and Simmons Fentress, TIME MAGAZINE.

DECEMBER 2, MCCOMB, PIKE COUNTY: Police broke up an attempt by white attackers to drag three Freedom Riders from an automobile at the Greyhound bus terminal. Four men kicked at the locked car and beat upon the windows in an attempt to reach the young Negroes and their driver, Thomas Gaither, field secretary of CORE. The police, who were standing by when the riders arrived aboard a bus from Jackson, pulled the men away from the car, but made no arrests.

DECEMBER 26, JACKSON, HINDS COUNTY: Rafford Johnson, Negro, was severely beaten by two law officers after being involved in a minor collision with a car driven by a white woman. Johnson underwent surgery for skull injuries.

1962

FEBRUARY 6, 1962, CLARKSDALE, COAHOMA COUNTY: Miss Bessie Turner, 19, a Negro, was walking with a young man down a Clarksdale street when Clarksdale police officers stopped them and accused Miss Turner of having been involved in a theft. Miss Turner said the officers took her to the jail, forced her to unclothe and to lie on her back. She said one of the policemen then beat her between the legs with his belt. A few minutes later, Miss Turner said, the other officer beat her across her naked breasts. Miss Turner filed federal charges against the officers.

MARCH 15, 1962, SHELBY, BOLIVAR COUNTY: Aaron Henry, state president of the NAACP, was convicted in Justice of Peace Court on charges of making perverse advances on a white teen-age hitchhiker. Henry stated that the charges were a complete fabrication, and presented an alibi supported by sworn witnesses. The conviction has been appealed. When he later stated in a press conference that the prosecutor and the police chief, who figured in the trial, had conspired to frame him, Henry was sued by the two for defamation. A Mississippi white jury awarded the prosecutor $25,000 and the police chief, $15,000.

APRIL 12, 1962, TAYLORSVILLE, SMITH COUNTY: Corporal Roman Ducksworth, Jr., U. S. Army, a Negro, was shot and killed by policeman Bill Kelly when, according to an NAACP news release, Ducksworth "insisted on his right to sit where he chose on an interstate bus." Policeman Kelly claimed that Ducksworth was drunk and started fighting. No charges were brought against Kelly. Ducksworth was enroute from Camp Ritchie, Maryland, to see his wife who was ill in a Laurel, Mississippi, hospital.

APRIL, 1962, LUCEDALE, GEORGE COUNTY: Mrs. Ernestine Denham Talbert, who lives in George County but teaches in Green County, was notified by the Green County School Board that her teaching contract would not be renewed. Mrs. Talbert had tried in January to register to vote but had been refused.

MAY 17, 1962, RANKIN COUNTY: The Negro editor of the MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS said he and a companion were beaten by Rankin County officers and a highway patrolman. Lawrence Hudson, Jr., of Jackson, said the beating occurred after he was stopped enroute from Jackson to Forest to check on a rumor that a Negro man had been killed by a white man. He was jailed, refused permission to phone a lawyer, tried the next day on several charges and fined $151.

JUNE 21, 1962, CLARKSDALE, COAHOMA COUNTY: A white lawyer from Jackson and four college students were jailed in Clarksdale for 20 hours without outside communication. One of the students was a Negro. William Higgs, the lawyer, and the students were jailed on a Sunday night by county officers and were released the following day, without charges being filed against them.

JULY 5, 1962, JACKSON, HINDS COUNTY: Jesse Harris, 20, and Luvaghn Brown, 17, SNCC workers, charged that they were beaten and threatened with death while serving a 30-day sentence in the county jail for contempt of court. The young Negroes had refused to move from a court bench customarily occupied by whites while they were attending the trial of Mrs. Diane Nash Bevel. The young man said that, in the courthouse elevator, a deputy sheriff

called Harris "a damned nigger" and beat him about the head with his fist. At the county farm, they were singled out as Freedom Riders and wore striped uniforms. Both were beaten by guards. Harris was beaten by a guard named "Keith" while other prisoners held him. "Keith" beat him across the back with a length of hose threatening, "Nigger, I'll kill you!"

AUGUST 16, 1962, GREENWOOD, LEFLORE COUNTY: Samuel Block, 23, SNCC field secretary, said three white men accosted him in a parking lot and "started beating me with their fists." He said they threatened him and then beat him for about five minutes. "There is no use reporting it to local authorities," he said.

AUGUST 17, 1962, RULEVILLE, SUNFLOWER COUNTY: Mayor Charles Durrough asked Mr. Lenard Davis, a Negro employed by the city, what he knew about the registration school being conducted at a Negro church. Mr. Davis replied that he didn't know anything at all about the school, and did not attend any of the classes. The mayor then told him that he, the mayor, knew what kind of school they were having. The mayor said he knew it (presumably civil rights for the Negro) was coming, but he wasn't going to allow it to be forced on them. The mayor said that anyone attending the school would be given a one-way ticket out of town, and if that wouldn't do it, they would use whatever they had available. (See entry below for September 3, 1962.)

AUGUST, 1962, GREENWOOD, LEFLORE COUNTY: Welton McSwine, Jr., 14-year-old Negro, was arrested by police after a white woman's house had been broken into. When police got the youth to the station, an officer said: "All right, nigger, you know why you are here, and we want to know who broke into that white woman's house." McSwine told them he knew nothing of the incident, saying that he spent all his time in the cotton field, and suggesting that his mother could corroborate this. McSwine said officers then took him to a cell and beat him, first hitting him in the head with a blackjack; then one of the policemen beat him in the face with his fist while another hit him in the stomach with his club; then the officers made him lie naked on the floor on his side while they beat him with a whip. McSwine was released after intercession of his father's white employer.

AUGUST 21, 1962, LIBERTY, AMITE COUNTY: Sam Wells and Tommy Weathersby went to the courthouse to register. While they were waiting to get into the registrat's office, they stood on the front porch of the courthouse. Deputy Sheriff Daniel Jones told them, "Get your - - - - off the front porch, and don't come back on." Weathersby and Wells got off the porch. A few moments later, rain began, and the two wanted to take shelter in the courthouse, but Deputy Sheriff Jones would not permit it.

AUGUST 21, LIBERTY, AMITE COUNTY: Dewey Greene, Jr., MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS reporter, was taking pictures of Negroes waiting to register at the courthouse. An unidentified young man working in the office down the hall from the registrar's office snatched Greene's camera away, and refused to return it. Greene was told to leave town by three white men, one of whom was flourishing a length of lead pipe. He left.

AUGUST 29, 1962, CLARKSDALE, COAHOMA COUNTY: Seven Negroes were arrested after attending a voter registration meeting. David Dennis, CORE field secretary, was charged with "failure to yield right-of-way" after a police officer had forced him to submit to a long harangue of threats and abuse. Samuel Block, John Hodges, J. L. Harris, Richard T. Gray, and Albert Garrer, SNCC field workers, and Dewey Greene, Jr., reporter for the MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS, were forced by Clarksdale police to alight from their car, and were charged with loitering in violation of the city curfew.

AUGUST 30, 1962, INDIANOLA, SUNFLOWER COUNTY: SNCC workers C. R. McLauren, Albert Garner, J. O. Hodges, Samuel Block, and Robert Moses were arrested by Indianola police on a charge of disturbing literature without a permit. The registration workers had been taking leaflets announcing a registration mass meeting door-to-door in the Negro community. Lafayette Surney, 17, another SNCC worker, was arrested and then released to Rev. James Bevel, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

AUGUST 31, INDIANOLA, SUNFLOWER COUNTY: During the trial of Samuel Block on charges of distributing literature without a permit, the Municipal Judge informed Block that he could cross-examine the arresting officer. Block asked the officer, "Did you actually see me hand out a leaflet?" The judge turned to the officer and said, "He can ask you anything he wants to, but you don't have to answer." The judge told Lafayette Surney if he was caught in Indianola "agitating" again, he would be sent to the penal farm.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1962, RULEVILLE, SUNFLOWER COUNTY: Because of registration activity, two Negro-owned dry cleaning establishments were closed (allegedly for violating city ordinances).

SEPTEMBER 3, 1962, RULEVILLE, SUNFLOWER COUNTY: Lenard Davis, 49, sanitation department worker, was told by Mayor Charles M. Durrough, "We're going to let you go. Your wife's been attending that school." (He referred to a registration school conducted by SNCC workers in Ruleville.)

SEPTEMBER 3, 1962, RULEVILLE, SUNFLOWER COUNTY: Fred Hicks, 40, who drove field workers to the plantations, was told he could no longer use a bus without a commercial license. Hicks said the bus owner told him that, because Hicks' mother had registered to vote: "We gonna see how tight we can make it - gonna make it just as tight as we can. Gonna be rougher and rougher than you think it is."

SEPTEMBER 3, 1962, RULEVILLE, SUNFLOWER COUNTY: Moses and Amzie Moore, a local Negro leader, were walking down the street. A white man in a pickup truck drew up alongside and asked if they were the "folks getting the people to register." Moses and Moore answered, yes, they were. The man asked if they could come out to his plantation to register people. The two answered, yes, they could come. The man said then, "I've got a shotgun waiting for you, double barrel."

SEPTEMBER 3, RULEVILLE, SUNFLOWER COUNTY: A letter from Mayor Durrough notified the Williams Chapel Missionary Baptist Church that tax exemption and free water were being cut off because the property was being used for "purposes other than worship services." The church was a meeting place for voter registration workers.

SEPTEMBER 10, RULEVILLE, SUNFLOWER COUNTY: Marylene Burkes, 20, and Vivian Hillet, 19, were severely wounded when a unidentified assailant fired through the window of Miss Hillet's grandparents' home. The grandparents had been active in voter registration work.

OCTOBER 3, BILOXI, HARRISON COUNTY: A Negro frame residence and a gasoline station were targets for two "Molotov cocktails" which caused more than $4,000 damage. One of the bombs struck the home of Dr. Gilbert Mason, a Negro physician, who is active in integration efforts. The other crashed through the window of a service station operated by Emmett Clark, a Negro.

OCTOBER 5, HARMONY, LEAKE COUNTY: Night riders fired shotguns into eight Negro homes and a Negro store. An elderly Negro said he was struck in the knee by a squirrel shot while he and his 9-year-old grandson were sleeping. He said he was not seriously hurt. Harmony Negroes had recently petitioned authorities for school desegregation.

OCTOBER 10, COLUMBUS, LOWNDES COUNTY: A "Molotov cocktail" was tossed from a speeding car into the home of Dr. James L. Allen of Columbus, vice chairman of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

OCTOBER 29, CLARKSDALE, COAHOMA COUNTY: Charles McLaurin, SNCC registration worker, was stopped by police as he was taking a group home from the courthouse. The group had tried to register to vote. The officer asked to see McLaurin's driver's license. McLaurin showed it. The officer asked McLaurin what he was doing there. McLaurin told him he worked in voter registration. Then, accompanied by obscene remarks, the officer said, "Nigger, do you know the way out of town?" McLaurin replied, "Yes." The officer said, with more obscenity, "Nigger! Can't you say 'yes, sir?' " The officer's partner asked the officer what charge should be put on the tickets. The officer said, "Charge the - - - - $26 on both charges." "Nigger, you got $52?" McLaurin replied, "No." The officer said, "Then you're going to jail." At the jail, McLaurin learned that the officer was Clarksdale police Chief Ben Collins. McLaurin was in jail a few minutes when his companions posted bond for him in the amount of $103. They decided to forfeit bond rather than run the risk of a higher fine or incur the legal expense of an appeal.

OCTOBER 31, JACKSON, HINDS COUNTY: Thomas E. Johnson, a white minister, and a member of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, saw a group of neighbors dumping garbage on his lawn. Johnson had just returned from taking his car to a safe place because of threats by neighbors to damage it. Johnson sought a peace bond against the man whom he had observed leading the garbage-dumping operations of his neighbors. The man presented eleven witnesses who swore that he had been in their presence at all times on the evening in question. The Justice of the Peace accepted their testimony and refused the bond. Then the Hinds County Grand Jury indicted Johnson and his wife on perjury charges, because of their testimony at the peace bond hearing.

NOVEMBER 6, 1962, GREENVILLE, WASHINGTON COUNTY: Two WAF's and two airmen (all white) from the Greenville Air Force Base were fined $55 and given 30-day suspended sentences on charges of creating a disturbance by entering a restaurant and seeking service with two Negro voter registration workers.

DECEMBER 26, 1962, CLARKSDALE, COAHOMA COUNTY: Ivanhoe Donaldson and Benjamin Taylor, students from Detroit, brought a truckload of food, clothing and medicines for distribution to the Delta's needy families who had been cut off from federal surplus commodities.
(The medicines had been donated by a physician in Louisville, and were consigned to Aaron Henry, a licensed pharmacist.) They were arrested by Clarksdale police and held for "investigation." After police searched the truck on December 27, and found what they described as "a drug used to ease the pain of middle-aged women,"

Donaldson and Taylor were charged with possession of narcotics and bond was set at $15,000. Bond was later reduced to $1,500.

1963

JANUARY 17, CANTON, MADISON COUNTY: The castrated and mutilated body of Sylvester Maxwell, 24-year-old Negro, was found by his brother-in-law less than 500 yards from the home of a white family. Mississippi NAACP Field Secretary Medger Evers termed the slaying a "probable lynching."

FEBRUARY 2, GREENWOOD, LEFLORE COUNTY: Willie Peacock, SNCC registration worker, complained to the Justice Department that officials had refused to register him on two occasions, and had rejected his poll tax payment for this year.

FEBRUARY 20, GREENWOOD, LEFLORE COUNTY: Four Negro businesses on the same street as the SNCC voter registration office were burned to the ground. Mrs. Nancy Brand, a worker in the SNCC office, reported an anonymous telephone call in which a man's voice asked her if she ever came to the office. When she said yes, the voice said, "You won't be going down there anymore, that's been taken care of." The burned businesses were Jackson's Garage, George's Cafe, Porter's Pressing Shop, and the Esquire Club. The pressing shop is next door to the SNCC office, and SNCC workers believed the businesses were burned by mistake. Sam Block, SNCC Field Secretary, was arrested two days later for suggesting there was some connection between the burnings and the registration efforts of SNCC. He was charged with circulating statements calculated to create a breach of the peace.

FEBRUARY 28, GREENWOOD, LEFLORE COUNTY: Three registration workers were attacked with gunfire on U. S. Highway 82 just outside Greenwood. The shots were fired from a 1962 white Buick. The car in which the workers were riding was punctured by eleven bullets. One worker, James Travis of SNCC, was wounded in the neck and shoulder.

MARCH 4, CLARKSDALE, COAHOMA COUNTY: The show windows in the Fourth Street Drug Store were smashed, as they have been several times in the past. The proprietor of the store, Aaron Henry, found the damage when he returned from speaking at a mass meeting in Leflore County in connection with the voter registration drive there.

MARCH 6, GREENWOOD, LEFLORE COUNTY: Samuel Block and three others were fired on from a station wagon which pulled up be-

side their car as they were parked in front of the SNCC voter registration office. Both front windows were shattered. Police later found the wadding from a shotgun shell buried in the head-liner of Block's car, and several pellets in the wall of the building in front of which the car had been parked.

MARCH 12, GREENWOOD, LEFLORE COUNTY: A twelve-year-old Negro girl was attacked by an egg-throwing truckload of white teenaged boys. The girl suffered facial bruises.

MARCH 20, 1963, JACKSON, HINDS COUNTY: Three shots were fired through the windshield of a car belonging to Mrs. Mattie Dennis while it was parked in front of the home of Mrs. Dennis' cousin, whom she was visiting. Mrs. Dennis is the wife of David Dennis, CORE Field Secretary for Mississippi. Both have been active in voter registration.

MARCH 24, 1963, GREENWOOD, LEFLORE COUNTY: Fire destroyed partially the interior of the voter registration office at 115 E. McLaurin St., making the office unusable and necessitating a search for new headquarters. Witnesses said they saw two white men fleeing the scene shortly before the fire was discovered.

MARCH 26, 1963, GREENWOOD, LEFLORE COUNTY: A shotgun blast ripped into the home of Dewey Greene, Sr., father of the latest Negro applicant to the University of Mississippi. Another of Mr. Greene's sons and a daughter have been active in the Leflore County registration project. Greenwood police said they were investigating.

MARCH 27, 1963, GREENWOOD, LEFLORE COUNTY: James Forman, Executive Secretary of SNCC, Bob Moses, and about ten other registration workers were arrested and taken from a group en route to the courthouse to register after the police dispersed a group of more than 100 Negroes with the use of police dogs.

Write, phone, wire President Kennedy and ask him to help these suffering people.

NEWS RELEASE

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Ja. 5-0595 or Ja. 2-8764

FOR RELEASE: All Papers
Sunday
March 31, 1963

The Voter Education Project released today a chronological listing of 64 acts of violence and intimidation against Negroes in Mississippi since January 1961. Almost all of the incidents are directly related to efforts by Negroes to register to vote.

The last item on the list is the March 27 dispersal by Greenwood policemen and their dogs of Negro registration applicants, and the jailing of registration workers.

"We are sure this is not a complete list," said Wiley A. Branton, Director of the Voter Education Project. "It does demonstrate conclusively, however, the pattern of discrimination and violence which exists in Mississippi, and makes Constitutional rights virtually inoperative in that state."

The listing, he pointed out, does not include the riot at the University of Mississippi last fall, nor subsequent harassment of James Meredith. "All the world knows that story, as it does the earlier stories of Emmett Till and Mack Parker. This listing, nearly all of which has been compiled from the daily press, shows that what happened at the University should have been expected by anyone familiar with the Mississippi record."

Because of the near-fatal gun attack of February 28, 1963 against three voter registration workers, a concerted, saturation registration campaign was announced on March 1, 1963 in LeFlore County, Mississippi, of which Greenwood is the county seat.

The LeFlore campaign represents the combined efforts of the Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the local NAACP Youth Council.

The announced objective of the campaign is to get every qualified Negro in LeFlore County registered to vote, if he or she has any desire to do so.

This unprecedented concentration of resources in LeFlore County has led, said Branton, to unprecedented results. "For the first time in a Mississippi county, there has been a breakthrough of the fear which has held Negroes back. Since March 1, over 500 have waited determinedly at the Greenwood court house, trying to register. Because of the long drawn-out process in Mississippi, how many will be passed by the registrars is not yet known. Weekly mass meetings are thronged, and LeFlore Negroes are saying emphatically and courageously that they will not wait any longer to be treated as American citizens. And police suppression will not stop them."

Branton also noted that the U. S. Department of Agriculture had made a welcome contribution to Negro morale by successfully pressuring the county to resume, on April 1, distribution of federal surplus food, which had been cut off by the county last fall.

"This was interpreted by the local people," he said, "as an act of support and encouragement by the federal government."

"However," he continued, "the federal government has done little to protect the peace in LeFlore, or elsewhere in Mississippi. Sixty-eight years ago, in the case of In re Debs, the Supreme Court said that the 'entire strength of the nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers and the security of all rights entrusted by the Constitution to its care.' The peace of the United States is broken and shattered by the lawlessness in Mississippi. The federal government has an obligation, which it is not fulfilling, to restore it."

The Voter Education Project is a program of the Southern Regional Council, with offices in Atlanta.

-END-

CHRONOLOGY OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION IN MISSISSIPPI SINCE 1961

1961

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August 15, Amite County: Robert Moses, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) registration worker, and three Negroes who had tried unsuccessfully to register in Liberty, were driving toward McComb when a county officer stopped them. He asked if Moses was the man "...who's been tring to register our niggers." All were taken to court and Moses was arrested for "impeding an officer in the discharge of his duties," fined $50 and spent two days in jail.

August 22, Amite County: Robert Moses went to Liberty with three Negroes, who made an unsuccessful attempt to register. A block from the courthouse, Moses was attacked and beaten by Billy Jack Caston, the sheriff's first cousin. Eight stitches were required to close a wound in Moses' head. Caston was acquitted of assault charges by an all-white jury before a justice of the peace.

August 26, McComb, Pike County: Hollis Watkins, 20, and Elmer Hayes, 20, SNCC workers, were arrested while staging a sit-in at the F. W. Woolworth store and charged with breach of the peace. They spent 36 days in jail.

August 27 and 29, McComb, Pike County: Five Negro students from a local high school were convicted of breach of the peace following a sit-in at a variety store and bus terminal. They were sentenced to a $400 fine each and eight months in jail. One of these students, a girl of 15, was turned over to juvenile authorities, released, subsequently rearrested, and sentenced to 12 months in a state school for delinquents.

August 29, McComb, Pike County: Two Negro leaders were arrested in McComb as an aftermath of the sit-in protest march on city hall, charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors. They were Curtis C. Bryant of McComb, an official of the NAACP, and Cordelle Reagan, of SNCC. Each arrest was made on an affidavit signed by Police Chief George Guy, who said he had information that the two "...were behind some of this racial trouble."

August 30, McComb, Pike County: SNCC workers Brenda Travis, 16, Robert Talbert, 19, and Isaac Lewis, 20, staged a sit-in in the McComb terminal of the Greyhound bus lines. They were arrested on charges of breach of the peace and failure to obey a policeman's order to move on. They spent 30 days in jail.

September 5, Liberty, Amite County: Travis Britt, SNCC registration worker, was attacked and beaten by whites on the courthouse lawn. Britt was accompanied at the time by Robert Moses. Britt said one man hit him more than 20 times. The attackers drove away in a truck.

September 7, Tylertown, Walthall County: John Hardy, SNCC registration worker, took two Negroes to the county courthouse to register. The registrar told them he "...wasn't registering voters" that day. When the three turned to leave, Registrar John Q. Wood took a pistol from his desk and struck Hardy over the head from behind. Hardy was arrested and charged with disturbing the peace.

September 13, Jackson, Hinds County: Fifteen Episcopal ministers (among them three Negroes) were arrested for asking to be served

at the lunch counter of the Greyhound bus terminal. They were charged with inviting a breach of the peace. They were found not guilty of the charge on May 21, 1962, by County Judge Russell Moore.

September 25, Liberty, Amite County: Herbert Lee, a Negro who had been active in voter registration, was shot and killed by white state representative E. H. Hurst in downtown Liberty. No prosecution was undertaken, the authorities explaining that the representative had shot in self-defense.

October 4, McComb, Pike County: The five students who were arrested as a result of the August 29 sit-in in McComb returned to school, but were refused admittance. At that, 116 students walked out and paraded downtown to the city hall in protest. Police arrested the entire crowd, but later released all but 19, all of whom were 18 years old or older. They were charged with breach of the peace and contributing to the delinquency of minors and allowed to go free on bail totalling $3,700. At the trial on October 31, Judge Brumfield, finding the students guilty, and sentencing each to a $500 fine and six months in jail, said: "Some of you are local residents, some of you are outsiders. Those of you who are local residents are like sheep being led to the slaughter. If you continue to follow the advice of outside agitators, you will be like sheep and be slaughtered."

October 5, McComb, Pike County: Charles Sherrod was arrested on the street, thrown into a police car, and charged with resisting arrest. Cordelle Reagan was also arrested and charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Both were field workers for SNCC.

October 11, McComb, Pike County: Paul Potter of Philadelphia, a vice president of the National Student Association and Tom Hayden of Atlanta, both white, were dragged from their car and beaten as they drove alongside a group of Negroes making an anti-segregation march. When the two slowed their car for a traffic light, a heavy-set white man opened the door and dragged the driver out and hit him several times. He then walked around to the other side of the car, opened the door and knocked the second man to the street. The incident occurred in the business

section of the city.

October 13, McComb, Pike County: Police Officer B. F. Elmore shot and killed a Negro motorist. Police Chief George Guy said that Elmore said he had stopped Eli Brumfield at 4 a.m. for speeding. Brumfield allegedly jumped from his car with a pocket knife in his hand and attacked Elmore. A coroner's jury ruled Elmore fired in self-defense.

October 22, Jackson, Hinds County: Dion Diamond, a SNCC worker, was arrested for "running a stop sign" after being followed all day. In court the next day, the arresting officer told the judge, "He is a Freedom Rider. Throw the book at him." Diamond was refused legal counsel and fined $168.

November 9, McComb, Pike County: Jerome Smith, 22, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) field man, and four companions, Dorothy Smith, 18, Alice Thompson, 22, Thomas Valentine, 23, and George Raymond, 18, were attacked by a mob of 30 to 40 whites when they sought service at the lunch counter of the Greyhound bus terminal in McComb. Smith, who suffered head injuries when he was slugged with brass knuckles during the attack, said FBI agents were present at the time of the attack, but did "nothing but take notes" while the mob kicked and beat his companions. The victims were rescued from the mob by a Negro truck driver and Negro cab drivers.

November 10, Jackson, Hinds County: Jessie Divens, twelve-year-old, was arrested for refusing to move to the rear of a city bus. Judge Carl Guernsey released the girl to the custody of the Rev. G. R. Horton, chaplain at Campbell College where she attended classes. Judge Guernsey continued the case until November 17, "with the understanding that the Rev. Mr. Horton and the child come back with a workable plan which would cause the child's mind to be concerned with education rather than social reformation."

November 18, McComb, Pike County: Persons unknown fired a shotgun blast into the bedroom of Dion Diamond and John Hardy at 702 Wall Street. Investigating officer Frank Williams found shotgun pellets embedded in the window frame.

December 1, McComb, Pike County: Four white men attacked three

newsmen on the street, sending one crashing into a plate glass window of a store. The newsmen were Tom Uhrborck and Don Underwood, Life Magazine, and Simmons Fentress, Time Magazine.

December 2, McComb, Pike County: Police broke up an attempt by white attackers to drag three Freedom Riders from an automobile at the Greyhound bus terminal. Four men kicked at the locked car and beat upon the windows in an attempt to reach the young Negroes and their driver, Thomas Gaither, field secretary of CORE. The police, who were standing by when the riders arrived aboard a bus from Jackson, pulled the men away from the car, but made no arrests.

December 26, Jackson, Hinds County: Rafford Johnson, Negro, was severely beaten by two law officers after being involved in a minor collision with a car driven by a white woman. Johnson underwent surgery for skull injuries.

1962

February 6, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Miss Bessie Turner, 19, a Negro, was walking with a young man down a Clarksdale street when Clarksdale police officers stopped them and accused Miss Turner of having been involved in a theft. Miss Turner said the officers took her to the jail, forced her to unclothe and to lie on her back. She said one of the policemen then beat her between the legs with his belt. A few minutes later, Miss Turner said, the other officer beat her across her naked breasts. Miss Turner filed federal charges against the officers.

March 15, 1962, Shelby, Bolivar County: Aaron Henry, state president of the NAACP, was convicted in Justice of Peace Court on charges of making perverse advances on a white teen-age hitchhiker. Henry stated that the charges were a complete fabrication, and presented an alibi supported by sworn witnesses. The conviction has been appealed. When he later stated in a press conference that the prosecutor and the police chief, who figured in the trial, had conspired to frame him, Henry was sued by the two for defamation. A Mississippi white jury awarded the prosecutor $25,000 and the police chief, $15,000.

April 12, 1962, Taylorsville, Smith County: Corporal Roman Ducksworth, Jr., U. S. Army, a Negro, was shot and killed by policeman Bill Kelly when, according to an NAACP news release, Duckworth "insisted on his right to sit where he chose on an interstate bus." Policeman Kelly claimed that Ducksworth was drunk and started

fighting. No charges were brought against Kelly. Ducksworth was enroute from Camp Ritchie, Maryland, to see his wife who was ill in a Laurel, Mississippi, hospital.

April, 1962, Lucedale, George County: Mrs. Ernestine Denham Talbert, who lives in George County but teaches in Green County, was notified by the Green County School Board that her teaching contract would not be renewed. Mrs. Talbert had tried in January to register to vote but had been refused.

May 17, 1962, Rankin County: The Negro editor of the Mississippi Free Press said he and a companion were beaten by Rankin County officers and a highway patrolman. Lawrence Hudson, Jr., of Jackson, said the beating occurred after he was stopped enroute from Jackson to Forest to check on a rumor that a Negro man had been killed by a white man. He was jailed, refused permission to phone a lawyer, tried the next day on several charges and fined $151.

June 21, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: A white lawyer from Jackson and four college students were jailed in Clarksdale for 20 hours without outside communication. One of the students was a Negro. William Higgs, the lawyer, and the students were jailed on a Sunday night by county officers and were released the following day, without charges being filed against them.

July 5, 1962, Jackson, Hinds County: Jesse Harris, 20, and Luvaghn Brown, 17, SNCC workers, charged that they were beaten and threatened with death while serving a 30-day sentence in the county jail for contempt of court. The young Negroes had refused to move from

a court bench customarily occupied by whites while they were attending the trial of Mrs. Diane Nash Bevel. The young men said that, in the courthouse elevator, a deputy sheriff called Harris "a damned nigger" and beat him about the head with his fist. At the county farm, they were singled out as Freedom Riders and wore striped uniforms. Both were beaten by guards. Harris was beaten by a guard named "Keith" while other prisoners held him. "Keith" beat him across the back with a length of hose threatening, "Nigger, I'll kill you!"

August 16, 1962, Greenwood, Leflore County: Samuel Block, 23, SNCC field secretary, said three white men accosted him in a parking lot and "started beating me with their fists." He said they threatened him and then beat him for about five minutes. "There is no use reporting it to local authorities," he said.

August 17, 1962, Greenwood, Leflore County: SNCC workers Samuel Block, Luvaghn Brown, and Lawrence Guyot were forced to flee from the second story window of their voter registration office. They said armed white men invaded the premises intent upon doing them harm.

August 17, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Mayor Charles Durrough asked Mr. Lenard Davis, a Negro employed by the city, what he knew about the registration school being conducted at a Negro church. Mr. Davis replied that he didn't know anything at all about the school, and did not attend any of the classes. The mayor then told him that he, the mayor, knew what kind of school they were having.

The mayor said he knew it [presumably civil rights for the Negro] was coming, but he wasn't going to allow it to be forced on them. The mayor said that anyone attending the school would be given a one-way ticket out of town, and if that wouldn't do it, they would use whatever they had available. (See entry below for September 3, 1962.)

August, 1962, Greenwood, Leflore County: Welton McSwine, Jr., 14-year-old Negro, was arrested by police after a white woman's house had been broken into. When police got the youth to the station, an officer said: "All right, nigger, you know why you are here, and we want to know who broke into that white woman's house." McSwine told them he knew nothing of the incident, saying that he spent all his time in the cotton field, and suggesting that his mother could corroborate this. McSwine said officers then took him to a cell and beat him, first hitting him in the head with a blackjack; then one of the policemen beat him in the face with his fist while another hit him in the stomach with his club; then the officers made him lie naked on the floor on his side while they beat him with a whip. McSwine was released after intercession of his father's white employer.

August 21, 1962, Liberty, Amite County: Sam Wells and Tommy Weathersby went to the courthouse to register. While they were waiting to get into the registrar's office, they stood on the front porch of the courthouse. Deputy Sheriff Daniel Jones told them, "Get your - - - - off the front porch, and don't come back on." Weathersby and Wells got off the porch. A few moments later, rain began,

and the two wanted to take shelter in the courthouse, but Deputy Sheriff Jones would not permit it.

August 21, Liberty, Amite County: Dewey Greene, Jr., Mississippi Free Press reporter, was taking pictures of Negroes waiting to register at the courthouse. An unidentified young man working in the office down the hall from the registrar's office snatched Greene's camera away, and refused to return it. Greene was told to leave town by three white men, one of whom was flourishing a length of lead pipe. He left.

August 29, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Seven Negroes were arrested after attending a voter registration meeting. David Dennis, CORE field secretary, was charged with "failure to yield right-of-way" after a police officer had forced him to submit to a long harangue of threats and abuse. Samuel Block, John Hodges, J. L. Harris, Richard T. Gray, and Albert Garrer, SNCC field workers, and Dewey Greene, Jr., reporter for the Mississippi Free Press, were forced by Clarksdale police to alight from their car, and were charged with loitering in violation of the city curfew.

August 30, 1962, Indianola, Sunflower County: SNCC workers C. R. McLauren, Albert Garner, J. O. Hodges, Samuel Block, and Robert Moses were arrested by Indianola police on a charge of distributing literature without a permit. The registration workers had been taking leaflets announcing a registration mass meeting door-to-door in the Negro community. Lafayette Surney, 17, another SNCC worker, was arrested and then released to Rev. James Bevel, of the Southern

Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

August 31, Indianola, Sunflower County: During the trial of Samuel Block on charges of distributing literature without a permit, the Municipal Judge informed Block that he could cross-examine the arresting officer. Block asked the officer, "Did you actually see me hand out a leaflet?" The judge turned to the officer and said, "He can ask you anything he wants to, but you don't have to answer." The judge told Lafayette Surney if he was caught in Indianola "agitating" again, he would be sent to the penal farm.

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Because of registration activity, two Negro-owned dry cleaning establishments were closed (allegedly for violating city ordinances).

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Lenard Davis, 49, sanitation department worker, was told by Mayor Charles M. Durrough, "We're going to let you go. Your wife's been attending that school." (He referred to a registration school conducted by SNCC workers in Ruleville.)

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Fred Hicks, 40, who drove field workers to the plantations, was told he could no longer use a bus without a commercial license. Hicks said the bus owner told him that, because Hicks' mother had registered to vote: "We gonna see how tight we can make it - gonna make it just as tight as we can. Gonna be rougher and rougher than you think it is."

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Moses and Amzie Moore, a local Negro leader, were walking down the street. A white man in a pickup truck drew up alongside and asked if they were the

"folks getting the people to register." Moses and Moore answered, yes, they were. The man asked if they could come out to his plantation to register people. The two answered, yes, they could come. The man said then, "I've got a shotgun waiting for you, double barrel."

September 3, Ruleville, Sunflower County: A letter from Mayor Durrough notified the Williams Chapel Missionary Baptist Church that tax exemption and free water were being cut off because the property was being used for "purposes other than worship services." The church was a meeting place for voter registration workers.

September 10, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Marylene Burkes, 20, and Vivian Hillet, 19, were severely wounded when an unidentified assailant fired through the window of Miss Hillet's grandparents' home. The grandparents had been active in voter registration work.

October 3, Biloxi, Harrison County: A Negro frame residence and a gasoline station were targets for two "Molotov cocktails" which caused more than $4,000 damage. One of the bombs struck the home of Dr. Gilbert Mason, a Negro physician, who is active in integration efforts. The other crashed through the window of a service station operated by Emmett Clark, a Negro.

October 5, Harmony, Leake County: Night riders fired shotguns into eight Negro homes and a Negro store. An elderly Negro said he was struck in the knee by a squirrel shot while he and his 9-year-old grandson were sleeping. He said he was not seriously hurt. Harmony Negroes had recently petitioned authorities for school desegregation.

October 10, Columbus, Lowndes County: A "Molotov cocktail" was tossed from a speeding car into the home of Dr. James L. Allen of Columbus, vice chairman of the Mississippi Advisory Committee

to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

October 29, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Charles McLaurin, SNCC registration worker, was stopped by police as he was taking a group home from the courthouse. The group had tried to register to vote. The officer asked to see McLaurin's driver's license. McLaurin showed it. The officer asked McLaurin what he was doing there. McLaurin told him he worked in voter registration. Then, accompanied by obscene remarks, the officer said, "Nigger, do you know the way out of town? McLaurin replied, "Yes." The officer said, with more obscenity, "Nigger! Can't you say 'yes, sir?'" The officer's partner asked the officer what charge should be put on the tickets. The officer said, "Charge the - - - - $26 on both charges." "Nigger, you got $52?" McLaurin replied, "No." The officer said, "Then you're going to jail." At the jail, McLaurin learned that the officer was Clarksdale Police Chief Ben Collins. McLaurin was in jail a few minutes when his companions posted bond for him in the amount of $103. They decided to forfeit bond rather than run the risk of a higher fine or incur the legal expense of an appeal.

October 31, Jackson, Hinds County: Thomas E. Johnson, a white minister, and a member of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, saw a group of neighbors dumping garbage on his lawn. Johnson had just returned from taking his car to a safe place because of threats by neighbors to damage it. Johnson sought a peace bond against the man whom he had observed leading the garbage-dumping

operations of his neighbors. The man presented eleven witnesses who swore that he had been in their presence at all times on the evening in question. The Justice of the Peace accepted their testimony and refused the bond. Then the Hinds County Grand Jury indicted Johnson and his wife on perjury charges, because of their testimony at the peace bond hearing.

November 6, 1962, Greenville, Washington County: Two WAF's and two airmen (all white) from the Greenville Air Force Base were fined $55 and given 30-day suspended sentences on charges of creating a disturbance by entering a restaurant and seeking service with two Negro voter registration workers.

December 26, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Ivanhoe Donaldson and Benjamin Taylor, students from Detroit, brought a truckload of food, clothing and medicines for distribution to the Delta's needy families who had been cut off from federal surplus commodities. (The medicines had been donated by a physician in Louisville, and were consigned to Aaron Henry, a licensed pharmacist.) They were arrested by Clarksdale police and held for "investigation." After police searched the truck on December 27, and found what they described as "a drug used to ease the pain of middle-aged women," Donaldson and Taylor were charged with possession of narcotics and bond was set at $15,000. Bond was later reduced to $1,500.

1963

January 17, Canton, Madison County: The castrated and mutilated body of Sylvester Maxwell, 24-year-old Negro, was found by his brother-in-law less than 500 yards from the home of a white family. Mississippi NAACP Field Secretary Medger Evers termed the slaying a "probable lynching."

February 2, Greenwood, Leflore County: Willie Peacock, SNCC registration worker, complained to the Justice Department that officials had refused to register him on two occasions, and had rejected his poll tax payment for this year.

February 20, Greenwood, Leflore County: Four Negro businesses on the same street as the SNCC voter registration office were burned to the ground. Mrs. Nancy Brand, a worker in the SNCC office, reported an anonymous telephone call in which a man's voice asked her if she ever came to the office. When she said yes, the voice said, "You won't be going down there anymore, that's been taken care of." The burned businesses were Jackson's Garage, George's Cafe, Porter's Pressing Shop, and the Esquire Club. The pressing shop is next door to the SNCC office, and SNCC workers believed the businesses were burned by mistake. Sam Block, SNCC Field Secretary, was arrested two days later for suggesting there was some connection between the burnings and the registration efforts of SNCC. He was charged with circulating statements calculated to create a breach of the peace.

February 28, Greenwood, Leflore County: Three registration workers were attacked with gunfire on U.S. Highway 82 just outside Greenwood. The shots were fired from a 1962 white Buick. The car in which the workers were riding was punctured by eleven bullets. One worker, James Travis of SNCC, was wounded in the neck and shoulder.

March 4, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: The show windows in the Fourth Street Drug Store were smashed, as they have been several times in the past. The proprietor of the store, Aaron Henry, found the damage when he returned from speaking at a mass meeting in Leflore County in connection with the voter registration drive there.

March 6, Greenwood, Leflore County: Samuel Block and three others were fired on from a station wagon which pulled up beside their car as they were parked in front of the SNCC voter registration office. Both front windows were shattered. Police later found the wadding from a shotgun shell buried in the head-liner of Block's car, and several pellets in the wall of the building in front of which the car had been parked.

March 12, Greenwood, Leflore County: A twelve-year-old Negro girl was attacked by an egg-throwing truckload of white teenaged boys. The girl suffered facial bruises.

March 20, 1963, Jackson, Hinds County: Three shots were fired through the windshield of a car belonging to Mrs. Mattie Dennis

while it was parked in front of the home of Mrs. Dennis' cousin, whom she was visiting. Mrs. Dennis is the wife of David Dennis, CORE Field Secretary for Mississippi. Both have been active in voter registration.

March 24, 1963, Greenwood, Leflore County: Fire destroyed partially the interior of the voter registration office at 115 E. McLaurin St., making the office unusable and necessitating a search for new headquarters. Witnesses said they saw two white men fleeing the scene shortly before the fire was discovered.

March 26, 1963, Greenwood, Leflore County: A shotgun blast ripped into the home of Dewey Greene, Sr., father of the latest Negro applicant to the University of Mississippi. Another of Mr. Greene's sons and a daughter have been active in the Leflore County registration project. Greenwood police said they were investigating.

March 27, 1963, Greenwood, Leflore County: James Forman, Executive Secretary of SNCC, Bob Moses, and about ten other registration workers were arrested and taken from a group en route to the courthouse to register after the police dispersed a group of more than 100 Negroes with the use of police dogs.

(30)

TABLE II - Schedule of VEP Second Series Grants for Programs Between August 1, 1962 and March 31, 1963 with Amounts of Grants and Results

AGENCY	STATE and amount	COUNTY	PERIOD OF PROGRAM	NUMBER REG'D	AMT. TO IND. AGY.	TOTAL AMT. of GRANT
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)	Florida (2,800.00)	Dade	9/16/62 - 2/11/63 ~~2-11-63~~	3,078	$2,800.00	$13,800.00
	Louisiana	Pointe Coupe	1-10-63 3-31-63	92	$4,500.00	
		St. Helena	9-01-62 3-31-63	131 ~~125~~		
		Iberville	11-01-62 3-31-63	126		
		W. Feliciana	12-26-62 2-28-63	0		
		E. Feliciana	12-09-62 2-24-63	0		
		E. Baton Rouge	8-01-62 ~~8-31-62~~ 9-30-62	65		
		Tangipahoa	3-01-63 3-31-63	5		
		Washington	--			
		W. Baton Rouge	--			
	S. Carolina	Marlboro	8-01-62 2-28-63	12	$6,500.00	
		Georgetown	11-01-62 3-31-62	30		
		Lee	11-01-62 3-31-63	62		
		Florence	10-15-62 3-31-63	433		

Leave this column out and put these amounts in parentheses under the name of the state

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AGENCY	STATE	COUNTY	PERIOD OF PROGRAM	NUMBER REG'D	AMT. TO IND. AGY.	TOTAL AMT. of GRANT
	S. C. (cont.)	Dillon	1-01-63 3-31-63	18		
		Sumter	9-01-62 9-28-63	73		
		York	10-01-62 3-31-63	467		
		Horry	12-01-62 3-31-63	67		
		Williamsburg	11-01-62 4-01-63	148		
		Darlington	9-01-62 1-31-63	510		
		Spartanburg	3-01-63 3-31-63	47		
		Fairfield	3-01-63 3-31-63	6		
		Marion	3-01-63 3-31-63	18		
		Clarendon	--			
		Hinds	8-01-62 8-20-62	8		
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP)	Florida	Duval	--		$6,000.00	$22,000.00
		Escambia	11-25-62 1-09-63	126		
		Bay	--			
		Alachua	1-28-63 2-16-63	1,076		

AGENCY	STATE	COUNTY	PERIOD OF PROGRAM	NUMBER REG'D	AMT. TO IND. AGY.	TOTAL AMT. of GRANT
NAACP (cont.)	Florida	Broward	--			
		Columbia	--			
		Dade	--			
		Hillsborough	--			
		Leon	--			
		Orange	1-21-63 2-11-63	1,450		
		Polk	2-11-63 2-22-63	442		
		Pinellas	11-11-62 11-20-62	169		
		Volusia	2-08-63 2-15-63	660		
	Georgia	Richmond	--	1,947		
	N. Carolina	Mecklenburg Edgecome & Nash New Hanover	--		$4,000.00	
	S. Carolina	Richland	--		$1,000.00	
	Tennessee	Shelby	3-25-63 3-29-63	1,472	$5,000.00	
		Fayette	12-10-62 12-18-62	8		
		Montgomery	2-10-63 3-30-63	158		
		Lauderdale	--			

AGENCY	STATE	COUNTY	PERIOD OF PROGRAM	NUMBER REG'D	AMT. TO IND. AGY.	TOTAL AMT. of GRANT
NAACP (cont.)	Tennessee	Tipton	N/A	25		
		Knox	3/14/63 t 3/30/63	795		
		Bolivar	12-31-62 1-19-63	27		
		Hardemon	1-07-63 1-14-63	14		
		Haywood	12-09-62 1-19-63	92		
	Mississippi	Jackson	12-03-62 1-26-63	41		
		Harrison	12-01-62 2-02-63	180		
		Hinds	1-10-63 2-01-63	112		
		Jones	1-10-63 2-1-63	157		
	Louisiana	Lincoln	1-29-63 2-19-63	16	$3,000.00	
		East Carroll	1-18-63 2-19-63	40		
		Madison	1-02-63 2-19-63	115		
		Ouachita	1-02-63 2-19-63	34		
		Morehouse	1-21-63 2-19-63	10		
		Tensas	--			

AGENCY	STATE	COUNTY	PERIOD OF PROGRAM	NUMBER REG'D	AMT. TO IND. CTY.	TOTAL AMT. OF GRANT
NAACP (cont.)	Louisiana	Richland	1-30-63 2-19-63	10		
		Bienville	2-05-63 2-19-63	8		
		Jackson	1-24-63 2-19-63	16		
		Gregg	12-01-62 1-31-63	1,845		
		Harrison	12-01-62 1-31-63	1,702		
	Texas	Bowie	12-17-62 1-31-63	2,531		
		Smith	12-11-62 1-31-63	8,680		
	Virginia	Fredericksburg (city)	--			
		Lynchburg (city)	--			
		Roanoke (city)	--			
		Portsmouth (city)	--			
		Buckingham	--			
		Cumberland	--			
		Greensville	--			
		Isle of Wight	--			
		Surry	--			
		Sussex	--			
		Nansemond	--			
		Prince Edward	--			
		Suffolk (city)	--			
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE	Texas	Tarrant	10-01-62 1-31-63	5,832		$4,382.00
	N. Carolina	Forsyth	6-18-62 8-31-62	147		

AGENCY	STATE	COUNTY	PERIOD OF PROGRAM	NUMBER REG'D	AMT. [illegible]	TOTAL AMT. of GRANT
NUL (cont)	Virginia	Richmond (city)	--	N/A		$1,000.00*
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)	Louisiana	Caddo			$3,400.00	$15,700.00
		Clairborne				
		Desoto				
		Bienville				
		Webster				
	Alabama	Etowah			$2,000.00	
		Calhoun				
		Montgomery				
	Florida	Leon			$ 600.00	
	Tennessee	Hamilton			$ 700.00	
	N. Carolina	Chowan			$2,000.00	
		Pasquotank				
		Northampton				
		Bertie				
		Hertford				
	Virginia	Amelia				
		Appomattox				
		Brunswick				
		Dinwiddie				
		Lunenburg Start here				
		Mecklenburg				
		Nottoway				
		Powhatan				
		Prince George				
		Southampton				
		Petersburg (city)				
		Hopewell (city)				
	Georgia	Mitchell	N/A	200	$4,000.00	
		Sumter	N/A	0		
		Spaulding	N/A	90		
		DeKalb	N/A	0		
		Rockdale	N/A	15		

AGENCY	STATE	COUNTY	PERIOD OF PROGRAM	NUMBER REG'D	AMT. TO IND. CTY.	TOTAL AMT. of GRANT
SCLC (cont)	Georgia	Telfair	N/A	15		
		Hall	N/A	150		
		Greene	N/A	200		
		Morgan	N/A	40		
		Wilkes	N/A	40		
		Muscogee	N/A	950		
		Ware	N/A	200		
		Floyd	N/A	85		
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COM. (SNCC)	Alabama	Dallas			$1,500.00	$8,254.00
	Georgia	Baker			$6,054.00	
		Calhoun				
		Early				
		Lee				
		Marion				
		Peach				
		Randolph				
		Terrell — Start				
		Worth				
	S. Carolina	Orangeburg			$ 700.00	
JEFFERSON COUNTY VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN	Alabama	Jefferson	10-01-62 ~~12-10-62~~ 3-31-63	957 ~~444~~		$9,000.00
MADISON COUNTY COORDINATING COM.	Alabama	Madison	9-15-62 1-31-63	752		$1,200.00
COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGS. (COFO)	Mississippi	Bolivar				$23,000.00
		Coahoma				
		Leflore				
		Marshall				
		Sunflower				
		Washington				
SOUTHEASTERN GEORGIA CRUSADE FOR VOTERS	Georgia	Chatham	12-10-62 3-1-63	2,800 2,800		$4,000.00
		Liberty				

AGENCY	STATE	COUNTY	PERIOD OF PROGRAM	NUMBER REG'D	AMT. TO IND. CTY.	TOTAL AMT. of GRANT
Southeastern Ga. Crusade for Voters (cont.)	Georgia	Screven Tatnall Bulloch Emanuel Bryan	1-28-63 3-14-63	123		
WARREN COUNTY CITIZENS IMPROVEMENT LEAGUE	Mississippi	Warren				$ 150.00
WOMANPOWER UNLIMITED	Mississippi	Hinds				$1,000.00
ALL CITIZENS REGISTRATION COMMITTEE	Georgia	Fulton				$1,840.00
ALL CITIZENS REGISTRATION COMMITTEE OF NO. VIRGINIA	Virginia	Arlington Fairfax Loudoun Prince William Warren Clark Fauquier Alexandria (city) Falls Church (city)				$ 200.00
BIBB COUNTY COORDINATING COMMITTEE	Georgia	Bibb	3-20-63 3-31-63	99		$ 750.00
GREATER LITTLE ROCK VOTER REGISTRATION MOVEMENT	Arkansas	Pulaski	9-03-62 10-01-62	3,742		$1,511.60
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE	Tennessee	Jackson	6-15-62	969		

AGENCY	STATE	COUNTY	PERIOD OF PROGRAM	NUMBER REG'D	AMT. TO IND. CTY.	TOTAL AMT. OF GRANT
MIDDLE TENN. VOTER REGIS-TRATION PROJECT	Tennessee	Davidson and adjacent ctys.	5-01-62 3-31-63	3,407		
DOUGHERTY CTY VOTER EDUCATION LEAGUE	Georgia	Dougherty	8-20-62 10-02-62	1,000		$4,000.00
TOTALS				51142		111,787.60

* This was a supplement to the $5,750 crash program grant for Richmond.

** These dates reflect the first and last reports from each area. They do not necessarily indicate that a program was conducted continuously. Several of the programs ran through the end of the first fiscal year, and into the second. In these cases the last date does not indicate termination of the program.

*** Court house authorities prohibited enumeration of registrants after December 12. [redacted] We estimate that more than 2,000 had registered by March 31.

CONFIDENTIAL

April 3, 1963

WB LWD

I have now read the Madison County report which I am returning, attached. I believe you know already the regard which I have come to have for Blackwell's approach to field operations. I have, of course, never seen him in action, and my feeling about him is derived simply from reading several of his memoranda. From all accounts, however, the Madison County drive was a success.

Blackwell seems to have a nack which is rare (I, for instance, do not have it) to organize in his mind and to express the requirements for field ~~operati~~ organization. He also impresses me that he has the ability to evaluate the success or lack of success of particular forms of activities. All of this is demonstrated in the Madison County report.

The only purpose of this memorandum is to suggest the possible value of having Blackwell spend as much time as he can in advising the leaders of local campaigns on organization and tactics.

- : -

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Hahn, Mr. Maxwell

REGARDING

Transmittal of Foundation's check in support of the work of the VEP - $75,000 for a twenty-month period beginning April 1, 1963 (check received 4/10/63)

DATE

April 9, 1963

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Foundations: The Field - 1963

Lwd - file

May 6, 1963

MEMO:

TO: Wiley A. Branton
FROM: Jean Levine
RE: Annual Budget - 1963-64

The following budget represents the best estimate I could make of the financial needs of the project for this fiscal year. It is based on the experience of the first nine months of the project, financially, and where an explanation is required of the method by which I arrived at figures it follows the figure.

The items preceded by an asterisk are those where a projection was made because of the possibility of additional staff being added to the project. The only item I really am doubtful about is that of "Harassment". This item was not contained inthe budget for the first fiscal year and I based it on the experience of the first nine months. It has occurred to me, however, that since the activities of the project will accelerate possibly during the coming year, this item may not be large enough for a realistic budget. We spent $472.56 for harassment reasons during the first year alone.

My reason for putting the budget in this form is so that you can have a base line for your own computations in the event that this budget must be made up for SRC before I return from Chicago.

It is attached.

Jl
cc: L. W. Dunbar

VEP FINANCIAL STATEMENT
As of May 1, 1963

RECEIPTS:

Brought forward from last statement			$265,685.46
Taconic Foundation	$50,000.00		
Field Foundation	75,000.00		125,000.00
Stern Family Fund	62,000.00	TOTAL RECEIPTS	~~$390,685.46~~ 452,685.46

DISBURSEMENTS:

Brought forward from last statement		$243,492.50	
Grants during April:			
3-3	$4,000.00		
3-5	5,000.00		
3-6	5,000.00		
3-7	500.00		
3-8	820.00		
2-19	2,000.00		
		$ 17,320.00	
Overhead (April):			
Rent	140.00		
Salaries	2,715.49		
Publications	1.50		
Fix. & Equip.	43.00		
Postage	21.94		
Off. Supplies	39.99		
Travel	617.44		
Tel. & Tel.	338.20		
Taxes (Payroll)	2,249.86		
Insurance (auto)	26.36		
Printing	69.00		
Miscl.	6.52		
		$ 6,269.30	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			$267,081.80
			~~$123,603.66~~ $185,603.66
VEP BALANCE 5/1/63			

ENCUMBERED FOR FUTURE GRANTS:

May 1	VEP 3-4	750.00	
June 1	VEP 3-4	750.00	
May 1	VEP 3-7	500.00	
June 1	VEP 3-7	500.00	
July 1	VEP 3-8	820.00	
Oct. 1	VEP 3-8	820.00	
Jan. 1, 1964	VEP3-8	820.00	
			$ 4,960.00

FOUNDATION GRANTS PLEDGED FOR 1963 (And still unpaid)

Taconic Foundation (October, 1963)	$75,000.00	
Unpaid Pledges	75,000.00	$ 75,000.00
		$ 75,000.00

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
BUDGET
April 1, 1963 - March 31, 1964

*Salaries	$50,500.00
*Social Security Taxes	1,400.00
INSURANCE:	
*Travel	200.00
Retirement	224.88
*Hospital	806.00
Automobile	80.00
AUTOMOBILE:	
Rental	1,110.00
Upkeep	2,400.00
Rent (@ $140 per mo.)	1,680.00
*Travel	6,100.00
Office Supplies	750.00
Telephone and Telegraph	2,400.00
Postage	450.00
Consultant Fees, and Travel (inserted merely because it was thought advisable to insert in original budget)	800.00
Books, subscriptions, etc.	500.00
Printing (100 pages @ $35.00 per page - ordinary)	3,500.00
Accounting	600.00
*Fixtures & Equipment	1,000.00
Harassment (See attached memO)	500.00
Miscellaneous	500.00
TOTAL	$75,500.88

15% General Operations Overhead $11,325.13

NOTE: This budget has not taken into consideration moving expenses for additional staff.
RTB's moving expenses have not been taken into consideration either.

VEP Budget Comparison - May 8, 1963

Category	Budget 1962	Actual 1962	Base Line Budg. 1963
Salaries	$36,000.00	$29,392.20	$50,500.00
Social Security Taxes	485.00	466.47	1,400.00
Travel	12,000.00	8,350.81	6,100.00 (See auto exp.)
Rent	1,680.00	2,030.00*	1,680.00
Telephone & Telegraph	2,400.00	2,189.78	2,400.00
Postage	400.00	314.68	450.00
Consultant Expenses	3,500.00	2,083.98	800.00
Books, Magazines & Subscriptions	600.00	218.96	500.00
Printing	5,000.00	622.18**	3,500.00
Accounting	600.00***		600.00***
Staff Benefits	850.00	188.99 Gen. Ins. 163.50 Hosp. Ins.	200.00 Trav. Ins. 224.88 Retire Ins. 806.00 Hosp. Ins.
Moving Expenses		1,385.05	?
Office Equipment		4,037.55	1,000.00
Office Supplies	600.00	921.06	750.00
Automobile Expenses			1,110.00 Rental 2,400.00 Upkeep 80.00 Ins.
Revolv. Bail Fund		600.00	
Harassment		354.38	500.00
Miscellaneous	500.00	254.62[1] 91.83[2] [illegible][3] 213.21[3]	500.00
Office Renovation			
Overhead		7,269.18	11,325.13
TOTAL	$64,615.00	$61,148.42	$86,826.01

* Due to rent payments prior to beginning of VEP fiscal year
** American Teachers Assn. questionnaire
*** Auditor
[1] American Teachers Assn. questionnaire
[2] True VEP Miscellaneous
[3] Non-recurring expenses

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

LWD ✓ - file

JL

May 6, 1963

Mr. Max Steinbock
Retail, Wholesale, and Department
Store Workers Union
132 W. 43rd Street
New York 36, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Steinbock:

Mr. L. W. Dunbar, Director of the Southern Regional Council, told me several days ago of his telephone conversation with you and of the interest which you had manifested in the Council and in the Voter Education Project. I promised him that I would get a letter off to you but the demands and pressures of the Voter Project have prevented my writing you any earlier.

The Voter Education Project is working in eleven southern states, including East Texas, but we are not currently doing too much in Arkansas and Texas because these two states have no registration procedure other than the payment of a poll tax each year. We note that 32 of the required 38 states have already ratified the anti-poll tax amendment and with the abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting then Arkansas and Texas will probably have to ddopt some kind of a registration procedure and we will then step up our activities in those states.

Our second fiscal year started April 1, and we are operating on a budget of $250,000 per year which represents the full amount of the grants which we have received thus far. We were able to stay within our budget during the first fiscal year primarily due to the fact that there was some delay in the hiring of necessary personnel and in getting various programs off the ground; but now that we are operating at

We are receiving some additional financial help by reason of a cooperative arrangement which we set up with the aid of COPE (AFL-CIO) whereby COPE is making a rather nice financial contribution to our Greater New Orleans registration effort. Other than this help we do not currently receive any other financial assistance from organized labor.

We are presented, from time to time, with many unusual problems which result in financial expenditures which we had not anticipated and which result primarily from instances of harassment and intimidation by persons opposed to Negro voter registration. For example, when a young registration worker in our Mississippi project was shot several weeks ago by persons opposed to the registration activities, we felt obligated to pay the doctor and hospital bills which were incurred. We had previously offered out assistance to the families of two Negro college girls who were injured when unknown parties fired into their home which had been used for housing registration workers.

We have expended money for legal fees for the payment to lawyers who were retained to represent registration workers arrested in Georgia and Mississippi for activities connected with voter registration. Our workers have been arrested for such things as disbributing literature without a permit, parading without a permit, failure to obey an officer when ordered to leave the court house and other such episodes.

We are now in the process of preparing our first annual report and this should be ready for release within a few days. You will be sent a copy. I am enclosing, for your information, copies of press released which have gone out from the Voter Education Project, a copy of the first status report which was released a few months after the project had been in operation and a copy of the financial statement of the Southern Regional Council for 1962.

We appreciate your interested in our work and if we can supply you with any other information regarding the activities of the Voter Education Project or of the Southern Regional Council, in general, then please let us know.

Very truly yours,

WAB:jl
enc.

W. A. Branton

file
vep

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Haas, Mr. Joseph
(SRC Board Member and legal counsel)

REGARDING:

VEP -&&LEW& (LWD's concerns relative to the Project)

DATE:

June 6, 1963

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Board - Haas, Joseph

June 3, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Randolph Blackwell

Subject: A Critical Examination of VEP

Registration for voting in the Negro community is running a poor second to many other programs of less significance, all of which appear to be motivated by a deep-felt need for personal recognition. This is not a conclusion that one finds pleasure or ease in articulating, nor is it a conclusion that is profound, novel, or new. It is precisely the same problem that manifested itself at other periods in history by the buying of gold teeth with money that should have been spent on food, or the buying of old church pianos when no one in the family could play. This quest for recognition has reflected itself sometimes in the decision to buy an expensive automobile or join social clubs.

This kind of thing is now reflecting itself in the degree of support that a demonstration for public accommodations can command as compared with a program to obtain jobs. Sit any Negro down and ask him, "Is it more important to be able to spend a dime than it is to be able to earn one?" and he will answer with an unequivocol, "No". And yet, we hear so much about public accommodations. I suggest that this movement has spread from city to city much like a fad. Can this be so? Is there greater interest in public accommodations than in jobs - the right to vote? The answer to this question is, to a degree, to be found somewhere in the quest for recognition.

Among the cruelest things that has happened to the Negro people in America has been to inflict him with a kind of illness that has caused him to be constantly torn between a quest for personal recognition and a quest for things fundamental.

Understanding and appreciating this problem in its fullness would require professional training in psychology. However, we do note that most of the people that we have worked with seem to be very much involved in a quest for personal recognition. It is this very thing, we have concluded, that is responsible for Robert Adams, up at Huntsville, refusal to follow what has proven to be a successful method of conducting a drive. It is also responsible for Mr. Leflore's refusal to throw his influence in the program that is being planned for Mobile. To a degree, it figures into the conflicts that we see developing between organizations.

1- Policy Planning

It would seem to me that we of the VEP staff have the task of deciding whether we will present voter registration on its own merits, or whether we will present it in a way as to afford honor and recognition to those that become involved. If we decide to present it on its own merit and worth, we will surely miss many individuals that we could involve. If we decided to present it as a program in which individuals can obtain recognition and honor, then we will surely be strengthening a value system that I rather suspect that we all reject. A decision in this regard is needed. I don't think it has to be a totally black or white one. But we must decide where the emphasis will be placed.

I came back to the office from the last two field trips with the conviction that if large numbers of registered voters is what we want, then we need to find ways of satisfying the craving for personal recognition.

If large numbers is what we want, then I propose:

1. That we start now to establish the impression that VEP is the only organization capable of passing judgment as to who is doing real work in voter registration.

2. That we start, as soon as possible, the publishing of a news letter in which we can give recognition to those that are working, using pictures wherever possible.

3. That we establish a system whereby we can hand out certificates and trophies for those that are willing to work in voter registration.

As field director, I need the reaction of the staff to this memo.

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

file
wep

June 28, 1963

Dr. Frank Graham
United Nations
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Graham:

Thank you for your contribution to the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council and, more especially, for the support and interest which you have manifested in our efforts.

I personally feel that our annual report does make a sound basis for appealing to other foundations for financial assistance as we think that we are now in a position to do a really tremendous job in the area of voter registration.

Leslie Dunbar joins me in sending personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

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6/27/63
LK

WBL
JM
RTB

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

NEW YORK

CABLE ADDRESS · UNATIONS NEWYORK · ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE

FILE NO.:

25 June 1963

Dear Dunbar and Branton,

This little note is simply to thank you for sending me the First Annual Report of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, April 1, 1962 through March 31, 1963. I have read this report with real interest and wish to express my appreciation of its scope and thoroughness. I join in your gratitude to the cooperating organizations listed in Table I. The Taconic Foundation, the Field Foundation and the Edgar Stern Family Fund made the project possible by their generous grants.

Does not this report make a sound basis for appealing to the more heavily endowed foundations for grants commensurate with their resources?

I enclose herewith a check for $25.00 as an acknowlededly small expression of my deep appreciation of the work outlined in this report.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Graham

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Mr. Wiley A. Branton, Project Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georga.

July 20, 1963

Mr. Charles Harris
Editor
Doubleday & Company, Inc.
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Harris:

I believe the material Professor Morroe Berger had in mind, and which you refer to in your letter of July 3, was some field reports received from workers of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee engaged in voter registration activities in southwest Georgia and Mississippi. This is, as I recall, what we showed Berger when he was here.

These particular field reports are indeed intriguing, but they are a part of an accumulation of reports on the progress of our Voter Education Project. The project, which began Spring a year ago, will run through the fall of 1964. It is a large effort to define, through practice, the most effective methods of increasing Negro registration in various areas of the South. When the field work of the Project is completed, we do intend to prepare a book about it, which will draw on and, I suppose, include some of the reports which Berger saw.

We have not even begun to form publication plans, but if such a book would seem of interest to you, we would be pleased to discuss it further.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

cc: Wiley Branton - VEP

Les,

I showed this letter to Wiley and suggested that he reply in your absence. He preferred to have you reply, so I simply acknowledged receipt of it until you have had an opportunity to answer Mr. Harris.

MMJ

July 5, 1963

Mr. Charles Harris
Editor
Doubleday & Company, Inc.
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Harris:

Thank you for your letter to Mr. Dunbar of July 3. This is simply to acknowledge receipt of it, and to tell you that Mr. Dunbar is presently away on vacation. Mr. Dunbar will be returning to the office July 15, at which time your letter will be brought to his attention.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC., Publishers 575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22 ~ MURRAY HILL 8-5300

RECEIVED
JUL 5 1963

July 3, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Professor Morroe Berger of Princeton University has informed us that you might have in your possesion a manuscript on the people who are working on the voter registration projects. I would like to inform you that we would be very happy to have an opportunity to look at your work and to consider it for publication as an Anchor Book or as a hard-cover trade edition, or both.

I think that a book on this subject would be extremely interesting and valuable, and I eagerly anticipate your reply.

Respectfully yours,

Charles Harris

Charles Harris
Editor

CH:mp

File rep

cr. ref

July 22, 1963

Mr. George Goodwin
Vice President
First National Bank
First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I appreciated very much your call this morning. Since then I have reviewed the matter. Because of your interest, I think it may be worthwhile for me to set down the facts for you. I am also sending copies of this letter to Mr. Shelton and another, for his information, to Gene Patterson.

The only relationship (though it is a substantial one) we have with the Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters is through our Voter Education Project. That Project, as you may recall, is for us a rather unprecedented venture whereby we support financially, and to some extent administratively, programs of other organizations aimed at increasing voter registration in the South. Our organizational interest in this, which I assure you is paramount, is to advance our own research in southern voting patterns by observation of problems encountered in registration and the best methods for overcoming the causes, whatever they may be, of low participation.

We approved a program of the Crusade last Fall, and committed $4,000 to its support, payable in four equal monthly instalments. Payments of $1,000 each were made on November 29, 1962, January 10, 1963, February 11, 1963, and March 11, 1963. The program

was to be carried out in Chatham and several adjoining counties. The work seemed to be done satisfactorily and reporting to us of program and finances was adequate.

Consequently, in May we approved a second program, again with a commitment of $4,000 to be paid in four equal instalments. A first payment was made May 24, 1963. Shortly afterwards the demonstrations, led by the Crusade, were begun. Without expressing either approval or disapproval of these demonstrations, I think it is clear that they fall outside the scope of voter registration activity and, therefore, were inconsistent with the program we had approved. On June 13 and again on June 30 we wrote, therefore, to Mr. Hosea Williams expressing our concern (see enclosures.) Mr. Williams has not yet had an opportunity to reply formally to these letters, but we have had assurance from him that none of the VEP money is being used in connection with the demonstrations. We suspended the program several weeks ago, and froze the approximately $600 still unexpended from our last payment.

We did not make a June payment on our commitment, and we will not make a July payment.

As I said to you this morning, it had never occurred to us to investigate the ownership of the building in which the Crusade has its office. Some things you have to learn as you go along, I suppose.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Opie L. Shelton
Mr. Eugene Patterson

bc: Mr. Joseph Haas
Mr. Wiley A. Branton

VEP

file

August 9, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Leslie W. Dunbar

From: Jack Minnis

Subject: Resolving Research Problems

Les, this is the one-page memo involving my proposals for resolving what I consider to be our research problems.

As I indicated to you in my last research memo, and in our conversation the other day, I think the time has long since passed when we can continue reasonably to expect the kind of reporting from the agencies which will develop data which would support a respectable study of VEP.

I am therefore recommending that we hire one additional person whose primary duties would be field observation and reporting. You will recall that you suggested that one research absolute should be a description of the community and its problems at the time the project gets underway, along with a rationalization of the problem-solving facility of the techniques to be used in the project. You will also recall that I agreed at the time that this was a necessity. I do not think that this kind of thing can be done from the office here in Atlanta. I think it requires some on-the-spot observation, interviewing, et cetera.

In addition to performing this service, the individual would really spend the bulk of his time - at least in the beginning - in providing us with on-the-spot research reports from each and every project which we are supporting. I think the great burden of this kind of reporting could be completed within 90 days after the individual began. And then, he could do such field reporting and observation as was necessary, as well as spend some of his time in the office helping to distill from the agency reports, such information as is of immediate use to VEP.

I should imagine that an individual with the skills we would require would expect to receive somewhere in the neighborhood of $6000.

Does this make any sense?

Jack Minnis

Jack Minnis

JM:js

cc: Wiley A. Branton

Atlanta Journal
8-21-63

file-wep
News Releases

WILEY BRANTON

Atlanta Is in Forefront of Quiet But Momentous Civil Rights Move

By PAT WATTERS

AGAINST all the fanfare and fervor of the buildup to a civil rights moment of truth in Washington, a probably more significant development has been taking place this summer in the background. And an Atlantan is in the forefront of it, Wiley A. Branton, a Negro leader strangely unsung, unknown locally, but of the very top echelon nationally.

The nation's seven leading civil rights organizations have, after years of sometimes vicious, always enfeebling internecine competition, temporarily banded together — agreeing to quit disagreeing over means to mutual ends.

This coincides with a new stabilizing force in the underwriting of the civil rights revolution. As described by Reese Cleghorn recently in the New Republic, big-time money and organization, largely through efforts of the Taconic Foundation headed by Stephen R. Currier of New York, are finally coming behind the revolution.

NEW PHASE

Some might say that with the development, the revolution has moved into a final, familiar, uniquely American phase — gilt-edge respectability. No longer, anyhow, should there be the impetus or temptation toward unnecessary extremes (proneness to violence for example) for the sake of fiscal survival.

Mr. Branton of Atlanta has been named to coordinate the activities (including raising $1,500,000 jointly) of the seven civil rights organizations. In the words of one sometimes irreverent Negro leader, this makes him "president of the Negroes in America."

This new move could be the beginning of a long-range unified approach of civil rights organizations, said Mr. Branton . . . Of Atlanta, he said fixed patterns of segregated housing may be the most significant stumbling block to desegregation. This didn't matter as much before all the court orders . . .

A quiet-spoken, deliberate man, Mr. Branton would be the first to disclaim such a title. For him, it will be more work of the same hard kind he has done for a year and a half as coordinator of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. (Another important joint effort of Negro organizations, this project reported 115,000 new voters registered in the South its first year, and 25,000 voters saved from purge lists.)

Mr. Branton will continue both jobs during the six months he has been named to the new one, commuting from here to New York. He brings to it a shrewd and undeluded ability to appraise organizations and individuals, and a demanding control of purse strings.

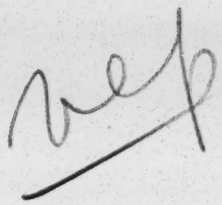
Mr. Branton came to Atlanta from Little Rock. He was chief counsel in the famous school desegregation suits there. He has served as a civil rights lawyer in other phases of the revolution, has spoken over the nation on the subject, has lived unperturbed through sieges of Arkansas harassment for his activities (a cross was burning on his lawn when the youngest of his six children was brought home from the hospital . . . and yet white court officials presented him a silver tray when he moved), and he has received many honors and awards outside Atlanta.

STARTLING

He startled people earlier this year when in reply to charges he was an outside agitator in Greenwood, Miss., he pointed out he was descended from a pioneer family, a French trader and Indian princess, for whom Greenwood and Leflore County were named. Ensuing publicity brought a joking telegram from his brother, a lawyer in Los Angeles whose clients include Nat King Cole. You had to open your big mouth, it said. Now they probably won't serve me in bars out here. (It's against the law to serve drinks to Indians in California.)

This is the joking approach to a worlds-apart anomaly which as one friend put it, makes Mr. Branton look white among whites, Negro among Negroes. (Quietly and surely with grim humor, he desegregated many staunchly segregationist Atlanta restaurants long before the student drive. Of one, he says, "I stopped eating there because they wouldn't desegregate . . .")

The serious approach is more profound. Mr. Branton's life, with another chapter beginning with this new, vital job, is a large factor in changing American history.



M E M O R A N D U M

August 21, 1963

TO: LWD
WAB

FROM: Jack Minnis

I received a call today from the Rev. Jim Breeden, who is in Washington in connection with the civil rights legislation. He said that he was reliably informed that yesterday Burke Marshall testified before Subcommittee Five, of the House Judiciary Committee, in a closed session, in opposition to the appointment of registration referees by circuit judges. He argued that such a stipulation in the proposed civil rights bill was without precedent and without constitutional basis and that it implies distrust of the district judges.

Jim says the opinion that he hears is that the Administration is afraid of a fight on this point because the segregationist nature of the Kennedy appointments to the federal bench in the South might become too well publicized. Jim feels that Marshall's position on this point is evidence of the Administration's intent to emasculate crucial points of the civil rights legislation in the interest of expediency.

jl

MEMORANDUM August 22, 1963

To: Ruth House Alexander

FROM: Jean Levine

In accordance with Mr. Dunbar's memo to Mr. Branton of August 21 regarding the SRC overhead assessment against VEP and, in accordance with Mr. Branton's memo to you of August 2, will you, therefore, transfer the amount of $9,587.57.

This represents the VEP overhead due for the calendar year 1963.

jl
cc: L.W. Dunbar

THE ONLY SUCH PUBLICATION OF ITS KIND

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT NEWSLETTER

Volume 1 | August, 1963 | Number 1

INTRODUCING OUR NEWSLETTER

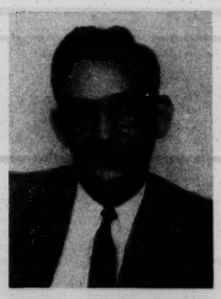
This is the first issue of the Voter Education Project's monthly report on voter registration work in eleven southern states, and VEP viewpoints on Negro voting. The purpose of this publication is to gather and disseminate news of the various vote drives under our auspices, for your information, and for practical political education.

We will report methods and styles developed by different local projects in persuading and helping citizens to register. We will present difficulties, successes, and failures of these drives as pioneer experience from which other community projects may learn. The newsletter will attempt also to tabulate results of these voter efforts and pass them on in this report, to be issued the 15th of each month. The newsletter also will offer comment and interpretation on experience of groups in the field over the South.

Wiley Branton

This newsletter, as the official organ of VEP is, of course, non-political and non-partisan. It will, adhering to VEP's purpose, confine its interest to methods and results of voter registration drives, and in no way concerns itself with any political candidates, issues, or legislation. The aims of VEP are voter registration, and acquiring information about how voters are registered, and its program is limited to these aims. So the newsletter will report and occasionally comment on the project's findings, with no political interest or policy whatever, except registering voters.

VEP was begun in the spring of 1962 and is planned to continue at least through 1964. The agency operates on funds granted to the Southern Regional Council by foundations interested in a large, free southern electorate. Project work in the main is done by the five major civil rights organizations, NAACP, CORE, SNCC, SCLC, NUL. Frequently, however, VEP makes special grants to local groups with a record of success in registering voters, where local conditions show the need for voting assistance and promotion. The project also functions to provide advice, materials, information and other experienced help to local groups even when it cannot give funds.



J. Minnis

The Project has assembled a large, and perhaps unique, store of information about ways and means of registering voters, and the obstacles and frustrations to be met. This information is available to any persons or groups who wish to benefit from this past and present experience in registration campaigns in their own communities.

Wiley A. Branton, civil rights lawyer from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, who was chief counsel for the plaintiffs in the school desegregation cases of Little Rock in 1957 and has practiced law for a decade in the South, is VEP director. Randolph Blackwell, law school graduate of Howard University, former political science and business law teacher in North Carolina and Alabama colleges, is director of field activities for VEP, and travels over the region to supervise, report on, and assist the local projects. Jack Minnis, a doctoral candidate in political science at Tulane University and author of magazine articles on civil rights and political topics, is director of research and consultant to workers in the field.

R. Blackwell

Mrs. Jean Levine is office manager and administrative secretary, assisted by Mrs. Janet Shortt.

NEW TECHNIQUES IN VOTER EDUCATION

A survey of voter registration projects scattered across the eleven southern states shows a tendency of successful workers to by-pass or greatly augment the traditional house-to-house canvass means of registration. VEP found after a year's study of local projects, a great variance in results, attributable to many factors. Some success and some failure, or slight and slow progress, can be explained by the political maturity, experience and know-how of the Negro community. Memphis, where colored voters have long wielded political influence, of course is more responsive to registration projects and shows greater increases in registered voters than, say, a registration campaign in Jackson, Mississippi, where registration is attended by intimidations, and where Negroes have had very little political hope or activity in recent years. Similarly, a vote drive in Macon, Georgia, with a free and experienced Negro political organization, brought several thousand new registered voters, while a campaign in Gadsden, Alabama, had what can be considered a notable success in registering a handful of Negroes against great obstacles and threats from the white community.

It also become apparent from VEP information from the field that registration groups which invent new, untried techniques and create appealing, rousing presentation of their programs to the people, come through with excellent results in interest and the number of new registrants. In Huntsville, Alabama, for instance, the registration committee hung two signs on a mule which they paraded through the streets with the message: "This friend is not registered because he is a mule — what is your excuse?" This conspicuous appeal within a few days excited talk, laughter, and interest which started a highly successful drive. New approaches like this appear up and down the line.

Some organizations do well with

(Continued on Page 4)

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT NEWSLETTER

5 Forsyth St., Rm. 206

Atlanta, Ga.

Ph. 525-0595

Staff

Wiley Branton

R. T. Blackwell **J. Minnis**

J. Levine **J. Shortt**

You Should Read

"If We Must Die"

By Junius Edwards

All too frequently, fiction which attempts to serve the purpose of social protest can be comfortably dismissed with the argument that it is, after all, fiction, and does not necessarily conform to the situation which actually exists. I think the American people need to know that such an argument is wholly invalid with respect to Mr. Edwards' work. Those who read it — and I think it extremely important that it receives the widest public attention — will doubtless be uncomfortable at the conflict between the conditions which the book presents on one hand, and the kind of society which we should all like to think America is on the other. If such discomfort cannot be alleviated by rationalizing that the book is merely fiction, then perhaps the American people will be more inclined to take the action which is necessary to remedy the conditions.

For more than a year, the Voter Education Project has been granting funds for the support of registration drives among Negroes in the South. Since our primary purpose is that of research, we have taken the trouble to assemble a large body of data concerning the conditions with respect to Negro registration throughout the South. The story which Mr. Edwards presents in "If We Must Die" could have been taken, almost in its entirety, from any one of dozens of files in our office. I say this to point out that while technically Mr. Edwards' book is a work of fiction, as a matter of fact, it is an accurate description of conditions which exist with respect to registration and voting for Negroes in many parts of the southern United States as of today.

Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project

Blowin' In The Wind . . . .

Selma, Alabama

Bernard Lafayette, Bossie Reese, and their fellow workers continue to instruct and encourage Selma Negroes to register and vote in Dallas and Wilcox counties. In spite of the arrests, intimidations and beatings of their leaders, Dallas and Wilcox county Negroes courageously demand their rights as U. S. citizens at their county courthouses daily. Twenty or more appear at each courthouse on registration days, the first and third Mondays of each month.

Birmingham, Alabama

The young people of Birmingham and Jefferson County are conducting a registration drive that grew out of the demonstrations which terminated on May 12. It was organized by Andy Young, James Bevel, and Dorothy Cotton, of SCLC. The Negro community has supported the students fully. More than 1,800 now have been registered. The cooperation of Orzell Billingsley, Jr., and Mrs. Bernice Johnson made possible the filing of the Justice Department suit in Birmingham, asking that more than 2,000 named Negroes be ordered registered because of discrimination at the registrar's office.

Mobile, Alabama

C. M. Montgomery and Atty. Vernon Crawford, assisted by the strategy planning of Freeman Pollard, have begun a registration program in Mobile, called the Mobile County Voter Education Project. Enough enthusiasm was generated at a March meeting between Mobile leaders and VEP staff that 400 persons were registered even before the details of the VEP sponsorship had been worked out. A Mr. Bishop, who is blind, registered 28 persons, we are informed.

Montgomery, Alabama

Sim E. Williams, project coordinator for the Montgomery County Voter Education Project, is completing an up-to-date list of the registered voters of the county. The registration drive will start shortly after August 15. The Barristers Club of Montgomery (all the Negro lawyers in town) initiated the project and helped form an executive committee of leadership from all the clubs in the county. The executive committee sets policy and makes available the resources of all the organizations. The project enjoys the support of Rufus Lewis of long registration distinction in the community.

Atlanta, Georgia

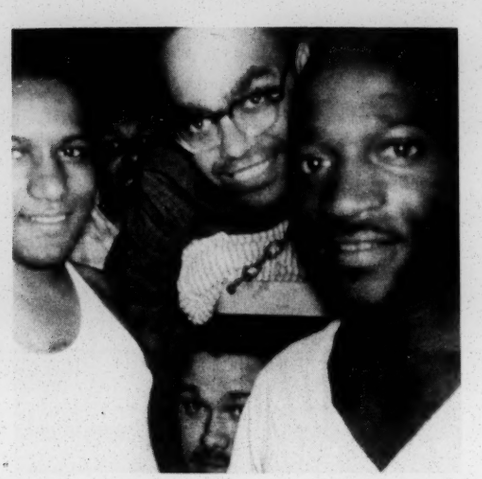
Jesse Hill, director of the Atlanta All Citizens Registration Committee reports more than 3,700 new registered voters in Fulton County since April. The Atlanta effort will continue for several months.

Negro citizens of Leflore County, Mississippi, registering at the county courthouse in Greenwood.

Mississippi

Bob Moses, Council of Federated Organizations director, reports that between 500 and 700 persons voted by affidavit in the state-wide primary on August 7 in Greenwood. In Holmes, Sunflower, and Hinds counties, more than 600 persons tried to vote under the Mississippi affidavit law, but were turned away from the polls.

SNCC men Charles McLaurin, Charles Cobb, and Curtis Hayes were arrested by Ruleville city police when they led a group of 40 citizens to the Ruleville Community Center to vote (some by affidavit and others by registration). The three were taken to the Sunflower County jail and tried that same evening in Mayor's Court in Indianola. According to Sunflower



SNCC registration workers in Leflore County Mississippi jail.

County Chief Deputy Sheriff Bradley, the three were convicted of "tryin' to commit a crime".

U. S. Senator James O. Eastland lives in Sunflower County when he is not in Washington trying to prevent the passage of legislation guaranteeing the right to vote. Senator Eastland insists there is no need for such legislation, particularly in his native Sunflower County.

Several hundred new registered voters voted for the first time in the Democratic primary. Those voting by affidavit had attempted to register, but had been turned down by the county registrars. They were convinced, despite the registrar's refusal to enter their names in the books, that they were as qualified as any person under the Mississippi "laws". Local policemen guarding the polls disagreed with them. "The answer is blowin' in the wind".

John O'Neal and Carl Johnson, SNCC field men, have reactivated the Council of Federated Organizations Hattiesburg project. The Fifth Circuit Court ordered registrar Theron Lynd to purge himself of contempt by registering 43 named Negroes and by applying the Mississippi literacy test without discrimination. John and Carl will keep an eye on Theron, lest he slip back into his old bad habits. Meanwhile, they'll organize a concentrated registration drive in the Hattiesburg community. Mississippi is on the move.

Greensboro, N. Carolina

American Friends Service Committee began a registration drive early in August. Mr. Carlton Mabee is directing the project with workers recruited from the ranks of Guilford College students. The emphasis of the program will be voter education, with registration a secondary benefit. The experience of this project should be of immense benefit to future registration efforts in Guilford County.

Kingstree, S. Carolina

Williamsburg County leaders, Jonnie Dimery and Rev. S. A. Gadston, with the help of Congress of Racial Equality men Frank Robinson and E. Brown, seem to have moved the county registrars into a more reasonable posture. Registration is confined to one day a month, the first Monday. Last March, more than one hundred persons lined up at the registrar's office; only eleven were admitted and only nine accepted. In April, more than 200 persons lined up; again, only eleven were admitted, and again only nine were accepted. In May, more than 100 again lined up, and again only nine were registered. But in June, 96 were admitted, and, of these, 65 were accepted. It's difficult to say exactly what produced the change, but reports are that U. S. Justice Department representatives and the Attorney General of South Carolina found it advisable to consult with Williamsburg county officials.

Plaquemine, Louisiana

Congress of Racial Equality man Ronnie Moore reports that the CORE task force summer project is conducting registration programs in Tangipahoa, St. Helena, East Baton Rouge, West Feliciana, East Feliciana and Pointe Coupe parishes. Though numerical results are expected to be small at first, the important fact is that Negroes are beginning to register in these hard-core segregation areas. This in itself is a radical departure from the past.

Mr. Moore and his co-workers were able to save more than 500 Negroes from a purge of the registration rolls in Iberville parish by informing the voters of what they must do to remain on the rolls.

Charleston, S. Carolina

Esau Jenkins, President of the Citizens Committee of Charleston County, announced the beginning of a registration drive July 15 which will run through November 15. It was reported by Mrs. Jean C. Townsend, Chairman of the Charleston County Registration board that 501 Negroes registered during the three registration days of August. She said, "I haven't seen anything like this". Mr. Jenkins and his co-workers have the kind of reputation in voter registration which inspires confidence that the program in Charleston will produce a decided change for the better in the registration picture there.

Macon, Georgia

The Bibb County Coordinating Committee, under the leadership of William Randall, recently completed a registration drive during which more than 3,000 new voters were added to the registrar's books. Mr. Randall's organization plans another drive early in the fall.

Alabama

Mrs. Bernice Johnson, of the Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting, reports that 675 new voters were registered in nine Alabama counties during the registration days, July 1-5, 1963. This is only a partial total of the drive in more than twenty counties. Future issues will report the total results of this drive.

The NAACP reports the following increases in registration since April of this year: Tampa, Fla., 331; Jackson, Miss., 488; Memphis, Tenn., 4,226; Gainesville, Fla., 308; St. Petersburg, Fla., 902; Augusta, Ga., 195; Polk County, Fla., 626.

Students of Ballard-Hudson and Appling High Schools registering at City Hall, Macon, Georgia.

PLEASE CLIP AND MAIL TO:
THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

☐ **I would like to be on your mailing list to receive future copies of the VEP newsletter.**

☐ **I would like to talk with a VEP representative about registration work in my community.**

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ **State**_____

Poll Tax Amendment Nears Ratification

The proposed amendment below was approved by the 87th Congress of the United States August 27, 1962. It was submitted to the fifty states, and will become a part of the Constitution when it is ratified by the legislators of three-fourths of the states, if these ratifications take place within seven years.

Already thirty-six states have ratified this amendment. The two additional states needed for adoption of the amendment will probably ratify it in the near future.

Proposed Amendment

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Milestone In Georgia

Less than a year has passed since Leroy Johnson, Atlanta lawyer, was elected to the Senate of the Georgia General Assembly, the first Negro to serve in the Legislature since 1907.

Mr. Johnson's election and quiet service to his constituency is more than a Georgia political milestone. It is proof to Negro voters all over the South of the power of their vote in free elections.

Last November, free from county unit shackles and the racist opinion of rural communities, urban Georgians, including influential numbers of Negro voters, went to the polls, and — each voter's ballot being equal — elected a moderate governor and the state's first Negro in the Legislature.

Senator Johnson's performance has been quiet, able, and effective. One of the bills he introduced has already been signed into law.

An interesting aspect of Negro exercise of the ballot last year in Georgia is the elevation of statesmanship not only in the Legislature, but political circles over the state. It is well known that one of Georgia's most extreme segregationists, a young politician, not only received Senator Johnson with unprecedented civility, but invited him to his home for dinner. The senator also has visited U. S. Senator Talmadge, long-time political and segregationist "king" of the Georgia political machine, at his home in Lovejoy, suggesting that the Negro politicians advent to the capitol has vastly improved the manners of white leadership.

Voter Education

(Continued from Page 1)

competition, with registration encouraged by contests. Sometimes its a race between clubs and churches competing for a prize for the registration of the most voters. Sometimes its a contest to get each Negro organization in a community to register their members 100%, with prizes for the 100 per centers. One registration group listed all its community church and club names — more than 100 — on a large scoreboard on a downtown street, and periodically listed the percentages of memberships registering to vote, which excited great interest from the organizations and others in the town.

Several communities have increased voter registration by talking to prospective voters when they come to the courthouse on other business. Another city plans to begin its registration drive with a big parade of bands, floats, and marching citizens. Another group plans to promote registration with a radio marathon. A large, deep South community is considering a series of beer parties to interest citizens in voting, and still another town is looking around for a celebrated entertainer to give a benefit performance for new registrants.

A surprise night life gimmick gets good results in Mobile, Alabama, where night club owners poll their customers to find who is registered and who is not. And, voter registration activity frequently displaces more frivolous and less civil backroom activity on many evenings of the Mobile week.

Voter registration workers are often asked, "Are you doing anything for the people politically other than just getting their names on the books?" And they reply, "Well, we're persuading the people to take the first step.

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File
VEP

November 18, 1963

WB; cc: VJ, JM, RB

LWD

As you know, my usual practice is to discuss matters orally and not by memo. I am putting some thoughts in writing at this time only because (a) I know that you and I are in full agreement, and therefore this memo only embodies our joint thinking; and (b) it is very necessary that all VEP staff understand this matter.

The compilation of VEP results which has just been completed shows clearly and painfully how fragmentary are the statistical reports we are receiving or obtaining for ourselves. Jack Minnis and I have had several discussions recently of the problems.

Through several years experience, I know as well as anyone how difficult it is to obtain reliable registration county or state totals; to get the kind of project reporting we want is doubly hard. <u>But we can try</u>!

The figures Jack has now put together are obviously inadequate, but I suppose we are stuck with them for a while. I think we must begin now giving registration information to the press and others who ask. So I think that for your report this month we'll just have to do the best we can, working from Jack's figures.

But I urgently suggest and request that VEP staff give at once hard and imaginative thought to devising procedures for:

(1) critical examination of all reports now in our files and in-coming reports

(2) the systematic use of SRC clip files and other in-coming data

(3) the verification of in-coming reports by checking with authoritative agencies, such as the Department of Justice, county court houses, etc.

(4) the use of friends (such as Council on Human Relation people, newsmen, etc.) in various localities to verify reports for us.

(5) Spot checks by VEP/SRC staff.

As you and I have discussed before, we shall especially need all, and as accurate information as we can get in the busy months ahead; and we shall cripple irreparably our research findings if we let slide further this very important, but very neglected, part of our data gathering.

I shall be glad to help as I can in any discussion of procedure and plans.

This memo is not intended to suggest that statistical reporting is the only or even the most important kind of reporting we need. Our reporting and generally our data needs are discribed in the statement of research ends. The concern of this memo is that we put the thought and the sweat that we should into obtaining a far better picture than we now have of the registration results of VEP work.

File copy

November 15, 1963

WB; cc: VJ, JM, RB LND

E V. L O V W. B O M U

As you know, my usual practice is to discuss matters orally and not by memo. I am putting some thoughts in writing at this time only because (a) I know that you and I are in full agreement and therefore this memo only embodies our joint thinking; and (b) it is very necessary that all VEP staff understand this matter.

The compilation of VEP results which have just been completed shows clearly and painfully how fragmentary are the statistical reports we are receiving or obtaining for ourselves. Jack Minnis and I have had several discussions recently of the problems.

In view of our discussions, it was startling for me to read Jack's letter of November 13 to Dr. F. W. Jackson of Winston-Salem. After suggesting to Dr. Jackson what we would like in the way of background reporting, he then says (my italics):

> "We are sending you under separate cover a supply of forms which can be used for quantitative reporting, <u>if you find it convenient to do so</u>. In any case, we hope you will be able to report to us weekly on each of the items asked for on the form."

I have read this over several times, and I can only conclude that Dr. Jackson will not think that we are seriously interested in the reporting of results; we only "hope" that he will, in some form or another.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Through several years experience, I know as well as anyone how difficult it is to obtain reliable registration county or state totals; to get the kind of project reporting we want is doubly hard. But we can try!

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file - Dep

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Minnis, Mr. Jack

REGARDING:

Dismissal from staff of SRC (correspondence related to, and circumstances)

DATE: December 1963

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Folder marked: Personnel - Minnis, Jack ~~"Witt, Mr. Hal" (Scupi and Witt Law Office of Washington, D. C.)~~

Attachment B

8 copies

January 7, 1964

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
of the
Southern Regional Council

* * * *

Financial Summary

Income

Received to date

Field Foundation	$ 150,000.00
Stern Family Fund	144,000.00
Taconic Foundation	250,000.00
Other	~~39,896.68~~ 40,732.98
Total income	$ ~~583,896.68~~ ~~584,732.98~~ $584,732.98

Expenditures

For V.E.P. operations, 1962 and ~~through December~~ 1963 (audited through 6/30/63)	~~106,687.90~~ ~~106,724.15~~ $ ~~136,482.44~~ 106,780.40
For S.R.C. overhead, ~~&&&&&&&&&~~ 1962 and 1963	16,856.75
For grants-in-aid to date ~~December 26, 1963~~	~~382,603.21~~ ~~382,211.24~~ 385,823.21
Total expenditures	~~$ 535,550.43~~ ~~$505,594.11~~ ~~$505,640.36~~ 509,460.36

~~Grants&&&&&~~ * * * * *

Grants-in-Aid to Date

Congress of Racial Equality (for work in Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina)	$ 51 425.00
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (for work in Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia)	75,830.00
NAACP-CORE (for work in Winston-Salem, N.C. ~~North Carolina~~)	~~1,000.00~~ 1,500.00

National Urban League
(for work in Winston-Salem, N.C., ~~North Carolina,~~ Forth Worth, Texas, Richmond, Va.) $ 15,960.98

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
(for work in Alabama, Georgia Lousiana, North Carolina, Virginia) 32,700.00

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
(for work in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina) 23,884.00

Total for Five Agencies: $ ~~200~~ 199,799.98

Independent Groups: 186,023.23 ~~181,203.23~~ ~~181,411.26~~ ~~184,5[illegible]~~ - See Copy (~~182,231.26~~)

Total Grants-in-Aid: ~~$ 382,211.24~~ ~~382,003.21~~ 385,823.21 8 ($383,031.24)

* * * * *

Grants-in-Aid to Independent Groups

ALABAMA

Madison County Coordinating Committee	$ 2,700.00
Jefferson County Voter Registration Committee	~~2018~~ 2017,999.26
Alabama Coordinating Association (certain rural counties)	~~2,779.05~~ 3,779.05
Tuskegee Civic Association	3,000.00
Montgomery Voter Education Project	1,712.00
Colbert County Voters League	500.00
Mobile County Voter Education Project	2,250.00
Citizens' Improvement League (Gadsden)	300.00

ARKANSAS

Greater Little Rock Voter Registration Movement ~~(Pulaski)~~	$ 1,511.60
Pine Bluff Council on Community Affairs	270.00 ~~300.00~~

Grants-in-Aid to Independent Groups - continued

GEORGIA

Doughtery County Voters League	$	4,000.00
Bibb County Coordinating Committee		3,750.00
All Citizens Registration Committee (FULTON CO.)		14,995.00
Southeastern Georgia Crusade (Chatham + other counties, the 2nd Cong. Dist.)		4,577.35

LOUISIANA

Federated Organizations for the Cause of Unlimited Self-Development (BATON ROUGE)	1,000.00
Coordinating Council of Greater New Orleans	7,500.00
The Grail (LaFayette Parish)	200.00

MISSISSIPPI

Council of Federated Organizations (state wide)	$	18,000.00
~~(Bolivar) (Leflore)~~		
Warren County Citizens Improvement League		150.00
Woman Power Unlimited (state wide)		1,000.00
Mississippi VEP (state wide)		21,000.00
Mississippi Human Rights (state wide)		2,500.00

NORTH CAROLINA

q National Student Association (RALEIGH)	$	1,140.00
Durham Committee on Negro Affairs		2,500.00
American Friends Service Committee (GUILFORD CO.)		~~955.00~~ 952.74
Non-Partisan Voting Project (CHARLOTTE)		2,000.00
Voter Registration Project of Winston-Salem		1,500.00

SOUTH CAROLDINA

VEP of Charleston County	$	2,802.00
South Carolina VEP (SECOND CONG. DIST.)		5,000.00
First Congressional District Voter Education Project		1,535.00

TENNESSEE

~~YWCA&NSCAF&VEP~~	
YWCA-National Student Christian Federation-VEP (NASHVILLE)	~~1,695.00~~ 1519.23
American Friends Service Committee (JACKSON)	2,000.00
Middle Tennessee Voter Registration ~~R&G&&&&~~ Projectq (DAVIDSON + ADJOINING COUNTIES)	3,000.00

TEXAS

Voters of Texas Enlist (STATE WIDE)	$	40,400.00
		~~$&&&&&&&&&~~

Grants-In-Aid to Independent Groups - continued

VIRGINIA

All Citizens Registration Committee of Virginia (NORTHERN VIRGINIA)	$ 400.00	
Virginia Voters League (state wide)	500.00	
Peninsula Coordinating Committee (NEWPORT NEWS)	1,800.00	3280.00
Tidewater Voter Registration Project (NORFOLK	~~3,280.00~~	~~2460.00~~
Total:	$ ~~382,003.21~~ ~~385,923.21~~ ~~184,523.23~~ 186,023.23	

ATTACHMENT A

Prepared by the Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

1964 VEP ELECTION INFORMATION

STATE	U.S. CONGRESS		GOVERNOR		STATE LEGISLATURE				Filing Deadline For Candidate	DEADLINE FOR REGISTRATION		Primary Date	Runoff Primary Date	SPECIAL REMARKS
					UPPER HOUSE		LOWER HOUSE							
	Elect Senator	No. of Representatives	Elect Governor	Term	Elect	Term	Elect	Term		Primary	General Election			
ALABAMA	No	8	No	4	No	4	No	4	March 1	April 24	Oct. 23	May 5	June 2	Pay Poll Tax by February 1
ARKANSAS	No	4	Yes	2	17	4	100	2	April 29	POLL TAX IS ONLY REGISTRATION Oct.1,'63	Oct.1,'64	July 28	Aug. 11	
FLORIDA	Yes	12	Yes	4	22	4	112	2	March 3	April 4	Oct. 3	May 5	May 26	
GEORGIA	No	10	No	4	54	2	205	2	July 24	May 2*	May 2*	Sept. 9		
LOUISIANA	No	8	Yes	4	39	4	105	4	May 29	June 26	Oct. 5**	July 25	Aug. 29	
MISSISSIPPI	Yes	5	No	4	No	4	No	4	April 3	May 2	July 3	June 2	June 23	Pay Poll Tax by February 1
NORTH CAROLINA	No	11	Yes	4	50	2	120	2	March 20	May 16	Oct. 24	May 30	June 27	
SOUTH CAROLINA	No	6	No	4	23	4	124	2	To be set***	May 11	Oct. 5	June 9	June 23	
TENNESSEE	Yes (2)	9	No	4	33	2	99	2	June 8	July 6	Oct. 3	Aug. 6		
TEXAS	Yes	23	Yes	2	16	4	150	2	Feb. 3	POLL TAX IS ONLY REGISTRATION Jan. 31	Jan. 31	May 2	June 6	Pay Poll Tax by Jan. 31
VIRGINIA	Yes	10	No	4	No	4	No	2	Apr. 15	June 13	Oct. 3	July 14	Aug. 18	Pay Poll Tax by May 2

*Election Law Study Committee has recommended that registration deadline be changed to July 3.
**General Election for State Officers, March 3, 1964.
***Third Thursday after State Convention.

AS OF JANUARY 1, 1964, 36 STATES HAVE ADOPTED THE ANTI-POLL TAX AMENDMENT AND ONLY TWO (2) MORE ARE NEEDED FOR PASSAGE. UPON PASSAGE, ADDITIONAL TIME MAY BE ALLOWED FOR REGISTRATION IN ARKANSAS, TEXAS, MISSISSIPPI, ALABAMA, AND VIRGINIA.

file

ATTACHMENT B

January 7, 1964

Src - Voter Education Project

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
of the
Southern Regional Council

* * * *

Financial Summary

Income

Received to date:

Field Foundation	$ 150,000.00
Stern Family Fund	144,000.00
Taconic Foundation	250,000.00
Other	40,732.98
Total income	$ 584,732.98

Expenditures

For V.E.P. operations, 1962 and 1963 (audited through 6/30/63)	$ 106,780.40
For S. R. C. overhead, 1962 and 1963	16,856.75
For grants-in-aid to date	385,823.21
Total expenditures	$ 509,460.36

* * * *

Grants-in-Aid to date

Congress of Racial Equality (for work in Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina)	$ 51,425.00
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (for work in Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia)	75,830.00

National Urban League (for work in Winston-Salem, N. C., Fort Worth, Tex., Richmond, Va.)	$ 15,960.98
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (for work in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Virginia)	32,700.00
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (for work in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina)	23,884.00
Total for Five Agencies:	$ 199,799.98
Independent Groups	186.023.23
Total Grants-in-Aid:	$ 385,823.21

* * * *

Grants-in-Aid to Independent Groups

ALABAMA

Madison County Coordinating Committee	$ 2,700.00
Jefferson County Voter Registration Committee	20,999.26
Alabama Coordinating Association (certain rural counties)	3,779.05
Tuskegee Civic Association	3,000.00
Montgomery Voter Education Project	1,712.00
Colbert County Voters League	500.00
Mobile County Voter Education Project	2,250.00
Citizens' Improvement League (Gadsden)	300.00

ARKANSAS

Greater Little Rock Voter Registration Movement	$ 1,511.60
Pine Bluff Council on Community Affairs	270.00

GEORGIA

Doughtery County Voters League	$	4,000.00
Bibb County Coordinating Committee		3,750.00
All Citizens Registration Committee (Fulton County)		14,995.00
Southeastern Georgia Crusade (Chatham and other counties of the First Cong. Dist.)		4,577.35

LOUISIANA

Federated Organizations for the Cause of Unlimited Self-Development (Baton Rouge)		1,000.00
Coordinating Council of Greater New Orleans		7,500.00
The Grail (LaFayette Parish)		200.00

MISSISSIPPI

Council of Federated Organizations (statewide)	$	18,000.00
Warren County Citizens Improvement League		150.00
Woman Power Unlimited (statewide)		1,000.00
Mississippi VEP (statewide)		21,000.00
Mississippi Human Rights (statewide)		2,500.00

NORTH CAROLINA

National Student Association (Raleigh)	$	1,140.00
Durham Committee on Negro Affairs		2,500.00
American Friends Service Committee (Guilford County)		952.74
Non-Partisan Voting Project (Charlotte)		2,000.00
Voter Registration Project of Winston-Salem		1,500.00

SOUTH CAROLINA

VEP of Charleston County	$	2,802.00
South Carolina VEP (Second Cong. Dist.)		5,000.00
First Congressional District Voter Education Project		1,535.00

TENNESSEE

YWCA-National Student Christian Federation-VEP (Nashville)	$ 1,519.23
American Friends Service Committee (Jackson)	2,000.00
Middle Tennessee Voter Registration Project (Davidson and adjoining counties)	3,000.00

TEXAS

Voters of Texas Enlist (statewide)	$ 40,400.00

VIRGINIA

All Citizens Registration Committee of Virginia (Northern Virginia)	$ 400.00
Virginia Voters League (statewide)	500.00
Penisula Coordinating Committee (Newport News)	1,800.00
Tidewater Voter Registration Project (Norfolk)	3,280.00
Total:	$ 186,023.23

LWD

File, Sec

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

January 20, 1964

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
The Edgar Stern Family Fund
800 Second Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Hunter:

This is to request consideration by the Edgar Stern Family Fund for a terminal grant to the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council in the amount of $100,000.

On May 5, 1962, the trustees of the Stern Family Fund approved a grant to the Voter Education Project in the amount of $62,000 a year for two years. On September 26, 1963, we requested a terminal grant in the amount of $100,000 from Stern and I appeared in person before your trustees at their October 19, 1963 meeting in Washington, to explain further our plans for 1964. The trustees made a grant at that time to the Voter Education Project in the amount of $20,000 for "present activities" and this enabled us to strengthen a program which we were then conducting in Texas. In acknowledging receipt of this $20,000 grant in my letter of October 31, 1963 to Mrs. Dammann, I informed her that VEP had made grants in Texas since September 28, 1963, in the amount of $24,000. Because of the fact that the anti-poll tax amendment failed in Texas we made another grant for poll tax work in Texas on December 26, 1963, in the amount of $10,000, making a total of $40,400 which we have spent in Texas since August 21, 1963.

I mention the above to point out that the $20,000 which was given to us on October 19, 1963, was used to strengthen our program during this fiscal year and does not diminish our need

for the $100,000 which we had requested for our fiscal year beginning April 1, 1964. While we are requesting a grant for our next fiscal year, many of our programs will be launched in February and March and will continue well beyond March 31, which is the end offour present fiscal year and we, therfore, need to know what funds we can count on as well as possible before making commitments to participating agencies. Our September 26, 1963 letter explains the manner in which we intend to operate in 1964 andtells you of our progress during the first fiscal year. Within the next ten days we will have a schedule reflecting VEP registration results and expenditures from its beginning through December 31, 1963. Prelinary reports show a total of 79,994 new registrants since April 1, 1963. While this does not reflect the total increase of our VEP projects I think you would be interested in the following partial breakdown:

Alabama	5992
Arkansas	2304
Florida	13416
Georgia	19191
Louisiana	2347
Mississippi	996
North Carolina	9987
South Carolina	10228
Tennessee	11392
Virginia	4141
Total	79994

It is our intention to support actual registration projects in each of the eleven states up until the deadline for voting in the November general election as shown on the attached VEP Election Calendar. The Maine legislature approved the anti-poll tax amendment this past week and only one more state is needed for the anti-poll tax amendment to become law. We are keeping our fingers crossed for favorable action in either South Dakota or Arizona, where the legislatures are now in session. Favorable action at anyearly date would result in greatly increased registration in the five poll tax states.

Attachment B is a synoptic statement of project finances through December 31, 1963. We must maintain a reserve of

funds to finance the completion of the writing of the final report of VEP activities and when this has been done it is our intention, at that time, to advise all donors to the project of the amount of unexpended funds, if any, and to request their instructions for distribution of them.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
enc. 2

File V.E.P. #1

Prepared by the Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
1/28/64

RESULTS OF VEP PROGRAMS
April 1, 1962 to December 31, 1963

STATE	1st Fiscal Year 4/1/62-3/31/63	1st 9 months 2nd Fiscal Year 4/1/63-12/31/63	Total As of 12/31/63	Total Voting Age Population	White Voting Age Population	Nonwhite Voting Age Population	Total Registration	W. Reg.	NW Reg.	% NW of Total Reg.	% NW Reg. of NWVAP
ALABAMA	5,598	7,889	13,487	1,834,378	1,353,058	481,320	1,015,000	925,000	90,000	8.8	18.7
ARKANSAS	4,952	3,804	8,756	1,043,269	850,643	192,626	633,665	553,655	80,000	12.6	41.5
FLORIDA	22,790	14,321	37,111	3,087,699	2,617,438	470,261	1,899,433	1,686,215	213,128	11.2	45.3
GEORGIA*	27,156	19,191	46,347	2,409,972	1,797,062	612,910	1,405,000	1,183,181	221,919	15.7	36.2
LOUISIANA	2,765	3,134	5,899	1,803,805	1,289,216	514,589	1,193,775	1,031,691	162,084	13.5	31.4
MISSISSIPPI	1,592	1,636	3,228	1,170,522	748,266	422,256	553,000	525,000	28,000	5.0	6.6
N. CAROLINA	9,838	13,485	23,323	2,556,884	2,005,955	550,929	2,090,270	1,856,497	233,773	11.1	42.4
S. CAROLINA	7,357	13,370	20,727	1,266,251	895,147	371,104	814,628	703,000	111,628	13.7	30.0
TENNESSEE	16,269	17,974	34,243	2,092,891	1,779,018	313,873	1,500,000	1,297,026	202,974	13.5	64.6
TEXAS	20,590	100,000**	120,590	5,534,277	4,884,765	649,512	2,020,183	1,720,183	300,000	14.8	46.1
VIRGINIA	6,100	7,777	13,877	2,312,887	1,876,167	436,720	1,032,104	923,792	108,312	10.4	24.8
TOTAL	125,007	202,581	327,588	25,112,835	20,096,735	5,016,100	14,157,058	12,405,240	1,751,818	11.8	35.2

*Voting age is 18

**Represents an estimate of the new voters paying poll tax for the first time under a VEP-sponsored statewide program through Voters of Texas Enlist (V.O.T.E.). Includes Latin Americans, white and colored. 60,000 are estimated to be Negroes.

NOTE: The 300,000 NW Reg. for Texas is a 1963 estimate. 1964 results will not be known until about 3/15/64. Poll tax is only registration.
The first three columns to the right of the double vertical bar reflect 1960 census figures.

Prepared by the Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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* → permanent registration

file
N.E.P. 1964

March 9, 1964

WAB VEJ /cc: LWD, RHA

Expenses

We agreed that 6/27 of the total amount for moving, renovation, rent, and the architect's fee is an equitable figure for VEP's share in the costs. Pursuant to that agreement, the costs are as follows:

	Total Cost	VEP's Share
Moving - - - - - - -	$ 519.65	$ 115.50
Renovation - - - - -	2,304.06	512.04
Rent - - - - - - - - - -	883.33	196.32
Architect's Fee - - - (has not been submitted)		
Whitehead Electric Co.	31.28	6.96
	$3,749.32	$ 830.82

We also agreed that VEP would pay $200.00 of the $700.00 accounting bill.

The chair for BW cost $79.02. It was included in the SRC order. The VEP share of the rent has been paid by SRC for February and March.

file
Sec & voter educ. proj

✓I✓ LWD✓

March 20, 1964

Mr. Melvin L. Wulf
Legal Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Mel:

I have given considerable thought to your letter of March 11, regarding the various uses to which the $15,000 gift to ACLU could be put in "the promotion and protection of voting rights."

I showed your letter to Leslie Dunbar who favors item No. 2. I am rather inclined to concur in your personal preference of using the money to support a succession of lawyers to defend in criminal cases and to introduce affirmative litigation around voter registration drives and interferences with such drives.

This might involve item No. 5 and would also involve item No. 2 with the exception of the fact that the latter would not be limited to the use of one lawyer.

It is possible that we could be of some assistance in this regard as we recently added to our staff a young lawyer who comes to us as an intern under the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation program. John Due has already been admitted to practice in the state and U.S. District Courts in Florida and at the momen he is in Mississippi handling some legal matters there which resulted from CORE voter registration efforts.

Let us know if we can be of any further help.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

THE ONLY SUCH PUBLICATION OF ITS KIND

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT NEWSLETTER

Volume 1 March, 1964 Number 2

A TALE OF TWO CITIES

Two counties, each boasting a metropolis as its county seat, conducted voter registration drives during 1963. One, in Miami (Dade County), Florida, was a coordinated effort of a number of community organizations. The other in Charlotte (Mecklenburg County), North Carolina, was conducted by an arm of the Mecklenburg Organization on Political Affairs. These stories are presented as illustrations of successful activity in voter registration.

Miami (Dade County), Florida

The month of September was a productive one for voter registration in Miami (Dade County), Florida. Through a community effort, CORE Field Secretary Weldon Rougeau aided in the addition of 5,593 persons to the registration polls.

The period of most intensive registration activity ran from September 16 to September 28. During that time, 5,567 persons were registered. Of that total, about 100 were whites.

Registration was conducted in eleven predominantly Negro areas. Registration sub-stations were placed in these areas by the county authorities. The locations of the sub-stations were: Homestead, Goulds, Perrine, Richmond Heights, Coconut Grove, downtown Miami, Opa-Locka, Brown's Sub, Liberty Square, James E. Scott and Liberty City (Hutcheson Realty).

The locations were open Monday through Saturday from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., with the exception of Tuesdays and Thursdays when they remained open until 9 p.m. The turnout on Tuesdays and Thursdays was very heavy despite rain in some areas.

The personnel for these sub-stations came from the eleven areas and were hired by the county. They were all Negroes who were registered voters. In most instances, there was representation of the two major political parties.

The task of getting the sub-stations set up was not an easy one. Initially, the county politicians were opposed to the idea because the proposed registration drive was primarily oriented toward the Negro community. The Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of South Florida helped the county authorities to see that providing this service was a part of their responsibility.

Several members of the Community Relations Board (Bi-Racial Committee) took the matter before the County Manager. He was very receptive to the idea and asked that preferential locations for registration sub-stations be submitted to him by the board. The board, in turn, asked Mr. Rougeau to suggest the sub-station locations. After consulting with residents and leaders, a list of locations was submitted.

The office of the Supervisor of Registration gave its full cooperation throughout the drive.

There was the omnipresent problem of getting the organizations in the Negro community to take an active part in the drive. A few organizations did get members to work in the drive, but the number from these organizations was not representative of the active membership in them. The organizations

(Continued on Page 4)

Charlotte, North Carolina

The Mecklenburg Organization on Political Affairs, a non-partisan organization, was formed in 1958 in order to increase Negro registration and participation in elections. Since its inception, MOPA has been the stimulant for political activity among Negroes in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County. Realizing the need for a massive registration drive in the county, the members of MOPA supported the organization of the Non-Partisan Voters Registration Coordinating Committee. This committee has broad community representation. Dr. R. A. Hawkins is chairman, Mr. Calvene Ross, secretary, T. H. Wyche, attorney, and Mr. James Polk are members-at-large of the Executive Committee. Dr. R. P. Perry, President of Johnson C. Smith University is a member of the Steering Committee, along with all precinct chairmen, representatives from labor, civic and social organizations, and the communications media.

The committee has completed the first phase of a drive which they hope will yield 20,000 new registrants in Mecklenburg County by November, 1964. The organization engaged in an intensive two-month program beginning September 16 and ending November 18. In one day's activity alone, on November 9, 1,051 new voters were added to the rolls. When the books closed on November 18, 5,236 new voters had been successfully registered.

Personnel for this effective campaign included twenty adult workers and the student body of Johnson C. Smith University. For the first week, a "fan out" technique was utilized. Workers were concentrated in the downtown area near the Board of Elections office Monday through Friday during the hours when the books were available. Through personal contact in the streets, the workers urged persons to register. On three Saturdays in November, when the books were available in the precincts, greater attention was given to community activity. Contact was established with the total community through churches, civic and social organizations, radio and televising advertising, and door-to-door canvassing in an effort to reach all individuals of voting age.

The drive is now in its second phase which will run through the primary registration period through April. The final phase will resume in September and run through the general election registration period in October. With the practical experiences gained in the initial phase, the committee is moving ahead with renewed enthusiasm.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT NEWSLETTER

5 Forsyth St., Rm. 502

Atlanta, Ga.

Ph. 525-0595

Staff

Wiley Branton

R. T. Blackwell **B. Whitaker**

J. Levine **J. Shortt**

Poll Tax Is Outlawed By Constitutional Amendment

The 24th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, outlawing the use of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections, was ratified by the required three-quarters (38) of the states, and became a part of the Constitution on January 23.

The Amendment goes into effect immediately and will have the effect of barring requirement of the poll tax as a qualification for voting in the 1964 Presidential and Congressional elections, as well as all subsequent federal elections. Five states had a poll tax as prerequisite for voting: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

The final state to ratify the amendment was South Dakota. The South Dakota Senate suspended normal rules to pass the ratification resolution when it heard that the Georgia Senate had ratified the amendment and sent it to the Georgia House where early approval seemed likely. In addition to Georgia, the other states whose legislatures were in session but had not taken final action were Arizona, South Carolina, and Virginia.

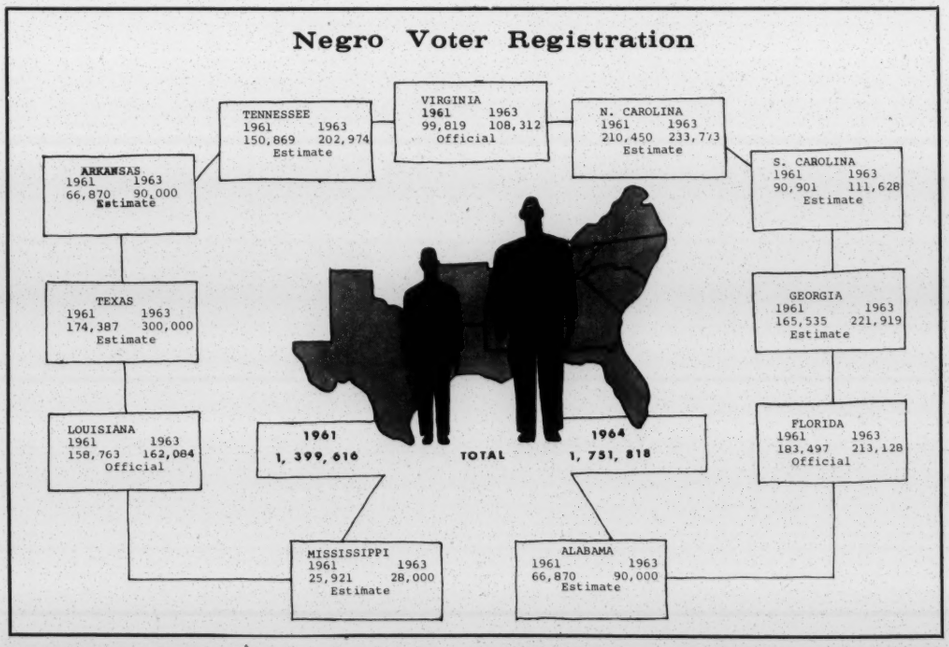
The Amendment will have no effect on the 45 states which do not impose a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. The five states which still have poll tax must make a choice before the 1964 elections. They can either, as Texas and Virginia have already done, provide for "dual elections" in which anyone may vote for federal officers but only persons who have paid their poll taxes may vote for state and local officials, or any otherwise qualified person can vote in all elections. Up to January 30, the legislatures of Alabama and Mississippi have made no move to establish "dual elections." The Arkansas legislature is scheduled to meet in special session to enact a new registration law which probably will not require a poll tax in any election.

Blowin' In The Wind . . . .

Louisiana

Ronnie Moore, CORE Field Secretary, reports that a hole has finally been made in the wall of resistance to Negro registration in West Feliciana and Tensas Parishes (counties). In West Feliciana, Rev. Joseph Carter was registered on October 17, despite massive opposition from whites. Under the eyes of Justice Department and FBI personnel, he had to enter the courthouse by a side door because the front door had been blocked. But he *did* register, thus becoming the first Negro to register in that parish within the living memory of oldsters in the community. Since that time, at least twelve other Negroes have registered.

On January 10, a letter was received from Marvin Rich, Community Relations Director, CORE, indicating that fifteen Negroes had registered to vote in Tensas Parish, assuring Negro registration in every parish in Louisiana. Mr. Rich indicated that registration efforts would begin soon in Bienville, Red River, Webster, East and West Carroll, Rapides, and Washington Parishes.



Danville, Virginia

During the latter part of November, a task force headed by Herbert Coulton, Field Secretary, SCLC, moved into Danville to resume voter registration activity following the November elections.

In the first nine days of the month, 310 new registrants were added to the lists. This first nine days was the deadline for payment of poll tax to be eligible for voting in the June primaries. Since many Negroes were out of work, $1,300 was raised by various groups by foregoing the purchase of Christmas gifts and sent to the Danville Christian Progressive Association for the purpose of making loans to individuals who could not afford to pay the poll tax. Those persons borrowing money had to be literate since emphasis was not merely upon payment of the tax, but actual registration. From a list prepared in an earlier phase of the drive, students in the community reached all persons who had registered but were not eligible to vote because their poll taxes were in arrears. These individuals were encouraged to make payment. Many of those able to pay did so, thus making them eligible to vote in the upcoming elections. In December, 369 new voters were registered.

Greensboro, North Carolina

In fifteen working days, August 9-30, 1963, with a budget of $955, the American Friends Service Committee, cooperating with local NAACP and CORE chapters, conducted a voter registration project in Greensboro, North Carolina, which added 803 new voters to the rolls. The project centered its activity in the Negro community, but did not discourage whites from registering. Several Negro neighborhoods in the five predominantly Negro precincts were canvassed by interracial teams of two weekday evenings from 7 to 9, and Saturday afternoons from 2 to 6. During these hours, registrars were available at a neighborhood church or community center to register people brought there by the project workers. House-to-house coverage was supplemented by canvassing on downtown streets and in neighborhood shopping centers. Working in new neighborhoods was found to be very worthwhile because many registered voters had not changed

Local police arresting two SNCC workers on steps of federal building, Selma, Dallas County, Alabama, October 7, 1963.

their addresses with the Board of Elections. Work was also done on the streets where houses were condemned and soon to be vacated in order to obtain new addresses to be given to the board.

The canvassers had to determine which of the interviewees were not registered but qualified, which needed to notify the Board of an address change, and which needed to re-register because their names had been stricken from the rolls because they had not voted in six years as well as to dissuade fears, provide information about registration procedures and convince Negroes that there can be a hard, practical utility in registering and voting. The use of a mimeographed flyer with the slogan, "Your Vote Can Be Your Voice" was found to be very valuable in laying the foundation for talking about registration.

Although the primary emphasis was voter registration, as much time as possible was given to voter education. The workers found that their efforts were more successful if they used specific explanations. The importance of voting in all elections and of reading and thinking and of making up one's own mind how to vote was stressed.

Greenville County, S. C.

A recent report from Greenville County showing some 3,000 persons registered during December, 1963, and January, 1964, reveals that Charleston County has lost the shifting spotlight in the Palmetto state. Rev. Nathaniel Brockman is campaign director for the NAACP sponsored voter registration drive. He indicates that contacts have been initiated all over the county, and interest and enthusiasm are at a high pitch. He has a group of 85 volunteers who are committed to using every available technique in order to stimulate registration activity in Greenville County.

Chattanooga, Tennessee

Mr. William T. Underwood, NAACP campaign director in Hamilton County has reported 3,797 new registrants since campaign began in late October. Using a variety of techniques, including block organization in most wards, the 110 workers have achieved significant results in reaching potential registrants. During the last two weeks in December, the Registrar's books were carried into three wards on three days resulting in 827 new registrants. This was a reversal of an earlier decision of the Election Commission not to allow the books to be taken to the wards. There was a feeling that increased registration among whites had also been influenced by the publicity from the campaign.

Dallas County, Alabama

There are 30,000 Negroes and less than 25,000 whites in Dallas County, Alabama, according to the 1960 Census reports. However, less than 300 names of eligible Negroes could be found on the registration rolls.

In September, 1963, SNCC initiated an intensive voter registration project in Selma, Alabama. Weekly mass meetings in conjunction with the Dallas County Voters League featured such speakers as John Lewis, James Forman, James Baldwin, Dick Gregory, Rev. Red Shuttlesworth, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. But nothing drew more dramatic response than "Freedom Day," October 7, when more than 350 Negroes waited in line all day to register to vote. From October 7 through November 8, 252 Negroes filed applications on the 23 days on which registration was possible.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals issued a mandate on 9/30/63 requiring the District Court of the Southern District of Alabama to enjoin the Dallas County Board of Registrars from discriminating against Negroes. Law enforcement officers of Selma and Dallas counties actively intimidated prospective registrants during the drive. A motion by the Department of Justice to further enjoin Dallas County officials and the White Citizens Council from intimidating voter registration workers, voter applicants, and Justice Department attorneys has been filed. While the motion is before the court, it seems likely that there will be less overt action by these two groups.

Canton, Mississippi

The city of Canton is located 25 miles north of Jackson in Madison County. According to the 1960 Census, its total population is 9707, the Negro population being 6,220. Only 5.9 per cent of the voting age Negro population in Madison County is registered to vote, according to the 1961 U. S. Civil Rights Commission Report on Voting.

From January 21 through January 27, seventeen voter registration workers were arrested in efforts to mount a voter registration drive in this central Mississippi community. These arrests were on a series of charges ranging from burning leaves on a sidewalk to distributing leaflets without a permit. The Canton City Council has passed a new local ordinance making it illegal to pass out literature in the city unless approved by the Mayor and Chief of Police.

Officials of SNCC and CORE protested the arrests to the U. S. Department of Justice and called for federal protection of civil rights workers. In related developments, the homes of local civil rights leaders were searched; operation of all Negro taxicabs was halted; gas pumps were removed from a station owned by a Negro; owner of a cafe frequented by voter registration workers was arrested.

On February 3, all of the rights workers were found guilty and convicted in Canton city court. The sentences were $500 fines and six months in jail on each charge. The sentences are being appealed.

Negroes waiting to register at Orangeburg County, South Carolina, Courthouse November 4, 1963. J. W. McPherson, Chairman, local voter registration project, with cane.

PLEASE CLIP AND MAIL TO:
THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

☐ **I would like to be on your mailing list to receive future copies of the VEP newsletter.**

☐ **I would like to talk with a VEP representative about registration work in my community.**

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ **State**_____

Voter Education Project Makes Staff Changes

We regret to announce that Jack Minnis, former Director of Research for VEP, is no longer with the Project.

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., has been appointed Acting Assistant Director of VEP. Mr. Jordan, a native Atlantan, is a graduate of DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana, and the Howard University Law School, Washington, D. C. Mr. Jordan is also Assistant to the Executive Director, Southern Regional Council.

Mrs. Barbara Ingram Whitaker has joined the staff as Research Assistant. Mrs. Whitaker is a graduate of Spelman College and holds the master's degree from the Atlanta University School of Social Work. Prior to joining VEP, Mrs. Whitaker was a member of the faculty at the Atlanta University School of Social Work.

Results of VEP Programs

April 1, 1962 to December 31, 1963

State	Total as of 12/31/63
ALABAMA	13,487
ARKANSAS	8,756
FLORIDA	37,111
GEORGIA	46,347
LOUISIANA	5,899
MISSISSIPPI	3,228
N. CAROLINA	23,323
S. CAROLINA	20,727
TENNESSEE	34,243
TEXAS	120,590
VIRGINIA	13,877
TOTAL - - -	327,588

Miami (continued from page 1)

that helped were: The National Conference of Christians and Jews, the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, the Boy Scouts (Goulds), CORE, The League of Women Voters, the Florida Labor Council, several local organizations, both youth and adult, and countless individuals who were not direct representatives of organizations.

The registration drive was given publicity by the two Negro newspapers, a Negro radio station, and several night clubs in the county which constantly announced the locations of the sub-stations, the times they were open, and the qualifications for registration.

Further to publicize the drive, persons went into the churches on Sundays, and made announcements about it and the need for a good showing to insure being able to use the sub-station program in the future. Persons also went into theaters making announcements and appealing for help in the drive.

The principals of all the schools in the sub-station areas sent memoranda to parents, made daily announcements about the location of the sub-stations, and instructed leaders of student organizations in the distribution of leaflets, canvassing, and office work. About one-half of the student body in each school participated in some way in the drive.

Several weeks before the opening of the sub-stations, workers canvassed each sub-station area. The purpose of the canvass was two-fold: 1) To get an idea of the number of voting age persons who were not registered along with their names, addresses and telephone numbers, and 2) To alert the areas to the possibility that sub-stations would soon be set up.

Upon official notification that the sub-stations would be opened in the areas selected, leaflets, posters, and placards were printed with the eleven locations, times for registering, qualifications, and reasons for registering. More than 125,000 leaflets, 1,000 posters, and 1,550 placards were distributed. This proved a satisfactory means of communicating with the persons with whom contact had been made during the canvass.

The only parts of the drive which were noticeably weak were in communications and transportation. There was not a sufficient number of people to man telephones and handle appointments and calls for transportation. These two, in addition to the inclement weather, were actually the reasons why more people were not registered. One communication innovation used which may be of help to others in similar situations involved project personnel boarding buses in the downtown section headed for areas in which sub-stations were located. While they were on the buses, these persons would make announcements to the passengers about the registration drive and inform them that a car pool would take them to the sub-station and then continue them on their journey if they would alight from the bus at a certain stop. This proved very effective.

Voter registration activity is continuing in Miami at the present time.

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, Room 502
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Leopold Alexander

PLEASE NOTE:

Correction: Negro Voter Registration - Figures for Arkansas are incorrect and should read 72,604 (1961) and 77,714 (1963). These are official figures.

VEP is seeking information on Negro candidates currently seeking public offices in the southern states. We would appreciate any information, news clips, press releases, photographs, etc., which you might supply.

Make file
VEP - #1

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT

of the

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

of the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

For the Fiscal Year April 1, 1963 through March 31, 1964

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director
Voter Education Project

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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Except for Table III.

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BACKGROUND STATEMENT

The Voter Education Project is a non-partisan program under the supervision of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and is engaged in a research study of the causes of low voter registration in 11 southern states, the methods and techniques being used to increase registration, and the development of educational programs to provide voters with the will and knowledge to register and vote. Contributions to the project are deductible from federal income taxes, pursuant to a ruling by the Internal Revenue Service dated March 22, 1962, and the first public announcement of the project was made on March 29, 1962 and carried the endorsement of the Chairmen of both the Republican and Democratic national committees, in addition to other leading Americans. The First Annual Report of the Voter Education Project covers the VEP fiscal year, April 1, 1962 through March 31, 1963, and describes: (1) Formation and purpose of VEP; (2) Operation, including methods and objectives; (3) A description of selected projects; (4) Formula and criteria for grants; and other pertinent information.

This Second Annual Report covers the period April 1, 1963 through March 31, 1964. Due to the fact that the method of operation and other activities follow the same general pattern as was followed during the first fiscal year, we will not undertake to repeat this information in this Second Annual Report. VEP will publish a detailed account of the entire project fol-

lowing the end of the registration program in November, 1964. The final report is planned for release in 1965.

PARTICIPATING AGENCIES

Five major organizations work actively with the Voter Education Project and have been a part of the program since its inception. They are the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, Congress of Racial Equality, National Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In addition to these five, VEP works with several local organizations in each of the 11 southern states.

STAFF CHANGES

VEP continues to operate with a very small staff even though the actual registration work is done by the participating agencies. Jack Minnis, Director of Research during the fiscal year, left the project in December, 1963. It was then decided that this position would be abolished and the position of Research Assistant created. Mrs. Barbara Whitaker, a graduate and former faculty member of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, was employed as Research Assistant in January, 1964. Mrs. Barbara Stewart joined the staff as Receptionist and Clerk-Typist during the year. The other staff members include: Wiley A. Branton, Project Director; Randolph T. Blackwell, Field Director; Mrs. Jean Levine, Administrative Secretary; and Mrs. Janet Shortt, Office Secretary. Vernon E.

Jordan serves in the capacity of Acting Assistant Director of VEP in addition to his duties as Assistant to the Director of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. John D. Due, Jr., a young Florida lawyer, joined the staff as an intern in human relations under the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation Intern Program.

STATE BY STATE REPORT

ALABAMA

This state requires an applicant to pass a literacy test before one can be registered and the test is often applied in a discriminatory manner against Negroes. After Negro groups started conducting classes to familiarize applicants with the test, the state adopted a new law which requires a new set of test questions each month. The law also requires that a registered voter must vouch for each applicant and a poll tax is required for voting in all but federal elections. Registration by Negroes is not too difficult in the TVA area such as Huntsville, Tuscumbia, Decatur and Florence, and neither is it too difficult in Mobile. As a result of federal court injunctions, Negroes may now register with little difficulty in Macon and Montgomery Counties, though it appears that some discrimination still exists in the latter. Macon County now has more registered Negro voters than whites and Negro candidates are seeking public offices there for the first time in more than fifty years and will probably be elected.

VEP has maintained a continuous program in Jefferson County (Birmingham) where Negro registration has risen from 10,000 in April, 1962 to more than 23,000 as of April, 1964. Rejections are still high at the registrar's office, many of them resulting from racial discrimination. In counties such as Dallas (Selma) and many other Black Belt Counties, it takes real courage for a Negro to seek to register. Here, they have

suffered harassment, intimidation, and physical violence from private citizens and law enforcement officials. And in Wilcox and Lowdes Counties, where there are more Negroes than whites, every Negro applicant has been rejected and there is not a single registered Negro voter.

The registration books are open only two days each month in most Alabama counties and this makes it difficult to get many people registered even where discrimination is not very strong. During July, the books are open for a week in the rural counties and VEP has supported a special project during this period through a statewide organization known as the Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting (ASCARV).

VEP will support a massive rural county program in July, 1964 and will probably continue programs in the TVA area, Gadsden, Birmingham, Montgomery, Mobile, Macon County and Dallas County. New programs will be planned for Tuscaloosa, Anniston, and other areas during the summer and fall.

ARKANSAS

Arkansas has no registration law or procedure for voting other than the requirement for the payment of an annual one dollar poll tax. We know of no racial discrimination in the acceptance of poll tax payments nor in the right of persons to vote in elections in this state. The poll tax may be paid at any time between February and October 1 and qualifies the tax payer to vote in all elections coming between October 1 of the year in which the

tax is paid and September 30 of the following year. This is a good "registration" deadline for the November general elections but seems much too early for primary elections. Arkansas is a one party state where nomination in the Democratic Primary is tantamount to election. The Democratic Primary Election is held in July and is usually the most important election held in the state but in order to vote in the July primary, one must have paid his poll tax prior to October 1 of the preceding year.

Because of the fact that all effort must be duplicated each year, VEP has only conducted a few projects in Arkansas, such as Pine Bluff and Little Rock; however, a massive statewide program is planned for the late summer of 1964 in every county with a substantial Negro population.

FLORIDA

With the exception of a few North Florida Counties, registration by Negroes is fairly simple and the registration results under VEP have really been outstanding in this state. Florida releases periodic reports showing the total registration in each county by race and by political party and a satisfactory check can be made on our programs. One of the most successful VEP programs to date was conducted in Dade County (Miami) where 9,403 new registrants were added during the fiscal year. Much of the success of this program was due to the personal leadership of Weldon Rougeau, a CORE field secretary, who had charge of the program and who was able to get excellent cooperation from other

organizations in the area. CORE conducted a program in Gadsden County (Quincy) and the 875 new Negro registrants obtained there were twice as many as the total Negro voters the county had. Tallahassee presented a fine example of team work by CORE, NAACP, and local groups, white and colored, working to increase voter registration.

NAACP was given assignments in Alachua, Polk, Jackson, Marion, Orange, Pinellas, Hillsborough, Volusia, and Duval Counties, all of which resulted in substantial new voters. All of the above assignments will probably be renewed during the summer and fall of 1964 with other counties being added.

GEORGIA

With the exception of Southwestern Georgia, registration by Negroes in this state does not prove very difficult and VEP results have been among the highest of any state, with more than 60,000 new voters added during the past two years. In Savannah, the Chatham County Crusade for Voters worked with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to add more than 5,000 new voters to the rolls of that county. The Savannah project was the location of a voter registration film soon to be released under the title, "Right Now," and of which VEP is one of several sponsors. SCLC sponsored a VEP program in Albany through the Albany Movement and conducted projects throughout the state in cooperation with the Statewide Registration Committee.

The Atlanta program continues under the auspices of the All Citizens Registration Committee, a local group made up from representatives of several different organizations. This city will have neighborhood registration soon and will see Negro deputy registrars for the first time. Registration will take place at various schools from five to nine P.M. and should result in an increase of Negro registration in Fulton County to approximately 70,000.

NAACP has conducted successful projects in Augusta, Brunswick, Rome, and others and in DeKalb and Peach Counties. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee continues work in the "hard core" areas of Lee, Terrell and Sumter Counties where results cannot be measured simply in terms of new registrants but are reflected by the overcoming of fear and by other intangibles.

It is anticipated that when the Georgia Legislature meets in special session soon that the present May 2 registration deadline will be extended to July for the primary and later still for the November general elections. This will make possible the addition of thousands of new voters this summer.

LOUISIANA

Next to Mississippi, VEP results have been lower than any other state. Reports indicate that this results from the serious racial discrimination on the part of many parish registrars. VEP has supported a continuous program in Orleans Parish under the

direction of the Coordinating Council of Greater New Orleans. Only 425 new voters were added to the rolls in New Orleans during the year but many hundreds more sought to register and were rejected on various grounds. Considerable work was done by the local group to keep thousands of Negroes who were already registered from being purged.

Most of the work outside New Orleans has been under CORE for the past year, with heavy emphasis in the Sixth Congressional District of Louisiana. The Justice Department has filed several suits regarding discrimination by parish registrars and they were successful in one extremely important case which involved state officials and 21 parish registrars. Under the terms of an injunction issued early in 1964 in UNITED STATES v. LOUISIANA, the 21 named registrars are enjoined from certain discriminatory practices which, if obeyed, should greatly aid the cause of Negro voter registration. All 21 of the named parishes were assigned to CORE but it is too early to tell what results can be achieved there. The entire Louisiana program will very likely be continued through September of 1964.

MISSISSIPPI

This state presents more resistance to would-be Negro voters than any other state and offers more intimidation and violence to Negroes than all the others combined. VEP has only been able to add 3,871 voters to the rolls in Mississippi during the past two years, a figure lower than the results from a single small

city like Brunswick or Decatur, Georgia, or Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The toal Negro registration in the state is approximately 28,000, representing only 6.6% of the Negroes 21 years of age or older. But here, as in Southwestern Georgia and Dallas and Wilcox Counties in Alabama, the success of the VEP program cannot be measured solely in terms of new registrants.

Mississippi has a long history of intimidation and violence against Negroes who seek to register and with the rather large number of cases of injury and death to their persons and destruction of their property, it is little wonder that Negroes developed a fear of attempting to do anything which the white people of that state were opposed to. The First Annual Report of VEP carried seven pages on the Greenwood Project which was described there as being "in many ways considered to be one of the most successful of the VEP supported programs." Despite the massive jailing of citizens, shooting of registration workers, burning of property and other acts of violence and intimidation of Negroes in Leflore County, more than 2,000 Negroes have gone to the courthouse in Greenwood to attempt to register. Many were never permitted inside and the majority of those who made it inside were rejected by the registrar. This same story has been repeated in Hattisburg and other cities. VEP has expended more than $50,000 in Mississippi and feels that valuable research materials have been gathered from the project and that we have truly helped "to develop educational programs which will be most effective in providing voters with the knowledge and will to register," one of the major objectives of the Voter Education Project.

The work in Mississippi was under the sponsorship of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), a Mississippi organization made up of the local representatives of NAACP, SNCC, CORE, SCLC and local organizations. VEP suspended all operations in Mississippi in the fall of 1963 with the exception of an NAACP project in Jackson. Several factors were taken into consideration in reaching this decision. A sizeable portion of the VEP budget had already been spent in Mississippi and the registration results were quite minimal. Sufficient research data had been gathered to more than serve the purposes of the project. No meaningful registration could be expected in the state until the Justice Department is able to win an effective decree in the long pending broad-purpose suit filed in UNITED STATES v. MISSISSIPPI. The delay in the hearing of this very important suit leaves much to be desired, but if it can ever be decided favorably in accordance with the position of the government, and is then vigorously enforced, it may be possible for registration to move in that state. Until this happens, it does not appear to be wise for VEP to put any more of its already limited funds into Mississippi. We only hope that the situation improves before VEP goes out of existence, but it will not change appreciably without massive federal action.

NORTH CAROLINA

This state has few restrictions which might prevent Negroes from registering and it is considered one of the better states

for the VEP program. Many counties permit registration only during a three-week period preceding an election and this means, "no election-no registration." NAACP conducted programs during the year in Guilford, Johnson, Brunswick, and Harnett Counties, and in Durham in cooperation with the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs. The Winston-Salem Urban League conducted a voter education and research program in Forsyth County which was soon followed by an active voter registration program under the joint sponsorship of NAACP and CORE. The American Friends Service Committee sponsored a summer VEP program in Greensboro which netted 803 new voters. Perhaps the biggest increase in the state came about in Charlotte where the VEP program was run by a local group, the Non-Partisan Voter Registration Committee. A local project in Wilson brought 861 new voters, and VEP supported SNCC workers aided local residents in getting 1,208 new voters in Raleigh.

VEP plans to support several local projects in the state during the summer and early fall which should result in several thousand additional voters in time for the November elections.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Here we have the most highly organized statewide VEP program of any of the states. The entire state has been organized under a congressional district program with a project now going on in each county in every one of the six congressional districts. Representatives in each county select their local officers and they in turn elect congressional district officers. VEP has now

made a direct grant to four districts and will shortly approve the other two. Although the congressional district idea did not get started until the fall of 1963, it has already helped to push South Carolina VEP results beyond that of North Carolina (32,140 to 28,551) and shows promise of giving South Carolina the highest percentage increase in Negro registration. Because of the obvious success of this program, VEP will continue support through the October 5 deadline for registration in that state. Prior to the development of the Fourth Congressional District program, NAACP conducted a highly successful program in the city of Greenville.

TENNESSEE

It now appears that there are no restrictions to Negro voter registration in Tennessee except for some continuing discrimination in rural counties like Haywood and Fayette Counties, but which reach nowhere near the proportion of several years back when federal intervention was necessary. The NAACP is by far the major sponsor of VEP programs in this state, for, with the exception of a summer YWCA-NSCAF student program in Nashville, NAACP has had the entire state to itself. The results have been good in Memphis, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Nashville, and Jackson. Memphis shows the highest gain of any city with more than 12,000 added during the fiscal year. A large share of the credit for NAACP results over most of the South must be extended to W. C. Patton, NAACP Field Secretary for Voter Registration, for it has

been through him that all VEP supported NAACP programs have been directed in Texas, Louisiana, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. He also serves as President of ASCARV in Alabama, the local organization sponsoring registration in that state.

All of the Tennessee assignments will be renewed for the summer of 1964, with additional cities being added.

TEXAS

Texas, like Arkansas, has no registration procedure other than the payment of a poll tax which amounts to $1.50 in some counties and $1.75 in others. The deadline for the payment of the poll tax is January 31 for all elections held during the remainder of the calendar year. This gives Texas the earliest "registration" deadline for voting in the November General Elections of any state in the nation, more than nine months prior to the elections.

When VEP was first launched, we decided that we would work only in 65 East Texas counties, but we were reluctant to support any Texas programs because of the poll tax requirement which necessitated duplicity of effort each year. We had read of the excellent work being done in Texas under a statewide coalition movement. Some of the leaders of the coalition movement decided to incorporate a separate non-partisan organization to work only in the area of voter registration and education under the name of Voters of Texas Enlist (V.O.T.E.). This new organization

offered us the first real opportunity to work with registration programs involving other than Negroes, for here we could work with white and Latin-Americans as well. Four groups make up the leadership of VOTE, each group having equal representation. They are: (1) Latin-Americans, (2) labor, (3) white liberals, and (4) Negroes.

VEP had received some unsolicited contributions from various individuals active in VOTE and we decided to put a part of this money back into the state through a VEP registration program under the direction of VOTE. As a result of the early success of the program, we made rather large supplemental grants from our regular VEP budget. The program operated out of a headquarters in Austin and extended throughout the state. Local money was raised to supplement the VEP funds and labor organizations also contributed money in helping with the massive poll tax campaign.

Texas voters went to the polls on November 9, 1963 to vote on a proposal to eliminate the poll tax, but this proposal was rejected. In four major cities, Houston, Dallas, San Antonio and Fort Worth, there was a total increase of about 332,000 new voters over 1960 figures as compared with an increase on 180,000 in 1963. It is estimated that the VEP programs were responsible for over 208,000 new poll tax payers by the January 31 deadline, more than 50,000 of whom were white or Latin-American persons. After the ratification of the Twenty-Fourth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which banned the requirement

of a poll tax payment as a prerequisite to voting in federal elections, a new Texas law permitted the issuance of free poll tax receipts during February and early March of 1964. Holders of the free poll tax receipt would only be eligible to vote in federal elections. Some 60,000 free poll tax certificates were issued under the VEP programs, 90% of which were issued to Negroes.

NAACP did some work in the Texas poll tax campaign without benefit of VEP funds, but subsequently received VEP support to assist in the "free" poll tax drive. The Texas Council of Voters, a Negro organization, was very active in the VOTE programs. Fort Worth and Houston have developed highly organized precinct and block organizations in the Negro areas. Houston has the highest number of Negro voters of any city in the South at the present time, approximately 90,000, but this figure is likely to fall during "election off years" because of the annual poll tax. The Memphis, Tennessee, Negro registration of approximately 80,000 is a much more permanent figure and is probably the highest in the South.

It is now physically impossible for anyone to register or pay a poll tax in Texas, and this situation will continue through the remainder of the grants-in-aid program of VEP. This is the only state where such a condition exists. The only possible VEP activity which could be supported during the remainder of the program would possibly be in the area of voter education.

VIRGINIA

Registration results in Virginia could be described as "poor" in terms of the 16,520 new voters added in two years, but when one considers the poll tax and other requirements, it may not be as dim as it first appears. As a general rule, new voters have to pay two years poll taxes plus penalties before they can vote, making it a costly proposition.

Negro voter registration witnessed a steady increase between 1940 and 1950 when most of the registration activity was under the sponsorship of the Virginia Voters League, under the leadership of the late Dr. Luther P. Jackson. The League has not been very effective in recent years but could be a major influence in registration and political education if the former interest could be revived over the state. VEP made a grant of $1,000 to the Virginia Voters League in November, 1963 to help support its organizational structure building.

A small grant was made during the year to the All Citizens Registration Committee of Northern Virginia in support of registration and poll tax programs in that area of the state. The Peninsula Coordinating Committee in Newport News is a well organized and efficiently run organization and received VEP support. The Norfolk VEP program added approximately 1,000 new voters through the Tidewater Voter Project. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was given grants for registration programs in Danville and Petersburg, and the former could be described as highly successful. Richmond, which has a very active local organi-

zation, the Crusade for Voters, added 250 new voters during a two-week student YWCA project. NAACP registration in the state has been carried on primarily without benefit of VEP funds but local chapters have been active throughout the state.

As a result of a new Virginia statute, it will be possible for new applicants to register all the way up until October 3 to be eligible to vote in the 1964 general elections. VEP has been concerned over the apparent lack of initiative on the part of some agencies which could do much for voter registration in Virginia. VEP will shortly make direct grants to local projects in Nansemond County and Portsmouth and will continue support in Newport News and Norfolk. Plans are being made to support a local program in Richmond and possibly in other cities. The entire Fourth Congressional District offers a vast potential for increased registration and field studies are now being made by the VEP staff to ascertain the best approach for VEP support.

PLANS FOR THIRD (FINAL) YEAR OF VEP

When the voter project idea was first discussed, the plan was to operate it for approximately two years. When it became apparent that the idea would become a reality and would get started in the Spring of 1962, it was also obvious that a two-year program would end well up into a presidential election year. In order to take full advantage of all of the motivation for registration which an election year brings, the planners of VEP decided to run the grants-in-aid program for approximately 2½ years. VEP will therefore support voter registration programs in each of the southern states up until the deadline for registration for voting in the November General Elections This will mean until the first week of October in most of the states, with the exception of Texas where the deadline passed last January 31.

In addition to active registration programs, VEP will support some voter education projects which will be designed to help in a number of ways to serve the total purposes of this project. Among those are: (1) support of literacy programs to aid applicants in passing registration tests; (2) programs to explain the use of voting machines or the marking of ballots; (3) classes in government to acquaint voters with an understanding of public officials and their duties and responsibilities; and (4) some pilot "get out the vote" programs in a non-partisan manner.

ANTICIPATED INCOME 1964-65

In order to conduct the final year of the project, VEP has been assured of the following terminal grants from foundations:

Edgar Stern Family Fund	$ 75,000
Taconic Foundation	80,000
Field Foundation	75,000
Total	$230,000

FINAL VEP REPORT

At the conclusion of the active registration programs in October, VEP will immediately set in motion selected projects to study the effect of increased Negro voter registration in the November General Elections. As soon as the general elections are over, the staff will then begin to sift through the large quantity of data and material which has come into the project office during the life of the project. Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of Southern Regional Council, Inc., will devote a major share of his time at that stage toward the writing of the FINAL VEP REPORT. The final report promises to be a most interesting document which should be of great value for years to come to persons interested in voter registration, political action, human relations and other areas.

FUTURE PLANS

Many of the participants in the VEP program bemoan the announced end for VEP. They praise the great gains made under the program, but point out the fact that less than 50% of the Negroes

of voting age will be registered in the South by November, 1964. There is no question about the need for continued registration programs, but we feel that we must pause and review our past activities very carefully before suggesting that the program continue. For this reason, there will be no recommendation regarding the future of VEP until after we have studied and analyzed our previous program and written the final report. At that time, we will be prepared to make some recommendation of the future of VEP, but it is not contemplated that the final report will be ready before 1965.

TABLE I

VEP RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR
FISCAL YEAR ENDING 3/31/64

Balance 3/31/63		$ 28,496.44	
RECEIPTS:			
Foundations:			
Field	$ 75,000.00		
Taconic	125,000.00		
Stern Family Fund	107,000.00*		
Other	22,050.00		
Organizations and Churches	5,200.72		
V.O.T.E.	5,730.00		
Individuals	7,806.00		
NAIRO	2,500.00**		
Total Income		350,286.72	
GRAND TOTAL			$378,783.16
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Grants-in-Aid	$246,331.15		
SRC Overhead Payments	9,587.57		
Operating Expense	69,087.35		
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			325,006.07
	BANK BALANCE 4/1/64		$ 53,777.09

* $25,000 of this amount represents advance payment by this foundation toward fiscal year 1964-1965.

** This figure represents NAIRO's share of internship program.

TABLE II.

GEOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN OF GRANTS-IN-AID

Fiscal Year Ending 3/31/64

STATE	INDEPENDENTS	CORE	NAACP	URBAN LEAGUE	SNCC	SCLC	TOTAL
ALA.	24,275.85				3,500.00		27,775.85
ARK.	270.00				1,200.00		1,470.00
FLA.		3,000.00	11,875.00				14,875.00
GA.	13,132.35		11,060.00		3,000.00	9,500.00	36,692.35
LA.	7,700.00	13,000.00	2,900.00				23,600.00
MISS.	18,500.00		4,145.00				22,645.00
N. C.	9,452.74		2,100.00	4,828.98	2,000.00		18,381.72
S. C.	14,937.00	14,000.00	2,100.00		555.00		31,492.00
TENN.	3,519.23		8,450.00				11,969.23
TEX.	43,500.00		3,000.00				46,500.00
VA.	5,780.00		650.00			2,500.00	8,930.00
EFA*	2,000.00						2,000.00
TOTAL	$142,967.17	$30,000.00	$46,280.00	$4,828.98	$10,255.00	$12,000.00	$246,331.15

*Educational Film Associates

Note: A large portion of the grants to Independents represents direct grants to local affiliates of agencies listed above.

TABLE III.

RESULTS OF VEP PROGRAMS

APRIL 1, 1962 to MARCH 31, 1964

(Publication or Quotation of this Table Permitted)

STATE	VEP RESULTS 1ST FISCAL YR	VEP RESULTS 2ND FISCAL YR	VEP 2 YEAR TOTAL	EST. TOTAL NEGRO REGISTRATION 4/1/64	EST. NO.* UNREG. N. 4/1/64	% OF ELIGIBLE NEGROES REG.
ALA.	5,598	9,777	15,375	104,000	377,320	21.6
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FLA.	22,790	30,651	53,441	240,616	229,645	51.1
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TOTAL	125,007	426,321	551,328	1,937,982	3,078,118	38.6

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

*BASED ON 1960 CENSUS FIGURES
**VOTING AGE 18 IN GEORGIA

file
S.R.C. - VEP, 1964

April 7, 1964

MEMO TO: WB

FROM: : LWD/slw

RE : VEP FUNDS

With your concurrence, I would like to transfer from VEP funds $7500 as an advance payment on VEP's overhead for this year. After the VEP's budget for the year is drawn up and approved, we can adjust the overhead payment as indicated.

cc: RHA

File: Voter Educ. Proj.

LWD ✓
VJV
MJ-file

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

April 15, 1964

Mr. Earl W. Coblyn
Campaign Manager
The James E. Sulton for House of
Representatives Committee
205 Amelia Street, N.E.
Orangeburg, South Carolina 29115

Dear Mr. Coblyn:

Your letter of March 30, addressed to Mr. Harold C. Fleming at the Southern Regional Council has been referred to this office for reply. Mr. Fleming is no longer with the Council and Leslie W. Dunbar is the present Executive Director.

Both the Southern Regional Council and the Voter Education Project are tax exempt agencies under provisions of the federal internal revenue laws and as such are prohibited by law from contributing money or participating otherwise in political campaigns. We, therefore, would not be in a position to assist in any manner in the campaign of Mr. James E. Sulton, for the South Carolina House of Representatives.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: L. W. Dunbar

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Field Foundation, Inc.

REGARDING

$75,000 grant to the Voter Education Project for a nine-month period, beginning April 1, 1964 to be paid in full in April 1964.

DATE

Hahn ltr. dtd. April 4, 1964
LWD ltr. dtd. April 24, 1964

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Foundations: Field, 1964

CONFIDENTIAL

WBB
BW
RTB
LWD

April 24, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Wiley A. Branton

From: Weldon J. Rougeau

Re: ATLANTA VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE

Perhaps the most tragic thing about Washington Irving's Rip Van Winkle is that Rip slept so long, he slept through an entire revolution. When he arose from his cradle of somnolence , he found himself a stranger among his own people. Incredulously, Rip was almost like a mendicant friar begging for someone to recognize him.

In my opinion, Atlanta has quite a few "Rip Van Winkles" among the Negro leadership, and I sincerely hope someone will awaken them to the facts of life in the midst of our revolution while there is still time.

Only men who are asleep would allow Jesse Hill, the titular head of the All Citizens Registration Committee (whatever that is) to take the reins of a wild horse when he has never seen a horse before.

Only men who are asleep would allow a man like the Reverend "General" Fred C. Bennette (he wears a star in his lapel), to supervise a group of hard working young people who want to contribute something worthwhile to the movement. If his supervision were CARE packages, many families would die of starvation. In my opinion, his behavior during the drive is a discredit to the nonviolent movement and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, by whom he is employed.

From all indications, little or no effort was put into planning for the Atlanta registration drive. The movement of people in a drive, their interest, and application to their duties, are usually indications that care has been taken in organizing and interesting people for a campaign of this nature.

In my opinion, too much authority was placed in the hands of Mr. Jesse Hill, and this was detrimental to the drive because it eventually caused widespread dissension among the workers. Naturally, someone has to be a leader, but that person should use diplomacy and common sense by giving people in the drive some kind of opportunity to be creative.

VEP 4-7

I feel that Mr. Hill erred in this respect. He was obviously too busy to devote the time a coordinator should give to such an endeavor.

Perhaps Mr. Hill will say that he had someone in charge, but it is my sincere belief that that person or people were not capable of keeping the group functioning as a cohesive body interested in registering more than an "average" number of people. Instead, there were many people around registration places with nothing to do except stand in the way of prospective registrants.

Many of the people who had been given supervision of certain "areas" were not allowed to function creatively because there was a day-to-day changing of tactics in an attempt to increase productivity.

It is my belief that when conducting a drive for registration, there should be pre-planning of daily activities for each work area with only minor changes being made, if necessary. There should also be a committee of individuals who have been given specific leadership roles and these people should be the ones who meet and make joint decisions, on the basis of the knowldege of all people concerned with a given area.

Part of the blame must also rest on the shoulders of the Rev. Andrew Young because he failed to provide firm leadership, even while he was noticing what was happening to many of his staff members. Strong men do not succumb to problems involved in confronting situations which could leave a party agrieved - they find constructive solutions to keep a project and its participants on an even keel. The morale of Rev. Young's staff members was ruined by his failure to do anything about correcting it, for fear he would arouse Mr. Hill's wrath. This is sheer "tommyrot" and in my best judgment, Mr. Hill's absence from the drive would not have stymied the movement of prospective registrants at any location in the county.

A large part of the leaflet publicity was redundant, grammatically incorrect, and faulty in editing. Several thousand leaflets were never distributed in the community simply because there were too many of them, or not enough people to distribute them.

There were also several instances where students from high schools and colleges were allowed to stand around waiting for something to do with leaflets, and no one was around to show them waht should be done and where it should be done. I feel that the radio spot announcements were responsible for most of the people registering. This became evident from questioning persons who came to register.

More could have been done with newspaper and television publicity, but then again, when Mr. Hill would say, "No!", his words had to be listened to, and many aspects of the project were being neglected. I am of the opinion that when conducting a drive, all parts of one's machine have to function together.

The sound trucks were not utilized as extensively as they should have been. For the most part, they arrived at the scene of registration too late in the evening and did not spend enough time out in the community. My feeling is that one should use a sound truck out in the streets giving registration information, and should be followed by cars for transporting anyone desirous of registering. There was not a single time during my stay that I learned of a person responsible for organizing and directing sound trucks in and around a place designated for registration. There was also an insufficient number of sound trucks available for use.

The canvassing program was ostensibly disorganized. No one seemed to know anything about mapping an area out for canvassing, or whether there would be canvassing on the night of registration. Many high school and college students who had been solicited to canvass were idle and left saying, "Oh, I could've stayed home."

It is very important that canvassing before, during, and after a drive be well organized, for this is the only opportunity one has of selling registration to an unregistered person in the latter's home. Here again, I feel this was an obvious lack of coordination on the part of the "leaders" of the drive.

It is not the intent of my report to involve personality clashes with the drive,but the clashes which did take place unquestionably prevented the drive from being a better drive. It is not enough for one to satisfy oneself with mediocrity. One must reach for the apex of productivity in an endeavor of this nature.

As far as the production goes, I think it would be unfair and foolhardy to say that the drive was not productive. It was. The point to emphasize in criticizing the drive is that more damage resulted from it than good, because it almost completely eliminates the possibility of those involved ever working together again as a body of well-organized people.

Most of the participants will not forget the wild and foolish antics of the asinine but truculent Rev. Bennette. Nor will they forget the dictatorial tactics of Jesse Hill. If another drive of this nature is conducted with the latter at the helm of the operation,

I feel it would suffer ineffably.

FINIS

Weldon J. Rougeau

WJR:js

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Voter Education Project

REGARDING

Staff recommendation regarding continuation of VEP:
(approved by Executive Committee of May 11, 1964)

"...following completion of the field work this year the staff devote itself to the preparation of the book, and at this time ~~&~~ no effort be made to continue the Voter Education Project; however, that we maintain a disposition and willingness to talk with any interested parties who, in the future, might desire to resume this effort."

DATE
May 11, 1964

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

&~~VEP~~

Board - Executive Committee Mtg. May 11, 1964

File
Voter Edu. Project.

June 8, 1964

file

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Branton:

Please receive this communication as my formal statement of resignation as Field Director of the Voter Education Project, effective June 26, 1964.

Please, may I express my appreciation to you for what has been truly a learning experience for me.

Very truly yours,

Randolph T. Blackwell

Randolph T. Blackwell

RTB:js

cc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

File
Dalen Educ. Proj.
1964

MEMORANDUM June 9, 1964

To: WBranton
cc: RHAlexander

From: LWDunbar

During SRC's fiscal year 1963, VEP's disbursements were $65,538.82. (Total disbursements of $323,692 less grants and SRC overhead payment.)

Fifteen per cent of this sum is $9,830.82. During 1963, the overhead transferred to SRC was $9,587.57, or $243.25 less than due.

VEP's budget for its fiscal year 1964-65 is $80,893.44. Three-fourths of 15% of this sum is $9,100.52.

We should, therefore, transfer from the VEP as 1964 overhead for SRC as follows:

$9,100.52	against the 1964-65 budget
243.25	due from 1963
$10,343.77	total due
7,500.00	already transferred
$ 2,843.77	to be transferred

Please review these figures and, if you agree, transfer this amount.

File
S.E.P.

MEMORANDUM June 15, 1964

To: Sam Cook

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

These look good. Two comments:

(1) My guess is you will have a hard enough time getting data on one back election and one 1964 election. These forms seem to be asking for data on every election during this period.

(2) I don't understand why form #2 asks for the same information as form #1.

File
V. Ed. Proj.

June 26, 1964

Mr. J. H. Calhoun
243 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

I have just read your letter to Wiley Branton of June 18, a copy of which was mailed to me. I had already read Wiley's letter to you of June 15.

It is important to me personally and to the Southern Regional Council that we maintain the very best relations possible with all persons interested in the improvement of human relations, and, while we may not always agree, it is more important that we communicate with and understand respective positions of each other. For this reason, I am sending back to you a copy of Wiley's letter with a personal request that you at least read it, and down to the end where Wiley bespeaks his high regard of you and your long-time and long-lasting service.

After reading Wiley's letter, would you give me the benefit of your own position regarding not only the matters contained in Wiley's letter but regarding any other matters which caused you to terminate your relationship with VEP. In your letter to Wiley, you make reference to "implications of your remarks", and since neither your letter nor Wiley's give me any information as to what the "implications" were, it would be helpful if you would also give me this information. I would consider a prompt reply a personal favor to me.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure
(WB's ltr of June 15, 1964)

File: V.E.P.

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

File

July 7, 1964

Mr. David R. Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
55 West 44th Street
New York, New York 10036

Dear Mr. Hunter:

On March 9, 1964, you sent us $25,000 as a first payment against a total grant of $75,000, approved by the Stern Family Fund Board for the final year of the Voter Education Project.

Our grants-in-aid to participating agencies are running pretty heavy at this time and we will soon be in need of the balance of the grant. It would be appreciated if you could arrange to send us the $50,000 balance by August 1, 1964.

With kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:bs

cc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

file: V.E.P.

July 20, 1964

MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

To: Wiley A. Branton & Leslie W. Dunbar

From: Barbara I. Whitaker

Re: J. H. Calhoun

For some time, I have given studied attention to the by-play which has developed between the VEP and Mr. Calhoun, who is Chairman of the Statewide Registration Committee. Some background information appears in order before discussion of the present dilemma.

It is my understanding that Mr. Calhoun has previously conducted a drive for VEP during an election year. It is the opinion of some (the writer not included) that as the time approached for "partisan politicing" to begin, Mr. Calhoun was less and less available for contact with VEP. There was apparently was some discussion of this and the idea projected that Mr. Calhoun (who is a member of the Republican Party) was accused of "abandoning" his responsibility. Whether this attitude was communicated to Mr. Calhoun, I do not know. I do know that Mr. Calhoun has been the brunt of numerous jokes because of his party affiliation, both in and our of the VEP office. I do not intend any statement I make to be construed as defending Mr. Calhoun, but I do not feel that the situation which ultimately developed is entirely his responsibility. After all, we were dealing with an intelligent, sensitive human being. I am not suggesting that we accord him any special consideration, but I am suggesting that he could have been accorded the same consideration that we expect. I do not believe that organizations which sponsor voter registration campaigns are the instruments of VEP, but the converse. VEP, as I perceive it, is a service organization rather than one to be served. Our relationships with some individuals and organizations have not always been conducted as though we felt this way.

I accompanied Mr. Calhoun on his citizenship clinics, attending all except the one in Waycross. These were held in each congressional district and were financed by VEP through SCLC. My criticisms of those meetings were shared after the first two with Mr. Calhoun and Andy Young. I shall list them summarily. No substantial improvement was noted following this conference.

The concerns I expressed are listed below:

1. The lack of staff being provided by SCLC to assist Mr. Calhoun. The staff consisted of Rev. Bennette, who showed a film; Rev. Harrell, who discussed the contents of the

the Citizenship Manual; Mrs. Harrell, who registered attendees. Consequently, the group was overexposed to Mr. Calhoun.

2. There were few supplies (handbills, etc.) available for the conferees. In many instances, they had nothing to take home except a manual on voter registration. The supply of manuals was eventually exhausted and no more were ever printed. There was no information given about where free materials could be obtained, and SCLC did not produce their own.

3. The clinics were not individualized in spite of the fact that we discussed from week to week what a particular district might need.

4. As I mentioned earlier, no member of the staff of the citizenship school inDorchester ever showed up at a Congressional District meeting. In a meeting in Greensboro (1st District), several ladies asked for permission to attend. This is but another instance in which a service organization does not take its service to the people.

5. The publicity for these meetings was all handled by Mr. Calhoun, and except for a change in place, date, and names, the releases read like a carbon copy of the preceding one.

6. The greatest problem was the matter of follow-up to be done by district coordinators. If they effectively performed their tasks, we never knew it. Their lack of effectiveness was probably attributable to lack of understanding about their job. I do not feel that this responsibility was ever fully discussed with them by anyone.

The ultimate responsibility for all of the shortcomings of the Statewide Program rests with SCLC. Mr. Calhoun seemed to have authority to run any program he desired without any contact with the Program Director except to have checks approved. Much of the ado about the proposed political education workshop could have been avoided.

When the citizenship clinics ended, Mr. Calhoun (who was on a per diem pay arrangement with SCLC) was told by Rev. Young that the agency had no work for him. We had been discussing for some time the pros and cons of a series of political education workshops across the state. Recognizing the care one would have to exercise in the carrying out of such a program, Mr. Calhoun hesitated to involve himself. Upon encouragement from this writer, he submitted a proposal to VEP which had

to be amended several times. The chronology of events I need not repeat, for this is recorded in WAB's letter of June 15, 1964.

Mr. Calhoun enjoys the unenviable position of having reached 65 years of age seemingly without having accrued any financial security. He is presently (and was at the time this fiasco with VEP arose) quite bitter about the way in which his talents (and he does have many) have been used and abused by certain of the power structure. I am not attempting to obviate any "wheeling and dealing" which Mr Calhoun has done which contributed to the prevailing attitude toward him. This man is extremely sensitive to others feelings about him, and he was aware of the attitude that he would go off into "partisan politics" after the Republican convention. Because of this, he perhaps was too anxious to get his SCLC responsibilities (the workshop) completed prior to that time. There is some possibility that I might have contributed to this incident by encouraging Mr. Calhoun to continue his planning, even though the VEP grant had not actually been approved. However, I take no responsibility for the dates on which it was scheduled, or for the lack of communication between WAB and Mr. Calhoun. Both Rev. Young and Mr. Calhoun know that I have been consistent in my criticism of their programs because of the obvious lack of time spent in planning and coordinating.

I do not know what precipitated Mr. Calhoun's action, although it seems related to something that was said to him by WAB in a telephone conversation prior to WAB's letter of 6/16/64. This, I believe, is the conversation which was terminated by Mr. Calhoun hanging up before both parties had completed their conversation. Mr. Calhoun indicated that he considered the matter closed and for that reason, saw no need to either WAB's letter or to communicate further with him.

It is regrettable that these events occurred because it means that a program so badly needed will not now be effected.

BIW

js

File VEP

NEWS RELEASE FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Phone: JA. 2-8764

Monday, August 3, 1964

Negro voter registration in the eleven southern states totaled 1,937,982 as of April 1, according to the latest state-by-state tabulation by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Wiley A. Branton, director of the project, today released the figures on registration and results of the VEP program.

The April 1 total exceeded VEP expectations. Since then the total Negro registration in the eleven states has clearly passed the 2,000,000 mark, Mr. Branton said.

And he said further "good-sized increases" can be expected between now and the November 3 presidential election. He added:

"If the presidential election is a close one within the southern states, the increased Negro vote could have great significance."

He pointed out that increases since 1960 in Negro registration in some of the southern states are greater than the margin by which one or the other of the presidential candidates carried those states in 1960.

For example, the Republican candidate won in Florida by 46,766 votes in 1960. Negro registration increases attributable to VEP alone in that state are 53,441. The

Democratic candidate carried South Carolina in 1960 by 9,571 votes. The VEP increase in that state has been 32,140.

The VEP is a non-partisan program engaged in research on causes of low voter registration in the eleven southern states, methods and techniques for increasing it, and development of educational programs along these lines.

Under its sponsorship, voter registration activities have been carried on in the eleven states by independent local organizations and five major Negro organizations -- the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Congress of Racial Equality, National Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The state-by-state tabulation shows a range of Negro registration as of April 1 from 28,500 in Mississippi, where harassment has been heavy, to 375,000 in Texas.

The April 1 total of 1,937,982 Negro voters is 38.6 per cent of eligible Negro voters in the eleven states. This means that a majority of them -- an estimated 3,078,118 -- were still not registered.

White registration in the eleven states, meanwhile, was estimated at 13,600,000 as of April 1, making the Negro-white ratio of voters almost one to six. About one-fourth of the South's voting age population is Negro.

The 1,937,982 total Negro registration compares with an estimated 1,350,000 Negro voters when VEP began in the spring of 1962, an increase of more than half a million.

The report shows that VEP-sponsored programs since then resulted in the registration of 551,328 people as of April 1, of whom all but 50,000 (in Texas) were Negro.

Thus, these programs are chiefly responsible for the two year increase in total Negro registration. They would have carried the total figure even higher had it not been for voters moving from the region, and for purges in some states and localities.

As it is, the total figure is a conservative estimate. Wherever official figures were not available, the most cautious estimates were used. Mr. Branton said the estimates for Georgia and Texas, particularly, are probably below actual registration.

Much of the VEP increase was achieved during the second year of the program's existence -- 426,321 of the total 551,328.

Historical perspective of the two-year gain of more than half a million is seen in a comparison with the decade between 1952 and 1962. During that entire period, there was a net increase of Negro voters in the South of not more than 350,000.

While VEP has been associated with most of the registration activity in the past two years it has not been responsible

for all of it. There have been some organized drives without VEP sponsorship, and there has been, of course, normal day-to-day registration.

VEP is in its final year, and will terminate its sponsorship of voter registration programs in October. It is hoped, however, that they will continue on their own resources.

(State-by-state tabulation attached.)

TABLE III.

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VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

*BASED ON 1960 CENSUS FIGURES
**VOTING AGE 18 IN GEORGIA

file D.U.P.

VJ-file
MJ-file

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

August 26, 1964

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Leslie Dunbar asked me to reply to your letter to him of July 28, regarding the plans for a continuation of a voter program in South Carolina following the termination of VEP. Les was leaving for a much needed vacation, and I wanted to explore further our own plans for South Carolina before replying to your letter. I subsequently received your letter to me dated August 19, and appreciate your complimentary remarks.

We have every reason to be pleased with the results in South Carolina and with the VEP programs there. This is the only state where we have made direct grants in every single congressional district. Both the organizational structure and the registration results could be described as excellent in the First, Second, and Sixth Congressional Districts. The Fourth District is relatively new but promises to be a good program. The Third District appears to be lacking in leadership in comparison with the other districts, and the Fifth District has done very poorly as a congressional district program, although we have had good results from two or three counties.

I am certain that we will continue direct VEP support through the October 5 registration deadline in all of the districts excepting the Third and Fifth.. I am going to Columbia Thursday night, August 27, to get with the leadership from each of the congressional districts and will probably make some kind of grant to their new statewide program which would tide them

over for the remainder of the year. I would suggest that they freeze their funds from the Presbyterians for use when there are no further VEP funds available.

With kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:bs

cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar

WB

VI — could you please discuss with Wesley & reply

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S.C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

Mayesville, South Carolina 29104
July 28, 1964

Dr. L. W. Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I. DeQuincy Newman, Executive director of the South Carolina NAACP, and J. Herbert Nelson, pastor of the St, Luke United Presbuterian Church, Orangeburg, S.C., recently came to see me. I told them I would write you about their plans .

They are preparing to continue a voter education project in South Carolina after our project closes. For this they have considerable backing from the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.--Nelson's church. The NAACP will furnish office space, and is organizing the state along congressional districts, and to a certain degree along county lines. I did not encourage them at all to hope that SRC itself had any money to put into such a project; but I did promise to put the matter before you with the hope that you might be able to give good suggestions as to where some further momey might be available for such a project.

I have known both these men for years; I have known J. Herbert since boyhood. They are both outstanding, both fighters, and apparently they have gone a good way toward setting up an organization to carry on this voter educcation project. I would appreciate your giving them such pointers as you can.

It's still raining, and Mrs Dabbs and I are still making an index for the book. This, together with the page proof, will go back tomorrow. I will go at the same time to Warrenton, North Carolina, to speak--in the county courthouse, they say. My gosh! --to an AFSC working group, togetner with such citizens as wish to appear. I dare say there will be Negro citizens there. If any appreciable number of white citizens appear, and if I speak successfully to such a mixed group--I mean mixed--then I'm going on the circuit.

~~Kindest regards,~~

Dabbs

~~Dabbs.~~

Nelson's address is Rt. 1, Box 908, Ashland Ave., Orangeburg.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

REGARDING:

RE: A grant is asked to help support VEP.

DATE

September 4, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence filed under FOUNDATIONS: Rockefeller Bros. Fund

Done

File N.E.P.

Arkansas Gazette.

Established November 20, 1819

The Gazette Is the Oldest Newspaper West of the Mississippi

Published every day by Gazette Publishing Company, Gazette Building, Little Rock. Second Class Mail Privilege authorized at Little Rock, Arkansas. Second Class postage paid at Little Rock, Arkansas.

It's reported that Senator Goldwater trailed President Johnson in a poll taken in his own state by Arizona's biggest newspaper, the Phoenix Republic. He also trails in the still bigger Republic.

Justice Is Done at Clarendon, Arkansas

LEGAL history was made in Clarendon on Friday, when a jury of 11 white men and a Negro brought in a verdict of innocent for Paul Louis Beckwith in the Sue Fuller murder trial. There have been few, if any, previous cases when a Negro man accused of violence against a white woman has been acquitted by an Arkansas jury. The jury which did the acquitting Friday was also the first integrated jury in the history of Monroe County.

The acquittal is evidence of the most important kind of change in Arkansas race relations, and law. The prosecution presented a weak case. Wiley Branton of Pine Bluff and Atlanta, an extraordinarily able lawyer and a Negro, led a defense which demolished it comprehensively. The jury brought in the verdict required by the evidence.

Whatever any of us may think about other aspects of race relations, it is difficult to imagine intelligent dissent from the proposition that Negroes must have equal justice under the law. Such justice has historically been most severely tested when white passions were most aroused. It is, we suspect, difficult to overestimate the effect on Negro attitudes of this single acquittal—especially since the acquittal was brought in a part of the state where traditional racial attitudes are strongly held.

No longer need a Negro formally accused of a heinous crime against a white person consign his soul to his Creator and his body to the cemetery, without more than idle thought for the justness of the accusation.

This is a forward step in race relations quite as important as the pioneering of school desegregation in several communities this fall. Perhaps a lot more important.

Mildred: please send copies of this with my Cmd — to
Dave Freeman
Vernon Eagle
Stephen Cummer ✓
Max Hahn
John Zeilf - 21 & C.M.
Bill Foster
Dan Pollitt
Anthony Wilson
Bill Wheeler - Bowser
John Wheeler
Brooks Hays
Lonnie Martin
Bill Taylor - C K
Jack Nelson - Times
Hoyt Barnett
Chuck Morgan
Elbert Jean
Ed Stanfield ✓ C K
Jerry Heilbron
Ralph McNeill
Marion Wright
Francis P. Miller
Joe Hoare

and Judge Elbert Tuttle (at request of WB)

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

File

September 15, 1964

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 5th Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Currier:

On January 8, 1964, Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, submitted a request to the Taconic Foundation for a terminal grant to the Voter Education Project in the amount of $150,000 for the period beginning April 1, 1964. In your grant letter of April 22, 1964, you forwarded a check for $80,000, representing payment of an additional grant which had been approved by the Board of Trustees of the Taconic Foundation. This letter stated, "Consideration will be given to making future funds available upon receipt of a plan and budget for the evaluation and continuation of the work of VEP through October."

VEP was operating with no financial difficulty in June and July, and I informed Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy that we would not make any request of Taconic until and unless we were sure that we would need additional funds. As we near the deadline for registration, we are experiencing very heavy demands for financial assistance to voter registration programs, and it does not appear that we will have sufficient funds with which to fully support the programs which we have given tentative approval to. Our cash balance on September 1, 1964, was $75,320.14 with all anticipated income having been paid in full. We will need some funds for the study, writing, and publishing of our final report, and we do not know at this time what budget would be required for this purpose.

Our immediate concern is that we have sufficient funds to finance those actual registration projects where meaningful results can be achieved. We find that thousands of new voters need the experience of an educational program in order to learn how to use voting machines or how to mark paper ballots, and these programs are also being conducted in addition to the actual registration program.

I therefore urgently request of the Taconic Foundation that the Voter Education Project be given a supplemental grant at this time in the amount of $35,000 to assist in the registration and education program which will continue until the November Election. Any funds not needed for this phase of the program will be used on the final report phase, but with everybody wanting to do something about registration, it is just possible that we will use all of our funds for actual registration and education. If you need any additional information, then kindly let us know.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:bs

cc: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

REGARDING:

Re: Registration in the Atlanta Area - All Citizens Registration Committee

DATE

September 21, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence filed under BOARD: Haas, Joseph

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

REGARDING:

The All-Citizens Registration Committee - - VEP

DATE

September 21, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence filed under BOARD; Joseph Haas

REGISTRATION FIGURES

STATE	TVAP	TR	WR	NWR[1]
ALABAMA	1,915,000	1,035,000	925,000	110,000
ARKANSAS	1,124,000	633,655	553,665	80,000
FLORIDA	3,516,000	2,234,010[2]	1,958,499	250,000
GEORGIA	2,636,000	1,500,000[3]	1,183,181	270,000
LOUISIANA	1,893,000	1,191,021[4]	1,027,981	163,041
MISSISSIPPI	1,243,000	553,500	525,000	28,500
NORTH CAROLINA	2,753,000	2,200,000[5]	1,856,497	258,000
SOUTH CAROLINA	1,380,000	847,000	703,000	144,000
TENNESSEE	2,239,000	1,515,026	1,297,026	218,000
TEXAS	5,922,000	2,095,183	1,720,183	375,000
VIRGINIA	2,541,000	1,091,047[6]	940,811	127,000
TOTALS				2,024,500

TVAP = Total Voting Age Population; TR = Total Registration; WR = White Registration; NWR = Nonwhite Registration.

[1] All NWR (with the exception of Louisiana) are estimates as of September 1, 1964

[2] Includes 25,511 others
[3] Estimate of Secretary of State after books closed 9/15/64
[4] Official figures, September 22, 1964, Times-Picayune
[5] Official estimate of total, Winston-Salem Journal, 9/24/64
[6] Includes 23,236 others

All TVAP figures are from Cong. Quarterly and are new since the 1960 census.

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

October 1, 1964

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear George:

Les Dunbar has asked me to reply to your letter to him of September 29. The film "COUNT" was produced under a grant from the Voter Education Project, but we recently persuaded Mr. Roy Reuther to purchase 50 copies for COPE. The prints which Brisben saw at the warehouse were awaiting shipping instructions from COPE. I understand that shipping instructions went out this week, and Mr. Reuther's secretary can probably tell you where prints can be obtained.

I am returning Mr. Brisben's letter to you. With kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:bs
cc: Les Dunbar

encl: Brisben's letter

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

WB

September 29, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing a copy of my letter to a teacher in the Chicago area. Did you people make the film COUNT? If so, we would like to preview it for our film library.

I assume that you know that the second NILE Southern Staff Training Institute which is to be held in Texas was postponed until February 1965.

Sincerely yours,

George

George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education

GG:cme
oeiu #2 afl-cio
Enclosure

Sorry to see that judge re-elected!

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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WM. F. SCHNITZLER

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

September 29, 1964

J. Quinn Brisben
Kelly High School
2756 South Komensky
Chicago, Illinois 60623

Dear Mr. Brisben:

Your letter of September 26th to Al Barkan has been referred to me.

We know nothing about the film COUNT. I would suggest that you write to:

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sincerely yours,

George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education

GG:cme
oeiu #2 afl-cio
cc: L.Dunbar

File: V.E.P.

October 2, 1964

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

possibility

Dear Wiley:

On September 28 the Nominating Committee met here. During its session it adopted the following minute:

> The 1964 Nominating Committee takes note of the probability that Mr. Wiley Branton, Director of the Voter Education Project, will terminate his staff service within the next several months. The Committee has the highest regard both for Mr. Branton and for the great service he has rendered as director of the Voter Education Project. In order to take over that assignment he was required by the By-Laws of the Council to resign as a member of the Council, and the 1964 Nominating Committee believes that he should be re-elected to Council membership at the earliest possible time. It, therefore, resolves as follows: (a) this Committee recommends to the Executive Committee that Mr. Branton be favorably

considered for election for any interim vacancy that might occur after he terminates his staff service; (b) in the event no such interim vacancy occurs, this Committee recommends to the 1965 Nominating Committee that Mr. Branton be favorably considered for election to the Class of 1969.

I thought you would like to know of this action. For your information, the 1964 Nominating Committee consisted of Dean B. R. Brazeal, Dr. James A. Colston, Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Paul D. Williams, and James Youngdahl.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Dr. Raymond Wheeler
Mr. John H. Wheeler

WELD

Committee for Welfare, Education
and Legal Defense

10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019
JUdson 2-2825

File

29 October, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

In connection with our annual audit for our fiscal year ended July 31, 1964, our auditors, Garlick and Hoffman, Certified Public Accountants, would like you to confirm to them our contributions paid to you totaling $10,000.00 during this period. Would you kindly return the original copy to Garlick and Hoffman after your completion of the data called for below, and retain the duplicate copy for your files.

We are enclosing a stamped, addressed envelope for your convenience in sending this response directly to our auditors and would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton
Executive Director

[ ] Your contributions of $10,000.00 are correct.

[ ] Your contributions of $10,000.00 are not correct. (Kindly explain difference.)

Signed: _____

Title: _____

COPY

file
VEP

December 3, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

From: John D. Due, Jr.

Re: Some Decisions of the Hon. Claude Clayton, Judge, United States District Court, Northern District of Mississippi re Civil Rights of Negroes

A. United States ex rel Goldsby v. Harpole, February 2, 1957
_____ F. Supp. _____ Fed. 2nd _____
2 Race Relations Reporter #6 - Page 6

A Negro by the name of Goldsby, a convicted state prisoner, petitioned Judge Claude Clayton for a writ of Habeas Corpus on the grounds that his trial in the state court was in violation of the due process clause of the 14th amendment because of systematic exclusion of Negroes from the jury lists and other meritorious reasons, such as ignorance of his rights under the law and a too-speedy trial.

Judge Clayton summarily dismissed the petition as if there were no meritorious claims, and did not require any response from the state of Mississippi.

Upon appeal, the Court of Appeals held that Goldsby was entitled to a hearing on the petition, and that the petition was too summarily dismissed.

4 Race Relations Reporter #2 - Page 379

After the Court of Appeals reversed Judge Clayton's decision, the court remanded the case back to Judge Clayton for determination of the cuase on its merits. Judge Clayton, upon remand, refused to issue a certificate of probable cause, finding against Goldsby's claim of ignorance of his rights under the law, holding "that the petitioner was 28 years old and had a high school education." Also, the judge failed to find "systematic and willful exclusion of Negroes from jury service."

Upon the second appeal, the Court of Appeals reversed the judgment of Judge Clayton, holding that he had erred in failing to issue the certificate of probable cause; that there was a strong prima facie case in the fact that although there was a large number of Negroes in the county who meet age and sex requirements, not one has ever been shown to have been on the jury list.

B. Darby v. Daniel, February 2, 1958
_____ F. Supp. _____ _____ Fed. 2nd _____
3 Race Relations Reporter #6 - Page 1177

Judge Clayton was one of the judges of a unanimous three-judge court which ruled against a Negro citizen who had brought a class action against a 1955 amendment to the state constitution. This amendment required one registering for the first time to "be able to read and write one section of the constitution of this state and give a reasonable interpretation to the county registrar, and to demonstrate . . . . a reasonable understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government."

The three-judge court denied that these requirements were unconstitutional on their face. The court refused to take judicial notice of the alleged legislative purpose to enable registrars to discriminate against Negroes and rejected the contention that the registrar had actually practiced racial discrimination. The court also limited the 1957 Civil Rights Act, under which this case was proceeding holding that it granted jurisdiction to federal district courts in only those cases brought by the Attorney General of the United States rather than by a private plaintiff, requiring him to "exhaust any administrative or other state remedies."

C. U. S. v. Fraiser (1961) _____ F. Supp. _____
6 Race Relations Reporter #3, Page 1167

The United States brought an action before Judge Clayton to restrain a state court injunction which required a bus company to maintain racially segregated terminal facilities in compliance with a Mississippi statute. Judge Clayton denied the petition on the grounds that "only a three-judge court could enjoin the enforcement of a state statute as unconstitutional." Later, as a part of a three-judge court, he dissented from the court's order enjoining the bus station from maintaining segregation signs.

D. Bailey V. Patterson, 206 F. Supp. 67 (1962)
6 Race Relations Law Reporter - Page 1131

In 1961, Negro citizens of the state of Mississippi brought a class action in a three-judge federal district court composed of circuit Judge Rives and district judges Mize and Clayton. The Negro plaintiffs sought to enjoin the enforcement by local authorities and transportation agencies of state statutes requiring racial segregation in transportion facilities.

With circuit judge Rives dissenting, the court declined to decide on the merits of the case until the Negro plaintiffs had exhausted

their state remedies, holding that it was "required" to abstain until the state courts had ruled on the constitutionality of the statutes.

In his dissent, Judge Rives held that the court should not abstain where the state law is "clearly and unavoidably unconstitutional on its face," stating also that such a rule would be, not abstention, but abdication of judicial function.

In 1962, the United States Supreme Court over-turned the judgment of the three-judge court, holding that a three-judge court was not required in order to invalidate a statute based on a constitutional issue which the court termed "essentially fictitious." The court held that if had settled beyond question the state's requirement of racial segregation, that the question was "no longer open," and was "foreclosed as a litigable issue," and that to claim that such a state statute was not unconstitutional on its face is "frivolous." The Supreme Court then remanded the case to a single judge court for "expeditious desposition."

E. U. S. v. Dogan (1962) 206 F. Supp. 446
7 Race Relations #3 - Page 572 and 8 Race Relations #2, Page 572

Here, the United States brought an action before Judge Clayton under the Civil Rights statues on behalf of Negroes who have been intimidated, or not permitted to pay their poll taxes. Judge Clayton refused to grant a mandatory injunction against the defendant sheriff requiring him to permit Negroes to pay their poll taxes. Judge Clayton held that such relief was not entitled in that the evidence was insufficient, in that less than 1% of the potential Negro voters had ever expressed an interest in paying poll taxes, "so no emergency existed."

The Court of Appeals reversed Judge Clayton's decision, demonstrating that the judge disregarded the record and federal procedure because he:

a. Refused to allow the United States to admit evidence of "attempted" tanders by certain Negroes;
b. Ruled that separate suits are required to determine a practice or pattern of discrimination;
c. Held that the Civil Rights Act applied only to the act of voting itself, and not to qualifying acts such as registration and polling taxes;
d. Despite admissions in the record that show that only Negro applicants had to "wait" to see the sheriff in order to pay poll taxes, Judge Clayton failed to find that distinctions based on race or color had been made in the collection of taxes.

F. Henry V. Coahoma County Mississippi Board of Education (1963)
_____ Supp. _____
8 Race Relations Reporter #4, Page 1480

A Negro woman, Nolla M. Henry, wife of Aaron Henry, sued the Board to rehire her as a teacher, alleging that the Board had failed to rehire her because of activities on behalf of the NAACP. Judge Clayton dismissed the complaint, ruling that race, or the activities of her husband in the NAACP was not thr reason of her not being rehired, finding that her husband had been convicted on a morals charge and that two libel suits had been brought against him by public officials which might result in the plaintiff being sued later to set aside some "fraudulent" conveyances to her. The court then denied her motion to amend that would conform to the findings.

G. Henry v. Clarksdale Municipal Separate School District (1964)
_____ F. Supp._____
9 Race Relations Reporter #2 - Page 678

Negro school children brought a class suit before Judge Clayton seeking a temporary injunction requiring the submission of a school desegregation plan. Judge Clayton did order the submission of a desegregation plan, but volunteered that it may have only one grade desegregated initially.

H. United States of America v. Leonard C. Dukes (1964)
_____ F. Supp. _____
9 Race Relations Reporter #2 Page 788

The United States sought a preliminary injunction from Judge Clayton to prohibit racially discriminatory practices in Panola County which prevented Negroes from registering and voting. Judge Clayton found that:

a. There was no proof that any Negro had been denied the right to register and vote because of race or color. (But upon appeal, the Court of Appeals stated that it had already held that it could not be assumed that Negroes en masse, or in substantial numbers, abstained from registration, and here, only two out of at least 2,000 eligible Negroes had been registered, and that the burden is on the state to show free and fair registration; that Judge Clayton erred in assuming precisely what had already been said could not be assumed.)

b. That there was "no evidence" that the registrar, the state of Mississippi, or anyone else in Panola County had done "anything" to intimidate or discourage Negroes from attempting to register. (But upon appeal, the Court of Appeals found that Clayton erred, because the record shows that a Negro applicant, while waiting to apply to register, overheard the sheriff indicate that he was going to "bother" the Negro when he left, and that therefore, this constituted discouragement. Also, that there was discouragement when there were women deputies available, but upon the presence of a Negro applicant, the woman deputy would assume a "personal privilege" and make the Negro applicant wait two or three hours for the registrar, who was always in another judicial district. Also, that there was a "discouragement" when each Negro applicant was taken only one at a time when the white applicants were not required to be taken only one at a time. Also, there was "discouragement" in that Negroes were made to answer the most difficult and longest sections of the constitution. Also, Judge Clayton erred in not allowing proof of Panola County officials' intimidation and discouraging tactics toward Negroes. A Negro witness was going to explain why he failed to return and got as far as to mention a certain county official, when he was stopped.)

c. That there was no discrimination. (The Court of Appeals stated that this was an error. The record showed that whites only were allowed to just sign their names; even white illiterates were registered.)

When Judge Clayton did find that white people had been permitted to register without satisfying registration requirements, he excused this as not being official action, stating that this was "ineptness." The Court of Appeals found this in error, that these deputy registrars were ordinary experienced deputies, that the registrar is responsible for, by the record of the case, upon application of white persons, the registrar corrected their mistakes and told them what interpretation to use in interpreting the Mississippi constitution.

d. That it was not even shown with respect with any of the Negro witnesses that the lesser and mistaken standards applied to the same white persons could be met and surpassed. (But the Court of Appeals held that this finding was an error, because no standards were applied to white people - - - who registered by just signing the book.)

JDD:js

File Newsreleases 1965

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone: 522-8764

FOR RELEASE:

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1965

The Southern Regional Council has adopted resolutions urging specific steps for improvement of administration of the poverty program and school integration in the South.

One of the resolutions warned that current Office of Economic Opportunity decisions about community action programs in the important standard-setting communities of Atlanta and Memphis "could establish a precedent for good or ill for the rest of the South."

At issue in Atlanta is the question of adequate representation of the poor on a community action planning board. The Economic Opportunity-Atlanta, Inc. Board of Directors has rejected a proposal that one-third of its membership be from the ranks of the poor, and has approved the adding of four such representatives of the poor to a membership of at least 17.

Paul Anthony, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, commented that "this raises precisely one of the questions with which our resolution is concerned -- whether representation of the poor shall be substantial. The Atlanta proposal hardly seems substantial or even adequate. I am concerned by statements from the leadership of the Atlanta board that such a plan would be acceptable to the OEO." He added, however, that he was glad to see that the Atlanta board anticipates election of the representation from the poor.

At issue in Memphis is the question of whether representatives of the poor should be elected or appointed by city officials. The Southern Regional Council resolution urges that representatives of the poor be elected by their peers in "some feasible fashion."

Following are texts of the resolutions:

1. Poverty Programs

The Southern Regional Council, assembled in its 22nd Annual Meeting, recognizes the Economic Opportunity Act as a most important effort. We commend the Office of Economic Opportunity for its swift establishment of programs in the South. We recognize that detailed evaluation of these programs is probably premature. However, we make the following broad recommendations for all programs, current and future, in the South:

(1) That the Office of Economic Opportunity implement its policy that the poor be represented in policy-making capacities on the local community action agency boards, and that it require this representation to be in substantial numbers.

(2) That the OEO require that representatives of the poor be democratically elected by their peers in the target areas in some feasible fashion rather than appointed by local governing bodies.

We urge that the community action programs in Memphis, Tennessee, and Atlanta, Georgia, be required to meet these standards of maximum feasible participation and local self-determination. OEO's decisions regarding these two vital southern communities could establish a precedent for good or ill for the rest of the South.

2. School Integration

Questions have been raised to whether various official reports on the extent of school desegregation in the South reflect the true picture. Certainly such reports have not adequately covered the private and extra-legal economic and social pressures exerted to limit the rate of integration. We therefore urge that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare make renewed efforts to determine the facts about school desegregation in the South, and that it consider the use of independent agencies, groups, and individuals toward this end. A similar recommendation is made regarding the use of funds designed to improve schools for the poor and disadvantaged.

Teachers and educators in state school systems and universities in the South are all too often both the products and prisoners of an historical system of segregation.

> Progress toward integration requires new insights and this requires people who are free to point out the flaws in the traditional patterns. We therefore urge the Department of Education to provide programs of technical aid to teachers and others to prepare themselves for positive roles in the change to an integrated educational structure. We further urge that workers in the field of human relations as well as professional educators of quality who understand the social change involved be called on to plan and supervise such programs.

In another resolution, the Southern Regional Council expressed appreciation for the work and character of Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the organization from 1961 to 1965. Mr. Dunbar recently resigned to become executive director of the Field Foundation in New York City.

The resolutions, released to the public Saturday, were adopted at the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council held in Atlanta November 15 and 16. The Southern Regional Council is a south-wide organization of Negro and white Southerners to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Appointment of Paul Anthony as executive director was confirmed. He was formerly director of field activities. The following officers were re-elected: John H. Wheeler, president of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina, president; Miss Josephine Wilkins of Atlanta and Athens, Georgia, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, and Dr. Stephen J. Wright, president of Fisk University of Nashville, Tennessee, vice-presidents; Mrs. Ruth House Alexander of Atlanta, secretary-treasurer; Joseph Haas of Atlanta, counsel; Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler, physician of Charlotte, North Carolina, chairman of the Executive Committee. Paul Christopher of Knoxville, Tennessee, regional director of the AFL-CIO, was elected a vice-president.

Dr. C. Vann Woodward, Yale University historian and author, was principal speaker at the meeting. The Alabama Council on Human Relations received the George S. Mitchell Award for the largest percentage increase in membership during the past year.

1967 ANNUAL REPORT

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director

During 1967, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., funded 122 programs. The number of funded programs exceeded the number supported during 1966 by 16. Programs were financed in all eleven Old South states.

In addition, the Voter Education Project sponsored a wide variety of new programs. Chief among these were the seminar for Negro city councilmen and county officers held at Clark College in July and the institute held in December for elected Negro officeholders in Mississippi.

Thirty-four elected Negro officials from across the South attended the three-day meeting in July. VEP joined with the Center for the Study of Southern Public Policy at Clark College in sponsoring the seminar.

Eighteen of the 22 newly elected Negro officeholders in Mississippi attended the December meeting. The meeting, held at the Downtowner Motor Inn in Jackson, was a historic one, and it attracted considerable attention in Mississippi. Among those attending the two-day institute were Negroes elected to the offices of supervisor, chancery clerk, justice of the peace, constable and legislator. They listened attentively to sessions on such subjects as the duties and responsibilities of their offices, how to serve the people, politics, economics and dealing with the press. The group found that it had a common problem in being bonded to take office, and it sent a telegram to the U. S. attorney general regarding this difficulty. (The officials subsequently were bonded.)

Major voter registration efforts during 1967 came in Mississippi, Virginia, Louisiana and South Carolina, although some voter registration drives were supported in ten of the eleven states. Voter registration was spurred ahead by state-wide elections in the first three states listed above. The

areas selected included some of the most difficult in these states. VEP programs were partly responsible for making it possible for Negroes to win county-level offices in all three states. The list included a legislator in each. Registration programs in South Carolina were tied to that state's re-registration law, which requires all voters to re-register in order to vote in 1968.

Special mention might be made of several registration projects in North Carolina and Georgia. In Charlotte, North Carolina, VEP sponsored its first registration drive through a community anti-poverty agency. In Robeson County (Lumberton), North Carolina, VEP funded a registration drive among Lumbee Indians which added nearly 4,000 names to the voting books. When three counties (Terrell, Lee and Screven) were designated for the first and only federal examiners sent to Georgia, VEP acted immediately and was instrumental in setting up voter registration campaigns in all three counties.

During 1967, VEP helped move two additional state VEPs toward permanent status. The Arkansas and North Carolina Voter Education Projects received funds, elected boards, and employed full-time directors. VEP continued its support of the South Carolina Voter Education Project and assisted SCVEP in obtaining a new director. And a statewide meeting in Baton Rouge supplied the groundwork for organizing a state VEP in Louisiana.

Leadership training received increased attention during 1967. Statewide leadership training meetings were held in North Carolina, South Carolina, Arkansas and Texas. The latter was held through the Texas Leadership Conference, and the other three through state VEPs. Typically, these one-day conferences consisted of general meetings and workshops on such topics as registration, voting, citizenship education, registration and election laws, the role of Negro

officeholders, and the anti-poverty program. Hundreds of Negroes from all corners of these four states attended the leadership conferences.

During 1966 VEP had joined the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund in sponsoring one-day institutes for Negro candidates in South Carolina and Alabama. These institutes had been most useful in enabling Negro candidates to protect themselves against election fraud. In 1967, the institutes for candidates were continued in Mississippi and Louisiana, the latter being the largest such meeting yet held. In each case, Fred Wallace of the Legal Defense Fund was in charge of briefing the candidates.

The Clark College and Mississippi seminars already mentioned were among the more successful and inspiring in which VEP has been involved. These meetings, along with the VEP-sponsored conference in 1966 for Negro legislators, marked the first time that such groups of Negro officeholders had met in the South. (Prior to 1967, of course, there was only one Negro officeholder at the county level in Mississippi, and he was elected in 1966.) As did the meeting of Negro legislators, these seminars provided the base for continuing liaison for the officeholders who attended.

Speakers for the Clark seminar included Bayard Rustin, Miss Marian Wright, Dr. Vivian Henderson, Jack Greenberg, Dr. Samuel D. Cook, and others. On the basis of his experience with these successful programs, the VEP director was asked to participate in planning the national conference of Negro officeholders which was held in late September in Chicago.

Speakers for the Mississippi meeting included Dr. Henderson, Mr. Rustin, Frank Smith, Jack Young, Julian Bond, Horace Ward, Claude Ramsey, Clarence Mitchell, and William Raspberry. Also participating were lawyers from the Legal Defense Fund and members of the VEP staff.

The Voter Education Project supplied $2,000 of the cost of a workshop for Negro school board members which was held in August at Arlie House near Washington. This workshop was planned and conducted by the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, Inc. The Arkansas VEP held a training institute for Negro school board members in that state in November.

Additional emphasis also was placed on citizenship education during 1967. Most of the Mississippi, Louisiana and Virginia registration projects were tied in with citizenship education work on procedures for casting the ballot. The same was true of several registration projects in North Carolina, Georgia and Florida. VEP funded a citizenship education program in Memphis, and $6,000 was allocated to the regional office of the Urban League for citizenship education in Florida and Alabama.

Research grants included Dave Emmons, Holmes County, Mississippi, Charles Webster; Crenshaw County, Alabama, and Dean B. R. Brazeal, a study of registration problems in rural Georgia. Another research grant went to Armstead L. Robinson, a Yale student. His research on Negro life in Memphis during the Reconstruction enabled him to apply successfully for the Scholar of the House program at Yale.

VEP employed nine student interns during the summer, three of whom worked with the Atlanta All-Citizens Registration Committee. For the second year, VEP helped the YWCA sponsor student programs of voter registration during the spring holidays. And as always, young people played important roles in local registration programs funded by VEP across the region. One VEP intern, Miss Patricia Collins, served in the office of Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen. Another, Bernard Parks, served in the office of Mayor Allen and Atlanta Alderman Q. V. Williamson.

VEP publications produced in 1967 were "How To Conduct a Registration Campaign," "Know Your Georgia Government," and a monthly newsletter which started in June. "Know Your Georgia Government," a 24-page booklet containing basic facts about local and state government, was evaluated during the summer in Houston County, Georgia by two VEP student interns. The evaluation provided useful ideas for improving such booklets in the future. Similar booklets are planned in the near future for Mississippi, Virginia and Louisiana, and others will follow as the booklet format is established. Several schools have written for copies of "Know Your Georgia Government." The Watters-Cleghorn book about VEP, "Climbing Jacob's Ladder," was published in November.

With VEP assistance, a second citizenship education film was produced by the Auburn League of Women Voters. Called "Getting To Know Them," the film explained the duties of state and local officials in Alabama. The film was televised in Alabama in August.

The Voter Education Project during 1967 continued to be the primary source of information on voter registration, Negro candidates and Negro officeholders in the South. Several books and national publications requested and received permission to use VEP statistics. The research director collected information and maintained files which enabled him to answer numerous requests from newspapers, news magazines, television networks, writers, college students and professors, civil rights organizations and others. The research director also was responsible for the writing and/or editing of all VEP publications.

In September, the Voter Education Project acquired a full-time field director. He was Weldon Rougeau, a recent graduate of Loyola University of Chicago and a native of

Lake Charles, Louisiana. Mr. Rougeau worked two years as a field secretary for CORE and also carried out assignments for the first Voter Education Project.

During the latter part of the year, the VEP director participated in planning and background work for the Urban Coalition. He was designated for these duties by John Wheeler, president of SRC, who serves on the steering committee for the Urban Coalition. During the early part of the year, Mr. Jordan completed his service on the President's National Advisory Commission on Selective Service. In January, Mr. Jordan visited Israel as one of 12 young Negroes selected for such tours by the American Jewish Committee.

The third year of the current Voter Education Project probably will be its biggest. We sense that the interest of the citizenry will be very high, for in addition to congressional elections and the Presidential election, four Southern states will be electing governors and seven will be electing U. S. senators. Along with this will come county, district, state and national political conventions and the usual wide variety of local elections.

With less than three-fifths of the region's adult Negro population registered at the end of 1967 (as against nearly three-fourths of the whites), VEP's services are expected to be in greater demand than ever next year. Negroes are beginning to enjoy political successes throughout the region, even in such hard-core states as Mississippi and Alabama. There is a growing awareness of political participation as a lever for justice and equal rights. Consequently, there is more interest among Negroes in registering, voting and running.

Institutes for candidates should be held in 1968 in most, if not all, of the states of the Old South. Additional institutes for officeholders also are being planned.

Along with this should come more leadership conferences as a means of developing potential candidates and organizers. We hope to employ more student interns, some to serve with Negro legislators. We will continue to develop citizenship education materials, such as the know-your-government booklets. And we will continue our efforts to organize state VEPs, which can be valuable watchdogs over such processes as political conventions. Finally, we must continue our efforts to get Southern Negroes registered---which is, after all, where political participation begins.

STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN OF VEP GRANTS

January 1 - December 19, 1967

ALABAMA	$ 11,518.00
ARKANSAS	12,749.36
FLORIDA	4,320.00
GEORGIA	30,491.25
LOUISIANA	21,200.37
MISSISSIPPI	47,298.42
NORTH CAROLINA	30,350.00
SOUTH CAROLINA	44,891.86
TENNESSEE	7,657.00
TEXAS	5,000.00
VIRGINIA	17,900.00
OTHER FUNDS	4,500.00
TOTAL	$ 237,876,26

ALABAMA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Regional Office, NAACP Birmingham	$ 3,460.00	Voter Registration
Auburn League of Women Voters Auburn	737.00	Citizenship Education
Russell County VEP Seale	500.00	Voter Registration
Pike County Voters League Troy	500.00	Voter Registration
Talladega Improvement Association Talladega	2,321.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Madison County Voters League Huntsville	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Greene County Civic Organization Eutaw	1,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Alabama Council on Human Relations Auburn	500.00	Voter Registration
TOTAL	$ 11,518.00	

ARKANSAS

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Arkansas Voter Education Project Little Rock	$ 11,200.36	Program Development
Arkansas Voter Education Project Statewide Meeting, Camden	1,549.00	Leadership Training
TOTAL	$ 12,749.36	

FLORIDA

Fort Lauderdale Branch, NAACP Fort Lauderdale	$ 2,500.00	Citizenship Education and Voter Registration
Marion County Voters League Ocala	1,820.00	Voter Registration
TOTAL	$ 4,320.00	

GEORGIA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
YWCA (Student Interns) Atlanta	$ 3,027.00	Voter Registration
Screven County VEP Sylvania	1,500.00	Voter Registration
Terrell County VEP Dawson	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Richmond County Branch, NAACP Augusta	500.00	Voter Registration
Houston County (SCLC) Warner Robins	1,800.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
All Citizens Registration Committee Atlanta	3,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Burke County Improvement Association Waynesboro	2,663.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Toombs County VEP Vidalia	1,000.00	Voter Registration
B. R. Brazeal Atlanta	1,201.25	Research
Crisp County VEP Cordele	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Regional Office Urban League Atlanta	6,600.00	Citizenship Education

LOUISIANA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Mansfield Branch, NAACP Mansfield	$ 1,410.00	Voter Registration
Caddo Parish, VEP Shreveport	3,590.37	Voter Registration
New Iberia Branch, NAACP New Iberia	1,000.00	Voter Registration
St. John the Baptist Parish Mount Airy	2,200.00	Voter Registration
New Orleans Youth Council, NAACP New Orleans	1,750.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Community League for Citizenship Education and Voter Registration New Orleans	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Four Parish Voter Education Project Iberville	3,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
East Baton Rouge Parish VEP Baton Rouge	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Madison Parish Voters League Tallulah	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
East Carroll Branch, NAACP Lake Providence	750.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Louisiana Workshop for Candidates Baton Rouge	1,000.00	Leadership Training
TOTAL	$ 21,200.37	

MISSISSIPPI

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Bolivar County VEP Gunnerson	$ 1,920.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Holmes County VEP Tchula	1,985.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Quitman County VEP Marks	1,830.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Sunflower County VEP Ruleville	2,100.44	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Tallahatchie County VEP Glendora	1,790.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Yazoo County VEP Vaughn	1,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Amite County VEP Liberty	1,200.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Issaquena County Voters League Mayersville	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Holmes County Branch, NAACP Lexington	750.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Coahoma County Branch, NAACP Clarksdale	2,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Clay County Community Association West Point	1,001.85	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Carroll County Improvement Association Vaiden	1,020.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Pike County Branch, NAACP McComb	$ 1,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Grenada County Voters League Grenada	2,200.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Warren County Improvement League Vicksburg	1,200.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Civic League of Simpson County Mendenhall	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Sharkey County Improvement Association Anguilla	1,592.80	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Voters League of Jeff Davis County Prentiss	2,050.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Wilkerson County Voter Education League Woodville	2,200.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Hinds County Registration League Jackson	3,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Rankin County Movement Brandon	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Lawrence County Civic League Monticello	1,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Leake County Branch, NAACP Carthage	1,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
Lauderdale County VEP Meridian	1,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Forrest County Branch, NAACP Hattiesburg	$ 1,500.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
North Gulfport Political Action Committee Gulfport	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Clay County West Point	1,020.00	Research
Mississippi Council on Human Relations Jackson	600.00	Voter Registration
Mississippi Institute Jackson	1,088.33	Leadership Training
Dave Emmons	1,250.00	Research
TOTAL	$ 47,298.42	

NORTH CAROLINA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Lumbee Citizens Council Pembroke	$ 4,150.00	Voter Registration
Charlotte Area Fund, Inc. Charlotte	2,000.00	Voter Registration
Greensboro Branch, NAACP Greensboro	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Halifax County Voters Movement Weldon	1,500.00	Voter Registration
North Carolina VEP Durham	13,000.00	Program Development
North Carolina Leadership Training Program (Statewide Meeting) Durham	2,000.00	Leadership Training
Citizens Voter Registration Project Rocky Mount	2,000.00	Voter Registration
Martin County VEP Williamston	1,500.00	Voter Registration
Goldsboro Branch, NAACP Goldsboro	1,200.00	Voter Registration
Bertie County VEP Windsor	2,000.00	Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
TOTAL	$ 30,350.00	

SOUTH CAROLINA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
South Carolina VEP Columbia	$ 13,500.00	Program Development
Lee County VEP Bishopville	950.00	Voter Re-registration
Sumter County VEP Sumter	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Greenville County VEP Greenville	2,026.26	Voter Re-registration
Orangeburg County VEP Orangeburg	3,050.00	Voter Re-registration
Laurens County VEP Clinton	1,500.00	Voter Re-registration
Clarendon County VEP Manning	3,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Allendale County VEP Allendale	750.00	Voter Re-registration
Anderson County VEP Anderson	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Darlington County VEP Darlington	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration
South Carolina VEP Leadership Conference (Statewide Meeting) Columbia	3,095.60	Leadership Training
Richland County VEP Columbia	2,000.00	Voter Re-registration

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Charleston Branch, NAACP Charleston	$ 2,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Newberry County VEP Newberry	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Hampton County Branch, NAACP Hampton	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Williamsburg County Voters League Kingstree	2,000.00	Voter Re-registration
Kershaw County Registration Drive Camden	620.00	Voter Re-registration
Abbeville Civic League Abbeville	1,000.00	Voter Re-registration
McCormick Civic League McCormick	900.00	Voter Re-registration
Ridgeville Branch, NAACP Ridgeville	1,400.00	Voter Re-registration
Palmetto State Voters Association Bennettsville	1,500.00	Voter Re-registration
Richland County VEP (Student Program) Columbia	600.00	Student Program
TOTAL	$ 44,891.86	

TENNESSEE

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Nashville Branch, NAACP Nashville	$ 2,592.00	Voter Registration
A. L. Robinson (Student Intern) Memphis	500.00	Research
Ripley Branch, NAACP Ripley	2,000.00	Voter Registration
Memphis Branch, NAACP Memphis	2,565.00	Citizenship Education
TOTAL	$ 7,657.00	

TEXAS*

Texas Leadership Conference (Statewide Meeting) San Marcos	$ 5,000.00	Leadership Training

*Late 1966 registration programs in three Texas counties extended into early 1967 and were, for the most part, 1967 projects.

VIRGINIA

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Virginia State Conference, NAACP Richmond	$ 200.00	Leadership Training
Danville VEP (SCLC) Danville	3,300.00	Voter Registration
Lynchburg Voters League Lunchburg	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Galax Branch, NAACP Galax	1,110.00	Voter Registration
Petersburg Improvement Association (SCLC) Petersburg	3,000.00	Voter Registration
New Kent County VEP Quinton	1,050.00	Voter Registration
Amelia County Branch, NAACP Amelia	1,000.00	Voter Registration
Brunswick County League for Progress Lawrenceville	1,175.00	Voter Registration
Richmond Branch, NAACP Richmond	3,495.00	Voter Registration
Powhatan County Branch, NAACP Powhatan	820.00	Voter Registration
Greensville County Branch, NAACP Emporia	1,750.00	Voter Registration
TOTAL	$ 17,900.00	

OTHER

AGENCY	AMOUNT GRANTED	TYPE OF PROGRAM
Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality	$ 2,000.00	Leadership Training
Law Students Research Council Mississippi	2,500.00	Research
TOTAL	$ 4,500.00	

NOTE: VEP 67 - 24 is included in the total of 122 projects, but is not listed because the recipient declined the grant since the registration deadline had passed.

ns Loines Award

Fabian Bachrach

I. A. Richards

Established in honor of Russell Loines, a marine-insurance lawyer who was a close friend of many poets, the award is presented periodically by the institute to an American or English poet as a recognition of value, preferably of value not widely recognized.

perintendent said, seven were integrated and two were all Negro. The Northeast Junior High is all Negro while the Northwest Junior High is mostly white, according to a party to the action.

Robert Carter, attorney for the N. A. A. C. P. national headquarters in New York, appeared last January to try the case on behalf of the children. The board argued that the line had been changed not for racial reasons but to keep pace with a heavy increase in school-age population.

Attack is Broad

In New York Mr. Carter said today that although the suit had been aimed originally at the alleged gerrymandering it had developed into a much broader attack on the whole school system in Kansas City, Kan. Mr. Carter said Federal Judge Arthur Stanley had requested counsel to return for argument, probably in May or June.

An interesting point about the case, according to a source close to it, is that the alleged gerrymandering took place so recently—that is, more than five years after the United States Supreme Court decision declaring racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional.

In the New Rochelle, N. Y., case, regarded as an important precedent in Eastern cases, Judge Irving R. Kaufman found that the deliberate manipulation of zone lines went back to the Thirties. He ordered the New Rochelle authorities to transfer pupils from the predominantly Negro Lincoln School, and the United States Supreme Court affirmed his decision by refusing to review it at the request of the school board.

Pasadena

By GLADWIN HILL

Special to The New York Times.

PASADENA, Calif. — This large residential suburb of Los Angeles has gained note in recent years both for its staid affluence and its growing Negro population.

The combination has produced racial problems, notably in connection with schools and real estate. But a sizable portion of the Negro community views recent trends as progressive, if short of perfection.

Pasadena remained relatively static in total population in the booming 1950-1960 decade, growing only from 104,000 to 116,000. But its Negro population doubled, from 7,820 to 14,587. This density exceeds proportionally even that in the city of Los Angeles, one of the nation's big Negro centers.

By 1954, when the Supreme Court ordered school integration, there was some tacit segregation in Pasadena. In racially mixed sections there were school "neutral zones." In these, it was charged by the N. A. A. C. P., discretionary pupil assignments served to intensify racial separation. With the court decision, the city abandoned this device.

For about six years, the school system functioned quietly with only the quasi-segregation stemming from racially separated housing patterns. Then, last year, an episode sparked a new eruption of racial controversy.

Pupils Shifted

One hundred forty white junior high school pupils in Pasadena's peripheral Linda Vista district were shifted from schools in an adjacent community to schools in Pasadena. They were assigned as a group to the predominently white McKinley School, after parents expressed apprehension publicly about their going to the equally accessible, but predominantly Negro, George Washington School.

Negroes protested so vehemently that the Pasadena Board of Education appointed an interracial advisory commission to smooth the matter.

The commission accepted the controversial assignment of the students to the McKinley School, in effect in return for the school board's promise that future school-district lines would be drawn to promote integration.

The board mapped revisions in the McKinley-Washington boundary and the line between two high schools so that over the next six years about 1,000 pupils would be reassigned to increase the schools' bi-racial composition.

John Buggs, head of the county human relations commission, who served on the special school commission, said, "the Pasadena Board of Education has taken a better position and gone farther on integration than any school district in the state."

But militant Negroes have denounced the arrangements as "gradualism." The N. A. A. C. P. filed a suit charging that a deliberate segregation policy was being pursued. The suit is now before the State Court of Appeal, after lower-court rejection.

The school controversy stimulated dissension over a nascent urban renewal program. Negroes have asserted that the areas under consideration have been selected so as to displace as many as 1,500 Negroes in such a way as to increase their residential concentration, or perhaps to push them out of the city entirely. City officials sought to ease this recently by appointing a Negro as relocation manager of the urban renewal agency.

The N. A. A. C. P. and another group, the Non-Partisan League, have said they won't support the renewal program until the city passes a law against racial discrimination in the sale and rental of homes. Discrimination now is illegal in California only in housing transactions involving government financing.

A high degree of informal residential segregation persists in Pasadena, as in other cities, because of economic and social barriers. Non-whites have a hard time getting into white neighborhoods, and racial friction growing out of such efforts has produced cross-burnings, arson attempts and other disorder. Mr. Buggs estimated that over the last five years there had been fifteen or twenty such incidents.

Pedestrians Still Here, Census Bureau Finds

WASHINGTON, March 19 (AP) — The old American custom of walking to work isn't dead yet.

The Census Bureau said today that the 1960 survey showed that 10 per cent of all American workers got there on foot. Automobiles carried 64 per cent of the workers to their jobs, 8 per cent used buses or streetcars and nearly 4 per cent went by rail, subway or elevated train. A total of 7 per cent worked at home.

The bureau said 64,655,805 Americans worked during the week preceding the 1960 census. Of these, 6,416,343 were walkers.

Springfield

By JOHN H. FENTON

Special to The New York Times.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.—Nine Negro children from Prince Edward County, Va., attending schools in this area attest to what is considered by local Negroes a positive approach to the racial problem in education.

The real problem remains, as it does in most northern communities, in housing. Within the last year non-white home seekers met neighborhood hostility and resentment in fringe areas of Springfield.

Negroes and other non-whites have come into Springfield in increasing numbers from the South and from Puerto Rico since World War II. So far there have been no serious outbreaks of racial conflict here. But the situation is considered potentially explosive.

Springfield, according to the 1960 census, has a population of 174,463, an increase of 12,084 over 1950. Twelve years ago, Negroes represented 3.8 per cent of the total population. In 1960, they represented 7.5 per cent.

Most inquiries about integration here are referred to Alexander B. Mapp, executive director of the Urban League of Springfield, Inc. Mr. Mapp has been with the league since 1934 and in Springfield for about fifteen years.

In a speech to a group of Springfield builders recently, he said one of the most significant statistics was that 72 per cent of the Negroes in Springfield were living within one mile of Winchester square, an area on the east end of the city.

Yet despite the concentration of Negroes in that section of the city, the Springfield school system has one Negro principal of a school that is predominately white. And there are fifty to sixty Negro teachers in the city, many of them in white neighborhoods.

The estimate of the number of Negro teachers is Mr. Mapp's. The school department declines to give racial breakdowns. And, in fact, T. Joseph McCook, the superintendent, is reluctant to discuss racial issues at all. However, Mr. McCook is considered by Mr. Mapp to be carrying on progressive programs in racial education.

In addition to the Winchester square area, a downtown section, near the railroad depot, contains 534 non-white families out of a total of 1,628. This section has been selected for urban renewal, and the relocation of the families is posing a problem.

Since Springfield's racial problem is largely centered on social matters such as housing and job opportunities, the Urban League is considered to be the most effective agency working for Negroes.

The N. A. A. C. P. has a branch in Springfield, but because there are no pending court actions on segregation problems, its field as a legal arm is not particularly active.

However, Springfield College has a center on community tensions, with Dr. Hans Spiegel as director. It was through the center that the youngsters from Virginia came here.

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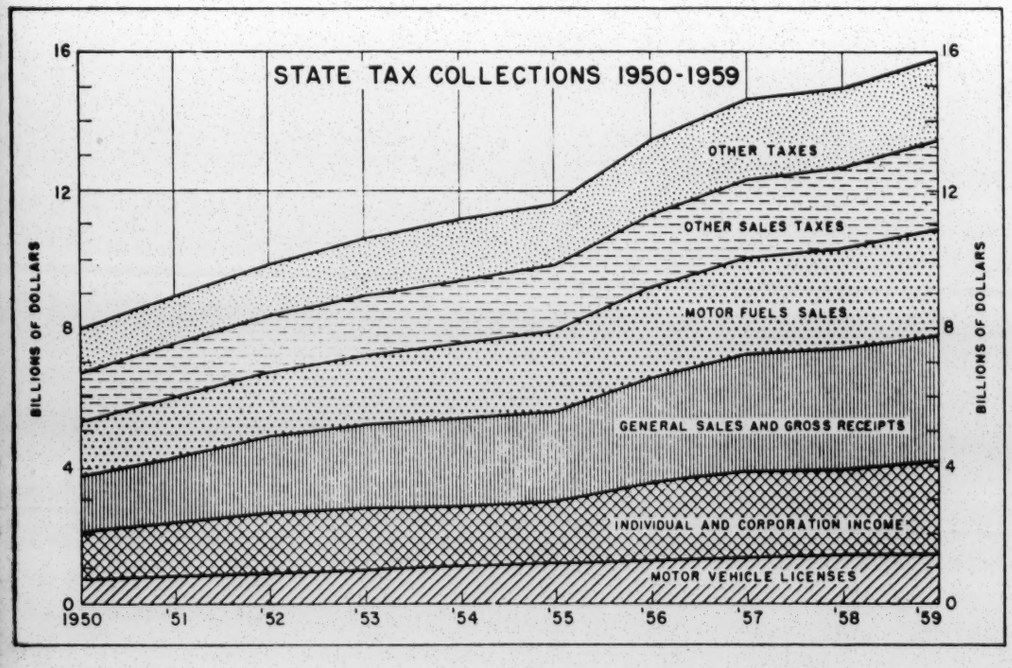
were reported by Minnesota, Nebraska and Oregon.

While state tax yields are influenced by underlying economic trends, sharp year-to-year changes in amounts for individual states (such as those mentioned above) generally reflect also the effect of legal changes in the base, rate, or collection-timing of particular major taxes.

California collected more than $1.8 billion in state taxes and New York nearly $1.6 billion in 1959, followed by Pennsylvania ($0.9 billion) and Michigan ($0.8 billion).

Per capita amounts of state taxes in fiscal 1959 ranged from over $140 for three states down to less than $70 for six.

Caution must be used in comparing tax amounts for individual state governments. There are marked interstate differences in the scope and intensity of public services, in economic resources, and in the pattern for distribution of responsibility, as between the state and local levels, for performing and financing particular public functions. Some state governments directly administer certain activities which elsewhere are undertaken by local governments, with or without state fiscal aid. In particular, it should be noted that the proportion of state-local tax revenue which is contributed by state-imposed taxes differs markedly from one state area to another. Percentage figures illustrating this variation, in terms of 1957 tax revenue data, are presented in Table 6.



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PA

List of Newspapers Which Carried VEP Story

Christian Science Monitor
Baltimore Afro-American (editorial)
Atlanta Constitution 1) editorial 3) news story
2) Bruce Galphin column
Garden City (NY) Newsday 1) news story 2) editorial
New York Times 1) editorial 3) news story
2) Claude Sitton by-line
Boston Globe (editorial)
Norfolk Journal and Guide
Charlotte Observer
Washington Post
Patterson (NJ) News (editorial)
Denver Post (AP)
Kansas City (Mo.) Times (NY Times service)
Dallas News (AP)
Atlanta Journal
St. Louis (Mo.) Post Dispatch
Rochester (NY) Times Union
Valdosta (Ga.) Times (AP)
Columbus (Ga.) Ledger (AP)
Lynchburg (Va.) Advance (AP)
Montgomery Alabama Journal (AP)
Atlanta World
Danville (Va.) Bee (AP)
Greenwood (Miss.) Commonwealth (AP)
McComb (Miss.) Enterprise-Journal (AP)
Augusta (Ga.) Herald (AP)
Macon (Ga.) News (AP)
New York Herald Tribune (AP)
Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News (AP)
Birmingham News (editorial)
Charleston News and Courier (editorial)
Atlanta Inquirer
South Bend Tribune (UPI)
Ridgewood (NY) Long Island Advocate
Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette (NY Times service)
Bradenton (Fla.) Herald (UPI)
Nashville Banner (AP)
Cleveland Plain Dealer (NY Times serv.)
Gadsden (Ala.) Times (AP)
Rome Tenn-Tab (UPI) etc

Dunbar
re VEP
Description of what VEP is & is to do

1. Background material

   a. Most accurate and complete figures yet as to registration totals by race

   b. Analyses of these, in terms of such stubject as:
      - geographic distribution
      - rural:urban comparison
      - educational levels

   c. Descriptive and interpretive essay on southern politics during period of VEP.

2. VEP record

   a. a report, made up chiefly of figures, on each project and its success

   b. a concise narrative history of the projects

3. Research findings

a. As of the initiation of each drive, what were the factors inhibiting registration?

b. Methods used to overcome

(1) Organizational

(2) Techniques

(3) Success

c. Anatomy of the factors

(1) Apathy: prevelence, characteristics, manifestations

(2) Alienation: ditto

(3) Apprehension of terror and response

(4) Apprehension of white disapproval and response

(5) Reaction to official cheating

d. Suitability of organized efforts to cope with the factors

4. Registration and reform

a. During the VEP period, what effects did increased registration have on elections, and also on other civil rights interests?

b. Based on observed trends, what effects can be expected?

SECTION III.

Without waiting for conclusive evidence as to what the problems are that have worked against the registration of large numbers of Negroes, it is possible to proceed with certainty that fear and a feeling of inferiority will be on the list. With this attitude, I would propose that we begin now to try some approaches for dealing with these problems.

For example, at the turn of the century, several university departments of history, notable among these, Columbia, felt called upon to misstate the facts of Negro participation in government during the reconstruction period. As a result, there is not an outstanding American history book on the market that does not say that the Negro men that occupied government offices of that period were fools, and that they did the country a great disservice. This simply is not true. The legislation enacted by those men was, in most cases, of high caliber and quite fundamental. Many of the men were very well trained, having attended leading universities both in and out of this country. But of course, these misstatements of facts have served well to engender a feeling of inferiority. I feel that if this feeling of inferiority was attacked by a presentation of the facts, we would be on the way to doing a real job of setting the Negro community on the right track. At the same time, we could do a job of political education by pointing up the kind of legislation that these men stood for.

This attack could be made through the distribution of little booklets on the life and work of these men. If we had the equipment for printing them, it is possible that we could prepare them at a cost of about three cents each. I feel that it would be possible at such a price to get outside organizations to assume the cost.

SECTION VI.

At some several places in the memo, I have made reference to the desirability of establishing a printing shop to serve the needs of SRC, VEP and possibly other civil rights organizations. The only thing remaining for me, then, is to set forth the cost for such a venture:

Press	$3,900.00
Camera	500.00
Folder	500.00
Printer	279.00
Headliner	300.00
Operating supplies	223.00
	$6,000.00

I should think that if wee able to get an additional man to work on the proposed Plan "B", then he might also become the chief operator of this equipment.

LWD - 24

A STATEMENT OF RESEARCH AIMS AND METHODS OF THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT - sent to the following:

Executive Committee Members

5 Board Members: Bell I. Wiley, B. R. Brazeal, C. G. Gomillion, Guy B. Johnson, and Robert J. Harris

* Adrian W. DeWind
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison Law Firm ~~(Wash.)~~ NY

* George Barrett
Nashville, Tenn/

* Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Stern Family Fund
(1299 Nat'l. Press Bldg., Washington, D. C.)

* Lewis Wade Jones
Fisk U.
Nashville

* Harold C. Fleming
Potomac Inst.
Washington, D. C.
Dr.

* Leland DeVinney
Rockefeller Foundation
New York

* Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation
New York

* David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
New York

* Maxwell Hahn
Field Foundation
New York

* William Pincus
Ford Foundation
New York

Copies handed to: SB, WB, John + R.B.

PARTICIPANTS IN THE APRIL 1962 RESEARCH CONFERENCE ON VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SOUTH:

* Vivian Henderson
Fisk

* Tilman Cothran
A. U.

* Don Matthews
U. of N. C.

* J. E. Pierce
Ala. State

* James Prothro
U. of N. C.

* Robert Steamer
La. State

* Dan Thompson
Dillard U.

* Kenneth Vines
Tulane U.

* Harry Holloway
Univ. of Tex.

* Tinsley Spraggins
Virginia Union

* Donald Strong
Univ. of Ala.

Have sent these papers for Gov. Clark's comments

*this note:
Thought you would be interested in having this. We would be glad to have any criticism or suggestion you might wish to make.
LWDunbar

See Prop

SUGGESTED OUTLINE FOR A REPORT ON VEP REGISTRATION PROGRAMS

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This report should begin with a brief description of the community in which the registration program was conducted. The description should include the voting age population, both white and Negro, and the total registration, further divided by race. Such items should be included as the median income, educational attainment, housing conditions, employment conditions (with special attention to public employment - police officers, firemen, civil service workers, etc.), and whether Negroes occupied any public or party, elective or appointive, positions at the time the registration program was conducted. Since campaign and electoral activity seem to have a decided effect on registration efforts, the report should also indicate whether local elections were factors in the drive, and if so, whether Negroes were candidates for any party or public office.

Next should come a description of the activities which preceded the organization of the registration program. We would be interested in knowing whether there were difficulties among the leaders arising out of personal or organizational friction or jealousy. Some of the organizations conducting programs will be previously established political and civic action groups, and others will be formed specifically for purposes of the program. It would be appropriate to discuss either the long-term goals and purposes of the permanent organizations, or the conditions which made a new organization expedient.

We would like to have the names of any individuals whose influence on activities in the registration program seemed out of proportion to the leadership positions which they occupied prior to the program. We are seeking to determine whether an activity such as a registration program provides a context conductive to the rise of new leadership.

This should be followed by a description of the actual organization which conducted the drive. This should be a simple, concise, description of the structure of the organization, identifying the decision-making and executive positions, and the responsibilities incumbent upon each,

If funds were obtained from a source other than the Voter Education Project, indicate the manner in which these funds were granted, with conditions, if any, and the amount given.

THE REGISTRATION PROGRAM

The following outline suggests the kind of information to be included on the actual conduct of the registratipn program:

I. Publicity

A. Contact with organizations, i.e., social political, business, labor, etc.

1.) Degree of cooperation.
2.) Mailings to membership.
3.) Announcements in meetings.
4.) Other.

B. Use of churches.

1.) How was cooperation of ministers solicited - a called meeting or individual contacts?
2.) Degree of cooperation?
3.) Announcements, sermons, participation by minister.

C. Advertisement and articles in newspapers. Include samples of all press releases whether solicited or not.

1.) Were press releases and photos regularly submitted to newspaper?
2.) Did community interest stimulate press to seek information?

D. Radio and television time.

1.) Include information on times and dates, number of announcements and texts, cost, identity of speakers.
2.) Was message taped or did staff announcer read copy?
3.) Was image of the speaker part of the message?
4.) Was there any utilization of public service time?

E. Posters, handbills, tags, etc. Include samples of all materials for distribution.

1.) Indicate sources for materials.
2.) Who distributed materials?

II. Methods and Techniques of Conducting Drive

A. Mass meetings.

1.) Date, time, and place held. Include copies of program.
2.) Number and identity of speakers. Were speakers selected for informative or image purposes, or both, i.e., were they celebrities, or were they leaders whose knowledge of political affairs determined their selection?
3.) Were those who attended followed up at the meetings, or was initiative placed on them to seek participation?
   a. Were names taken for volunteer work, for registration, for instruction, etc., at the meeting?
   b. Degree of success of this kind of recruitment - how many participants were garnered from meetings as compared to other modes of recruitment?

B. Were the organizations mentioned in I-A and I-B above used in actual registration work? If so, how and to what extent?

C. Maintenance of office with full or part-time staff.

1.) Paid staff.
2.) Volunteer services.

D. Door-to-door canvassing.

1.) How were areas selected for canvassing?
2.) How was canvassing organized?
3.) Was canvassing designed to inform, instruct, enlist prospective registrants, and provide such services as baby-sitters, transportation, etc.?
4.) Were canvassers volunteer or paid? Were they from all walks of life or primarily students? Who else served as canvassers?
5.) What provisions were made for follow-ups to initial canvass?
6.) Did canvassers receive orientation and training? How were they motivated and how did they attempt to motivate others - ideologically or practically?
7.) How were any special problems handled?

E. Parades or demonstrations or similar activities to stimulate interest.

III. The Registration Process

A. What was the attitude of the personnel in the registrar's office - official as well as personal?

B. If registrar's hours were inconvenient, was attempt made to secure extra office hours? Was this successfully achieved?

C. Was there neighborhood registration?

D. What kinds of performance was required of registrants? Was attempt made to determine whether discrimination was practiced at the office? Were affadavits taken of all incidents of discrimination?

E. Explore the possibility of any organized opposition, either official or unofficial, to the drive, and describe it as thoroughly as possible. Look for unorganized individual or group acts tending to harass, intimidate, etc.

F. Arrangements for pool of workers to actually go to the office with prospective registrants?

G. Arrangements for transportation.

H. Any efforts to work with individuals who failed registration test? Literacy training? Who conducted classes? Training of literacy instructors? Materials and methods employed?

I. Was public attention given by white newspapers, radio, television, addresses, etc., to the drive?

IV. An Attempt Should Be Made to Describe the Attitude of Public Officials Toward the Drive

1.) What were their perceptions of this activity among Negroes?
2.) How accurately were they informed as to numbers participating?
3.) To what extent did they approve or disapprove?
4.) Did they perceive this as qualitatively different from similar white activity?

5.) Interviews with registration officials, as well as elected and appointed governmental officials are particularly valuable here.

V. <u>What Were the Results of the Drive</u>?

A. Number of persons registered according to records kept by your office?

B. Increase according to official records during the period of the drive?

C. Number of persons involved in volunteer work?

D. Number of paid personnel?

E. Were incentives offered for increased registration either to prospects or to workers?

VI. <u>Summarizing Statement Including Evaluation of Performance of Organization in Conducting Campaign</u>. If, at some future date, another campaign were to be conducted, would you make any changes in the organizational design for it?

BW:js

LEDGER SHEET
FOR
FINANCIAL REPORTING TO VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
(Use more than one if necessary)

AGENCY: _____ For Week Ending _____

Date	Check No.	Spent in - (City, County)	Adver-tising*	Print-ing*	Salaries	Rent	Supplies	Travel & Transport.**	Telephone Telegraph	& Other***	Petty Cash****

EXPLANATIONS: _____

*Items in this column should be supported by sample copies or texts.
**Items in this column must be supported by VEP Field Expense Report Forms.
***Items in this column must be fully explained above.
****This column should be used for all cash expenditures as well as petty cash accounting and all entries must be supported by vouchers and receipts where cash is used in payment of purchases or services.

I hereby acknowledge that I have examined the above figures and attached vouchers and that they are a true and accurate accounting for our expenditures of VEP funds for this period.

SIGNATURE: _____

11/27/56

Following to receive Voting Survey when ready for distribution.

Paul H. Sanders, Director Race Relations Law Reporter Vanderbilt University
Nashville 5, Tenn.

Mr. James Dombrowski Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

Mr. Thomas I. Emerson Yale University School of Law, New Haven, Conn.

Mr. Henry Moon NAACP

Mr. Charles E. Thompson, Editor, Journal of Negro Education, Howard U., Wash.,D.C.

Hon. Charles C. Diggs, Jr. The House of Representatives Washington, D.C.

AGRICULTURAL, MECHANICAL AND NORMAL COLLEGE
PINE BLUFF, ARKANSAS

Survey

12 December 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed is the final report of our Survey of Negro Suffrage in Arkansas. If there are any questions which you would like to raise, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely yours,

Tilman C. Cothran

Tilman C. Cothran

December 27, 1956

Mr. Tilman C. Cothran
AM&N College
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Cothran

Just a word to say that I have read your report on Suffrage in Arkansas and thought it excellently done. It is currently in the hands of Mrs. Margaret Price, who is doing the first draft of our region-wide report. Further questions may arise, in which case you will be hearing from her.

Our appreciation for a job well done and best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

HCF:fc

March 12, 1957

Mr. Solomon Sutker
Department of Sociology
Oklahoma A. & M. College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Sol:

It was awfully good to hear from you and to learn that you were fruitfully occupied, if harrassed. Your plans for the summer sound quite good -- the kind of thing that often leads to other good possibilities.

The long delay in getting the suffrage findings published is frustrating to us as well as to others. However, you would be interested to know that sometime ago the Department of Justice requested and was given all of the material collected during the survey. I haven't been able to detect any signs of its use during the hearings on civil rights legislation, but that we have to leave to them. We should have a report in publishable shape before long. Did you ever do anything with your report on North Carolina?

Things have never been busier here at the Council. I am enclosing a mimeographed account of what we have been doing.

Jane joins me in warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl: "South of Promise"

February 21, 1957

Mr. Solomon Sutker
Oklahoma Agricultural &
Mechanical College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Sutker:

In Mr. Fleming's absence I acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 19th. He is currently away from the office and is not expected to return until Monday, March 3rd. I know he will be pleased to receive your letter and that you will be hearing from him shortly after his return.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary

eab/

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE
STILLWATER

February 19,1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It has been quite awhile since I have heard from or about you, your family and the Council, except for the receipt of a copy of the booklet that you recently co-authored. Dr. Duncan presented copies to the various members of our staff. It should be a fine source to refer to for materials on the various race issues. Congratulations!

Have been quite busy. The new semester has been in effect for three weeks now so it is already becoming an old semester. My students won't believe me but I hate to give them tests as much as they detest taking same, but all the stoic in me requires that test time shall occur fairly soon. Obviously I hate the paper work involved in making out tests and grading them. I have almost twice as many students this semester as last semester. I can handle my introductory classes well enough by getting a grader to handle the relatively objective tests I have to give this group of about 100 students but my two advanced courses have almost 55 students between them and "objective" tests are not too satisfactory here. Oh the trials and tribulations of the poor college professor! I had about six hours of lecture to give before a management group recently. Our engineering school sponsors on an annual basis a three weeks training course for executives ,- and lectures in industrial sociology are part of the curriculum. It is usually a stimulating (and financially profitable) experience for these men ask excellent questions.

I think my plans for the summer are fairly set. I shall spend June and July in Topeka, Kansas where I shall be a consultant for the Kansas State Board for Vocational Education. My job will be to set up a research and planning division for their organization, including the initiation of some pilot studies designed to locate the future vocational needs of the Kansas population. While Kansas tends to be as hot as Oklahoma in the summer, I shall be working in air-conditioned quarters and have a good chance to live in an air-conditioned efficiency apartment located only two blocks from my working area. Salary-wise I'll be making about twice as much as I do at A. & M.

What's news about the study of Negro suffrage that was done last year? I noticed some of the comments of Senator Ervin of N.C. when the subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee of which he is a member questioned Brownell and I writhed a bit at all the coverup that was occurring at that time. I am sure your organization has considered the advisability of releasing your report currently.

Life in Oklahoma has been following the usual ruts. We have had colder weather than usual in January, some much needed rain thus far in February, the legislature is engaged in its bi-annual bickering, and some symptoms of spring are appearing. I have moved to a new apartment which I am enjoying very much and in general am finding the current academic year less frustrating that many that preceded it despite the rather heavy teaching load. My best regards to you and your family. Write when you can.

Joe

Survey - Voting

March 21, 1957

Mr. Earl M. Lewis
Prarie View Agricultural and
Mechanical College
Prarie View, Texas

Dear Mr. Lewis:

In making our survey of Negro suffrage, we were unsuccessful in finding a fact-finding consultant for Mississippi. The most recent study we could locate was carried out in 1954 and reported in a Master's thesis submitted to the University of Mississippi by James F. Barnes.

The best suggestion I can offer is that you secure the thesis through inter-library loan, recognizing that there have probably been sizable declines in Negro registration in some counties.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

PRAIRIE VIEW AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE

PRAIRIE VIEW, TEXAS

Department of
POLITICAL SCIENCE

March 13, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Mr. Patrick McCauley of the Southern Educational Reporting Service suggested that as a result of the Council's recent survey of Negro voting in the South, you may be able to provide me with reliable estimates of the number of qualified Negro voters in the various counties in the state of Mississippi. He made the suggestion in view of the fact that you had been able to provide him with similiar information concerning the state of Alabama.

I should be most grateful for any such assistance you may find it possible to give me.

Sincerely yours,

Earl M. Lewis

Earl M. Lewis

April 8, 1957

Dr. Harry W. Roberts, Head
Department of Sociology
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Roberts:

At this late date, I am willing to relax all restraints on the use of the suffrage data which you collected for us last fall. We are pushing hard on the final report and have high hopes of getting it in print within a short time. However, I don't think any other use of your data will conflict with our report in any way.

The Council's Fellows program, unfortunately, fell into disuse and was abandoned as an active aspect of the work several years ago. It has never been formally discontinued, and those persons who have been appointed Fellows still hold the title.

I appreciate your good wishes as I take on the difficult job of Director, and we are most grateful for your contribution to the George S. Mitchell Fund.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:mm

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

April 1, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is to inquire whether the suffrage data on Virginia that I sent you last fall may be used for public information. I have a request for information, but I am withholding it until I hear from you.

Enclosed please find my check for $5.00 toward the Dr. Mitchell project. I wish I could send more, but the tight money situation has me in its grip, too.

Congratulations on your elevation to the directorship of the Council. Best wishes for grant success and joy in your work.

Very sincerely yours,

Harry W. Roberts

Harry W. Roberts, Head
Department of Sociology

HWR:gra

Enclosure

P.S. Some years ago I was appointed a Fellow of the Council. Please advise if that feature of the Council still exists or has been abandoned.

One set of carbons mailed

to Margaret Price 4/12/57

(7 sections)

NEGRO REGISTRATION--PRESENT AND PROSPECTIVE

During the past decade, Negro registration has climbed steadily. Today, there are at least 1,239,500 Negroes on voting rolls in the eleven (11) Southern states.

This figure, based on the estimated number of registrants at the time of the 1956 general election, represents a gain of 210,000 over the 1,029,000 registered in 1952, which in turn was a 434,000 increase over the 595,000 registered in 1947.

Despite this impressive growth, the current figure represents only about 25 per cent of the 4,980,000 Negroes of voting age in the region, as compared to a 60 per cent registration among eligible white Southerners.(1)

It should be observed at the outset that accurate registration figures are difficult to obtain. Voting lists often are out of date, bearing names of dead and non-resident citizens and race frequently is recorded in a haphazard fashion. The figures used in this survey are based on information from voting officials, registration records, county-by-county reports, and interviews with informed observers.

The Negro registration figures used probably are more accurate than the white. Officials tend to keep a closer check on Negro registrants and they are more subject to periodic purges. Moreover, names of white registrants may have been on the books 50 years, whereas Negroes have only been enfranchised for 10 or 12; thus, it is far more likely that the white rolls are inflated and contain the names of those moved or deceased.

In Georgia, for example, 63 of the state's 159 counties reported to the Secretary of State in 1956 white registration totals which exceed the white polulation of voting age.(2) Calhoun County represented the extreme, reporting 187 per cent of its eligible white population on the voting rolls.

Based then on the best estimates available, Texas leads, the region in the number of Negroes registered--214,000--followed by Georgia with 163,825 and Louisiana with 161,410.

(1) (Population figures throughout this report are based on the 1950 Census)

(2) (In addition, 33 Georgia counties reported white registration representing to 99 per cent of white population of voting age and 27 counties a white registration of from 80 to 89 per cent of the eligible. Only three counties reported Negro registration in excess of 100 per cent of the Negro eligibles, two from 90 to 99 per cent, and five 80 to 89 per cent.)

The latter shows the greatest gain--41,410--since 1952; also, Negroes make up 18 per cent of the total registration in Louisiana, the highest among Southern states.

Only in Mississippi did Negro registration level off, or perhaps decline, in the past four years. The latest estimate of Negro registrants was made in 1954; 20,000 is the figure generally agreed upon for that year, about the same as two years earlier. Governor J. P. Coleman, however, estimated Negro registration in 1954 at 22,000. Some observers feel that the number has not increased at best, and others believe there has been a sharp drop, perhaps to as few as 8,000.

On the other hand, the State Times of Jackson, Mississippi, surveyed a number of counties in the fall of 1956 and concluded, "Throughout the state, Negro registrations were expected to be up over 1952, even though total Negro population is down." That the increase is negligible is demonstrated by the following figures released in the State Times survey:

COUNTY	NON-WHITE POPULATION OVER 21	NEGROES REGISTERED, 1956	NEGROES REGISTERED, 1952
Hinds	35,021	4,305	2,500
Marion	4,103	500	100
Clarke	3,849	0	0
Smith	1,400	13	1
Calhoun	1,893	2	3
Tunica	9,123	38	3
*Wilkinson	4,558	55	50
Benton	1,749	35	35
*Issaquena	1,790	0	0
*Sharkey	4,533	1	1
Choctaw	1,412	13	18
Covington	2,354	440	311
Itawamba	470	36	12

(*Counties with over 50 per cent Negro population)

What are the prospects for Negro voting in the South generally? Survey consultants feel there will be a continuation of the steady progress of the past few years, particularly as economic and educational opportunities increase.

Of course, as the number of Negro registrants has been increasing numerically,

so has the white. Unless the pace is accelerated, it still will be many years before the registration record of Negroes approaches that of the white South.

Many factors will determine the speed with which Negroes progress toward their goal of political equality. Not the last of these is the attitude of the white community, which is subject to increasing scrutiny. In this regard, John Merbers of the United Press wrote (Jackson, Mississippi, October 20, 1956):

"Bars against Negro voting, against his right to participate in the functions of government is the point outsiders always find the most shocking about the Southern way of life despite its sanction by white officials all the way to the top.

Mississippi has been successful in selling racial segregation to some outsiders. A great many Northerners can understand why Southern whites fear things like intermarriage and social mixing. But they look at voting in a different light."

Because of the spotlight of public opinion--both at home and abroad--on the South and in the wake of federal court decisions on segregation, attitudes of white citizens in the region are changing. Many are hardening their lines of resistance and the resulting tensions, conflicts, and violence make daily headlines. But there is another South which is changing gradually and quietly. In the Spring of 1956, the Southern Regional Council, with the financial aid of the Fund for the Republic, surveyed progress toward integration in all fields during the two year period following the Supreme Court School decision of May 17, 1954. It found nearly 1,100 instances of desegregation almost equally divided between five border states and 12 Southern states.

It is this "other South" which holds much promise for the political future of Negro citizens. It can create a favorable climate of opinion which will encourage more Negroes free to exercise their basic right to vote. It can allow white candidates to seek Negro votes openly, which in turn will encourage others to qualify.

Leadership also will play an important role in the future of Negro voting. continued improvement promises a growing awareness of the value of the ballot. M and more Negroes are spreading the word a "voteless people is a voiceless people." As Negro spokesmen in one Georgia county said in substance:

"If we don't register and vote, we can't get benefits which are comparable to those received by whites--or comparable to our needs. We want to be full-fledged ci zens with a voice in local, state and national government. We want to protect our rights as citizens and re respected when we go downtown."

Finally, the influence of the Federal Government on the future of Negro voting cannot be ignored. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has made "routine" checks of some election procedures in parts of the South, presumably with an eye to possible civil rights violations. Prior to the 1956 presidential election, Attorney General Herbert Brownell ordered the criminal division of the Justice Department and the FBI to maintain a watch at the polls on election day to deal with violations of federal laws. It can be assumed that announcements make an impression on both white and Negro citizens.

The prospects of Negro voting in several of the states as summed up by the field consultants follow:

NORTH CAROLINA: "Increasing registration by Negroes but not in tremendous numbers-...The counties that now restrict Negro registration increasingly will use more legal and sophisticated tactics to neutralize the political effectiveness of the Negro... Regardless of what methods may be used, the Negro is becoming more important politically as direct restrictions on his franchise decline. Many of the registrars who emphasize thse restrictive tacts are old and are dying out."

LOUISIANA: "Unless the Citizens Council enjoys unexpected success in its purgative efforts, it would seem that Negro registration and voting have become a permanent feature of the Louisiana political landscape...In the parishes (counties) whre subterfuge is necessary to discourage registration, there is likely to be a registration

breakthrough in the not too distant future. In these parishes, where there is a history of suppression, the Negro is quite anxious to obtain the suffrage... In the Mississippi Delta parishes where no Negroes are registered, the prospects are bleak for registration in the immediate future... The urban parishes represent a great untapped reservoir of Negro votes which can be registered with a minimum of difficulty."

SOUTH CAROLINA: "Notwithstanding the obstacles that are standing in the way of the Negro's complete political freedom, there is evidence that he is on the move politically in South Carolina. This can be attributed to the new kind of leadership found among the Negroes today."

ALABAMA: "While the State Consultant feels that the future of Negro voting looks brighter," there still are forces at work in Alabama which make a major increase, particularly in the black belt, seem unlikely in the immediate future.

TEXAS: "The Negro is on the way toward becoming a [major] political force in Texas... The school integration question, although not actually a political issue, is looming large in Texas politics. This gives Negroes a greater sense of political responsibility and the change is beginning to show its effects."

VIRGINIA: "The greatest threat to the increase of the suffrage at present time is the current attack on the NAACP by the state and local governments...On the other hand, there are prospects of increasing Negro participation in politics as revealed by the following facts:....A number of counties have centralized registration in the past three or four years. Where these registrars ...are dying out or being replaced by younger persons, better educated and less biased....Political consciousness is growing among Negroes."

GEORGIA: "The statistical and field studies support the idea that progress of Negro suffrage is made in urbanized and industrialized communities. This is one of the most encouraging factors in terms of the future of Negro suffrage...Georgia is now reaching the break-through point in the distribution of its population toward the urban places of residence. Futhermore, agriculture as a source of income continues

to give way to manufacturing and to other sources of income. Thus, the socio-economic trends in the state are in the direction of the kinds of situations in which Negroes are more likely to be registrants and voters."

FLORIDA: "Negro leaders are quite capable of increading the Negro voting potential. They have been devoting much time and energy to the struggle against Jim-Crowism, especially as it relates to the public schools and public transportation and have not had much time or energy left to devote to political education and encouragement....They are now launching a determined drive to educate the Negro to his suffrage responsibilities."

NEGRO REGISTRATION

STATE	1947	1952	1956	Per cent of Total Registration	Per cent of total Population of voting age (Negro)
Alabama	6,000	25,224	52,000	6	30
Arkansas	47,000	61,413	69,677	12	21
Florida	49,000	120,900	149,786	9	20
Georgia	125,000	144,835	163,825	12	29
Louisiana	10,000	120,000	161,410	18	30
*Mississippi	5,000	20,000	20,000	4	41
North Carolina	75,000	100,000	135,000	7	24
South Carolina	50,000	80,000	100,790	16	34
Tennessee	80,000	85,000	90,000	15	16
Texas	100,000	181,916	214,000	8	12
Virginia	48,000	69,326	83,098	9	21
	595,000	1,008,614	1,239,586		

* (Mississippi total is for 1954; total registration estimate 500,000)

LEGAL DETERMINATS

The legal weapon most widely used in the South to discourage Negro registration is some form of literacy or constitutional interpretation test.

It is the successor to the white primary, which was the most effective legal method for restricting voting for many years. Next in importance was the poll tax, which disfranchised Negroes and many low-income white citizens alike.

By the time Negroes won the right to vote in primaries in the mid-forties, poll tax was less of an economic hardship, due to the declining value of the dollar and higher incomes. Today only five states have a poll tax -- Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia.

While no longer the serious, regional problem it once was, the poll tax still can be used to limit registration. This is particularly evident in Virginia, where many citizens of both races find themselves disfranchised for non-payment of their "capitation" tax.

In Alabama, where the poll tax was most formidable, the terms have been modified. The tax had been cumulative from ages 21 to 45, making the prospective voter liable for a bill of $36, but an amendment to the state constitution ratified in 1951 made it cumulative for two years only and exempted persons 47 and over.

With the outlawing of the white primary and the effectiveness of the poll tax declining, the white supremacists turned to literacy tests as a means of limiting Negro registration. Alabama, Virginia, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and North Carolina all have statutes providing for such tests.

An understanding of Alabama's present registration law, envolved out of a federal court decision, serves as background for similar measures in other states.

After the United States Supreme Court outlawed white primaries in 1944, the Alabama ligislature passed the Boswell amendment, which was designed to continue desfranchisement in another way. The amendment required any new registrant to be able to "read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States." In January, 1949, a three - judge federal district court said the phrase "understand and explain" was hopelessly vague and pointed out that registrars were neither lawyers nor in a position to know if an applicant's interpretation of the constitution were correct. In due time, the U.S. Supreme Court declined a review and let the lower court decision stand.

In 1951 the present Voters Qualification Amendment was ratified; the "understand and explain" clause was omitted, leaving a type of literacy test. In addition to the usual basic qualifications of citizenship, age, length of residence and lack of criminal record which the state required, the Amendment also provided:

"The following persons....shall be qualified to register..... those who can read and write any Article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language which may be submitted to them by the Board of Registrars, provided, however, that no person shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the Constitution of the United States and

under the constitution of the State of Alabama, and provided, further, that ... each applicant shall be furnished ... a written questionaire.... Such questionaire shall be answered in writing by the applicant, in the presence of the Board without assistance..."

Shortly after ratification of the amendment, justices of the State Supreme Court prepared a questionaire as required. It consists of four printed pages, the first two containing 21 questions (see Table 2) and the last tow spaces for various affidavits and signatures of Board members. Page four of the application form provides space for "examination of supporting witness." Underthis section an applicant is to produce an acquaintance to identify him and certify that he has lived at his present address for a specified period. The voucher, who has to be a qualified voter, also has to provide certain information concerning his own occupation and business address.

Donald S. Strong, in '<u>Registration of Voters in Alabama</u>', published in 1956 by the Bureau of Public Administration a t the University of Alabama, wrote:

"To talk about the 'intent' of the Voter Qualification amendment is a delicate matter sicne the intent of the Boswell Amendment was one of the grounds for its unconstitutionality. Yet there is a clear line of descent from the Boswell Amendment to the Voter Qualification Amendment.... Certainly part of the intent was to discourage as much Negro voting as possible without violating the Fifteenth Amendment. This is not to suggest that the newer amendment is unconstitutional.. The intent to discriminate against Negroes is not so clear that it could be proved convincingly in court. The only possible line of constitutional attack would be to demonstrate that it discriminated against Negro applicatns in effect."

Requirments in other states:

GEORGIA: A registrant must be able to read correctly in English "any paragraph" of the state of U.S. Constitution and "correctly write the same" when read to him. Only those unable to read or write because of "physical inability" may qualify if they can "understand"and give a "reasonable" interpretation of constitutional sections read to them. There is a property alternative; 40 acres of land in the state on which an elector resider or property in the state assessed for taxation at $500 or more.

MISSISSIPPI: In 1954, Mississippi voters approved a constitutional amendment tightening the state's registration law. It makes ability to read and write a prerequisite; before that, an applicant could register if able to read or understand the constitution when read to him. In ad ition to literacy, the amendment requires a new applicant to satisfy the county registrar as to his knowledge of citizenship under a constitutional form of government and to state why he feels he should be given the right to vote and what it means to him. Applicants are to write their own statements without aid.

VIRGINIA: Unless physcially unable, the prospective voter must apply to the registrar in his own handwriting, without aid, in the presence of the registrar, stating therein his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time for the one year next preceding and whether he has voted previously and, if so, the state,county and precinct in which he voted last. Also, he must answer on oath any questi ns affedting his qualifications as an electo, submitted to him by the registrar; questions and his answers must be reduced to writing, certified by the said

officer and preserved as a part of his orricial records.

SOUTH CAROLINA: A registrant must be able to "read and write" any section of the state constitution. An alternative is ownerwhip and payment of taxes for the previous year on property in the state assessed at $300 or more.

ARKANSAS: Except for the usual requirements of age and residence, the one dollar, non-cumulative poll tax is the only requirement for the voting. Members of the Armed Forces are exempt. Certain adults are required by law to possess a poll tax receipt: those receiving wages, salaries, or other compensation paid from public funds (this includes white and Negro teachers) and those who apply for a license or permit from the state.

LOUISIANA: A prospective voter must be able to read and write and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship "under a republican form of government." Also, he must be able to read any clause in the state of U.S. Constitution and give an interpretation satisfactory to the registrar. If he is unable to read or write the applicant is entitled to register if he is a person of good standing in character and reputation, attached to the "principles" of the Louisiana and U.S. Constitutions and if he is able to interpret any section of either. If an applicant is unable to read or wirte due to a physical disability, then the foregoing requirements may be waived. However, such an applicant must be accompanied by two witnesses who are registered voters from the applicant's precinct. No person may be a witness for more than two applicants.

NORTH CAROLINA: Prospective voters must be able to "read and wrtie" any section of the Constitution to the satisfaction

of the registrar, who may have the applicant copy indicated sections of the state constitution or may dictate any sections he selects.

With such broad discretion left to registrars it is easy to see why Negroes may find it almost impossible in one county and comparatively easy in the next. Mere whim of one registrar can deprive hundreds of Negroes of the right to vote. Obviously, he can ask complicated questions of those he does not want to pass and little beyond name and address of others. In the last analysis, a Negro's ability to vote in a state with a "literacy" law still too often depends on an indicidual registrar's sense of justice -- or prejudice.

ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

PRO AND CON

Leadership often is the factor determining whether or not Negroes vote in the South. Alternately, it is the great hope and the great need of thousands.

In recent years one of the most spectacular developments in the field of Negro voting has been the tug-of-war between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and such pro-segregregation groups as the White Citizens Councils.

Area-side, these two powerful organizations work at cross purposes, the NAACP to increase Negro voting, the WCC to limit or end it altogether.

While their struggles often held the limelight, there are many organizations throughout the South working quietly to enfranchise Negroes. Some are statewide, more are local.. Often, where there is no formal organization, idividual leadership comes from teachers, ministers, business and professi nal men and women.

However, there still are a great many counties where Negroes have no political leadership. Teachers in such spots often face the loss of their jobs if they urge their people to vote. In some counties there are no Negro doctors, dentists, lawyers, or white collar workers, nor even a resident Negro minister to offer leadership.

Scores of Negroes living in areas where the white populace is hostile showed great courage. Often, they know their jobs, credit, and perhaps even their lives are at stake. Still, they forge ahead.

When Negroes in Laurens County, Ga., were registered in large numbers and white men talked about trouble between the races, one Negro leader said, "I have already outlived my time on earth and will meet whatever they bring." Another remarked, "If they assassinate me, it would set off one of the finest race riots imaginable." Both remembered how Isaiah Nixon, Negro, was killed in nearby Montgomery County in 1948 after he dared to vote. Fortunately, that incident has not been repeated in Georgia.

Atlanta offers one of the most dramatic examples of what coordinated, forceful leadership can accomplish.[1] From 1908 until 1943 Negro voting there was confined to general and special elections. However, as early as 1932 citizenship schools were started in Atlanta by leading Negro citizens to encourage voting by Negroes in Atlanta elections then open to them and to prepare them for the day when the courts would outlaw the white primary. The first spurt in Negro registration in Atlanta came after the Georgia legislature repealed the poll tax in 1945 and lowered the voting age to 18. Following this legislation, Negro registration reached a total of 3,000, largely through the efforts of the Atlanta Civic and Political League, the Atlanta Daily World (Negro newspaper) and the NAACP. Another drive to swell registration for a special congressional election in February, 1946, increased the total to 6,876.

Then, the United States Supreme Court on April 1, 1946, invalidated the white primary. Forseeing this possibility, the Atlanta Urban League and other groups already had spurred the formation of

[1] (Material on Atlanta voting: C.A. Bacote, The Negro in Atlanta Politics Phylon, The Atlanta University Review, fourth quarter, 1955.)

the All-Citizens Registration Committee. In all, 870 Negro men and women volunteered to serve as block workers and an intensive drive to enroll Negro voters began. Placards and 50,000 handbills were distributed, mass meetings arranged, door-to-door contacts made, speakers provided for church and social affairs. Car pools to take workers to registration offices, where volunteers were stationed to assist those who wished help. The effectiveness of this activity was soon apparent. For example, 678 Negroes were registered at one spot in a three-hour period; the next day, 750 in the same length of time at another registration desk. At the end of the drive, nearly 18,000 Negroes had been registered in a period of 51 days. This represented the peak of Negro registration in Atlanta, a total of 24, 137. In the past 10 years this has dropped to 19,000, despite a sizeable increase in Negro population.(2) Some Negro observers blame this in part on the failure of the Negro community to develop a permanent registration organization which would do more than make a spasmodic push at election time.

In most Southern states some type of Negro voters league exists.

Alabama has a State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting; there is an organization in each Congressional destrict of the state and in some counties to stimulate interest in Negro voting and provide a yardstick for measuring

2 (Georgia Department of Public Health estimates that the Negro population in Atlanta --- the city limits of Atlanta were extended 82 square miles in1952 -- has increased from 121,416 in 1950 to 153,100 in 1956.)

canidates. Some groups hold political rallies, provide cars to take voters to the polls on election day, conduct classes to explain the process of registration. At rallies of the Walker County Voters League, white canidates even have pain $5 to the League treasury for the privilege of speaking.

North Carolina has no completely organized statewide group to encourage Negro voting but there are many Citizens Leagues, Civic Improvement Assoications and Civic Forums which work on the local level.

Louisiana Negroes also depend on local groups. In New Orleans alone there are several, including the Peoples Defense League, the Progressive Voters League, and theCrescent City Voters League. Many other Negro clubs and associations in New Orleans also seek to extend the franchise -- so many, in fact, that some Negroes contend the work overlaps and that there is a great need for coordination.

South Carolina has not only the Palmetto Voters Association, which is highly effective in many counties, but its own Progressive Democratic Club. Negro women's clubs, civic groups, and some churches also contribute to the usually high standard of leadership in the state.

The Virginia Voters League for Negroes has chapters in 28 cities and counties.

In Arkansas, the State Negro Democratic Association is one of the chief instruments for increasing Negro political activity. In some Arkansas cities, Negro business and professional people have organized Civic Improvement Associations with political participation one of the chief aims.

In fact, throughout the South there are scores of Negro civic, fraternal, farm, social and business associations which promote registration, augmenting the work of organizations formed solely to encourage Negro voting. Negroes in several states work separately, but within the framework, of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Leadership for the various groups comes most often from those who are not economically dependent on the white community.

As for the role of educators, the late Luther P. Jackson, professor of history at Virginia State College wrote in 1948 (Race and Suffrage in the South since 1940 --- New South, June- July, 1948):

"The Negro community contains in its schools, and particularly in its colleges in the South, a basic institution for the increase of civic education. It will be generally agreed that aloofness and timidity with respect to civic participation have all too frequently characterized the Negro educational forces of the South. This is evident from the poor voting record of Negro teachers themselves."

This situation remains unchanged in some schools but elsewhere there is a growing spirit of civic consciousness among Negro educators. Unfortunately, teachers often are subject to great pressure and too many are in a situation similar to that at Fort Valley State College in Georgia. This Negro institution is state-supported and instructors feel they will lose their jobs if they attenpt to provide leadership.

Jackson also wrote,"Another institution of a democratic society upon which falls some of the responsibility for stim-

ulating a voting interest is the church, through its ministers. Unfortunately, the record of the churches as a whole is no better than that of the colleges or the public schools, because the vast majority still adhere to the old belief that the affairs of the church and those of the civil state should never mix."

But there are signs that the old order is crumbling, with many educated young Negro ministers becoming increasingly active in encouraging their people to vote.

The role of negro newspaper editors should not be overlooked, for no single group has taken a more militant stand for equal political rights. They conduct unrelenting campaigns to awaken Negroes to the value of the franchise.

Periodic appeals of local white newspapers in Arkansas for all citizens to pay their poll taxes and vote have had a considerable influence on Negro registration. Generally, however, the white newspapers in the South which encourages Negro suffrage is the exception; most either oppose it or ignore the subject.

Labor unions, for the most part, have not played a major role in promoting Negro voting in the South. Perhaps they are too engrossed in fighting opposition to unionization, still prevalent in the South, to scatter their strength. As a Georgia consultant put it, "Aside from shedding some of their prejudice, labor union members do not want to turn a single line of employer and community resistance into two lines of resistance with Negro voters."

In addition, unions are in a newly embattled state as a result of formation of White Citizens Councils. The racially prejudiced and the insecure who fear job competition were ripe

for the WCC movement. Hundreds of union members have joined and some locals ahve threatened to pull out of parent organizations, which have national programs of non-discrimination, to form new "all-Southern" unions.

The Civil Rights Committee of the AFL-CIO Executive Council reported at its annual meeting in Miami in Fevruary, 1956, that "there is a close link between these organizations (WCC) and the drive to weaken and destroy trade unions."

Nevertheless there are unions in the South which have encouraged Negro registration. Locals in some Southern cities have conducted classes and other programs to promote voting by workers. Also, some labor unions have given financial aid and provided personnel in the organization of campaigns to increase Negro voting. Many locals which are predominantly Negro have conducted a continuing drive to increase voter participation not only by their own members but by others in the community.

In Durham, N.C., Negroes have held the balance of political power; this is related to the fact that they have worked closely with organized labor. However, while professional union men have held to the alliance, it has been somewhat weakened because of racial tensions.

Since 1948, organized labor in Arkansas has encouraged all workers to pay poll taxes, with the result of an increased registration of both white and Negro union members.

The NAACP functions effectively as a gadfly to force precinct and county officials to follow the letter of the law on registration and voting. While the organization centers its efforts on fighting cases of disfranchisement where illegal tactics are used, NAACP leaders act on their own in their

communities to encourage registration. Also, the NAACP serves as a training school or motivating force for many men and women active in groups formed to encourage Negro voting.

In some communities, the NAACP is the only organized group to offer leadership for Negroes. Elsewhere, it does not function locally, although local Negroes contribute. A few chapters became inactive when Negroes thought it expedient to press their claims by other means, inview of the rising tide of sentiment against the NAACP in the South.

As the NAACP has chalked up success after success in the courts, the animosity of the conservative white South has found expression in a campaign of harrassment and a series of official maneuvers. In Louisiana, the NAACP was banned, under an old anti-Ku Klux law which forbade meetings unless membership lists were filed.

The Alabama Supreme Court refused to review an injunction and a $100,000 fine against the NAACP. When the organization was outlawed in Alabama, regional officers were moved to Atlanta during 1956.

The NAACP is involved in litigation over it's tax exempt status and has surrendered financial records to the State Revenue Commissioner on order of Superior Court.

The Virginia General Assembly has passed a series of six bills aimed at curbing NAACP activities. The Washington Post and Times Herald in an editorial (dec. 2, 1956), accused the Assembly of engaging in "an orgy of recrimination" against the NAACP and said, "The result was a series of laws that

constitute a modern version of the Alien and Sedition Acts."

NAACP members in South Carolina have been barred by the state legislature from employment by school districts and by state , county and municipal governments. During the same session in 1956, the legislature called for an investigation of NAACP activities at South Carolina State College for Negroes at Orangeburg.

An injunction has been issued against the continued operation of the NAACP in Texas.

Most of these actions took place in 1956.

Opposed in every way to the NAACP are the White Citizens Councils and similar organizations, such as the Society for the Preservation of State Soverignty and Individual Liberties in Virginia, Southern Gentlemen in Louisiana, the Patriots of North Carolina, and a number of others.

The White Citizens Council movement was born in Sunflower County, Mississippi, in 1954, hen fourteen influential men met to devise ways to preserve the "Southern Way of life." It grew quickly until in 1956 there were more than 300,00 members in the various resistance groups in the Southern states.

The plan for the Citizens Councils reportedly was drawn from the book Black Monday by Circuit Court Judge Tom P. Brady of Brookhaven, Miss., in which the theory of economic pressure was advanced as a means of coping with Negro demands for equal rights. (Black Monday" was used to designate May 17, 1954, the day of the U.S. Supreme Court's school integration decision.)

It is difficult to assess the effect of the Citizens Councils on Negro voting. The majority of the most active ones operate in areas where Negro registration already is low. While there are many reports that the pro-segregation councils have had little effect in a given county, no one can know to what extent their very existence intimidates many Negroes.

Medgar E. Evers, state secretary of the NAACP in Jackson, Miss., said in 1955 (AP, Jackson, Aug. 20, 1955) that one of the Citizens Councils primary aims is to eliminate Negro voting. Asked what steps had been taken up to that time to purge Negroes from voter registration lists in Mississippi, he answered:

"The place most people know about is Humphries county. There were a number of Negro voters there .... the employer would have a (voters) list and if he found this person's name.... he'd say, 'we can't employ you until you get your name off this list.'

"By this method they knocked down registration to about 90 names and they started getting down to the hard core and other types of pressure were used. They'd come and tell them, 'You've lived in this community for a long time and if you want to stay here in peace, you'd better get your name off this list.' After they started making personal visits, the Negroes gave in to the extent that there are now only about 35 left."

Prior to the organization of the Citizens Councils, Murphies County had 126 Negroes registered. A random check by the AP of three neighboring Delta counties in 1955 showed that Negro registration in from 26 to 0 and in Yazoo County from 125 to 90.

One of the characteristics of the WCC is secretiveness. The various pro-segregation groups met in Jackson, Miss., in the spring of 1956 behind closed doors manned by a husky guard. Newsman were barred and members refused to discuss the meeting

with them later. A few spokesmen from time to time issue statements for the general public and some meetings have been open but the councils have not risked the light of publicity on their strategy conferences.

The Councils which often enjoy offical sanction have emphasized that they will oppose integration in lawful ways. The Jackson Clarion Ledger (Jackson, Miss., Aug. 2, 1955) said the parent Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi was organized to keep segregation in all walks of life and centered its campaign against Negro voting.

Economic sanctions have been used in Mississippi so that Negroes often have to choose between their jobs and voting. In Louisiana, WCC members have played the key roll in a move to purge hundreds of Negroes from voting lists by means of the legal "challenge."

As for opposition, the Louisville Courier-Journal observed in an editorial (Nov. 29, 1955), "The flower of Southern chivalry either has mobilized itself in the councils or remains silent about their deeds." It noted that the comparatively few "indignant and courageous voices" among white men and women were not considered "true" Southerners by their fellows and added:

"But Southerners had better thank God for such non-conformists as these, sles the night of the spirit that has sescended wherever the Citizens Councils have taken over law and order might well plunge the South into a depth from which it could never emerge."

Substantial attempts are being made to revive the Ku Klux Klan, at least a cousin however embarrassing at the family table of the Citizens Council. Increasingly, the hooded order, which is on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations is burning its crosses ans staging it's sheeted parades. It remains to be seen whether the Klan or the Citizens Countil will emerge as the dominant champion of segregation.

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Negro leaders in mnay Southern counties feel that persons of their race ahve only themselves to blame for not voting.

There are registration boards which treated Negroes fairly and some even have given beyond what the law allowes. There are communities where white persons encourage Negroes to register, or at least do not try to deter them, and where candidates seek the Negro vote. Still, in many of these places the number of Negroes registered remain appallingly low.

On the surface, only apathy seems to limit voting of thousands of Southern Negroes. Such disinterest is found everywhere, of course, among both white and Negro citizens. In the nation as a whole, an average of only about 60 per cent of the eligi le voters turn out on election day. And undoubtedly, if all recial distinctions were abolished many negroes simply wouldn't bother to vote,even as their fellow white citizens.

But as matters stand a lack of political consciousness is a particularly acute problem among Negroes in the South. Many factors peculiar to the region contribute to its existence.

No one can know, for example, to what extene the system of segregation has deadened initiative and civic interest. Afte being deprived of first class citizenship and the ballot for so many years, ignored by the white community except in a menial capacity,a dn cut off from policy-making bodies, Negroes as a group could not be expected to develop a strong sense of civic and political responsibility overnight.

In counties and precincts where registration is easy for Negroes, it has become so only recently. After decades of discrimination, there remains a natural reluctance to test the new policy, an uneasiness about becoming a "guinea pig." Most people whatever their color can experience only so many rebuffs before withdrawing into a protective state of inaction.

Often, too, it is difficult to arouse a motivation to vote when there is little concrete evidence of benefits to compensate for the trouble of qualifying. Negro representation on official bodies is still rare and the Negro candidate finds the road to political office exceedingly rough. Many can not see how political participation ties in with personal welfare and cite the lack of rewards like jobs, and personal favors, the preferment of friends or relatives, which many white persons and Negroes elsewhere can expect.

In addition to being so long off from the political mainstream, social and economic influences contribute to the seeming indifference.

More often than not, Negroes remain economically dependent on the white community and are afraid to do anything to endanger their jobs. One Negro in central Alabama, asked about the small number of Negroes registered in his county, answered, "Bread before ballots."

Tied in closely with the economic factor is education. Negroes stand low on the scale in the average number of school completed. It is only in the past few years that high schools have been available to them in some sections; the one - room school, operating on a split-semester to allow time out for cotton picking, is not yet wholly a thing of the past. The illiteracy rate remains higher than for the population as a whole. Among Negroes with little formal education, particularly if they live in rural areas and small towns, isolated from daily newspapers and the world of ideas, it is not suprising to find little interest in voting.

Consider a field hand with little or no education, earning barely enough to provide himself and family with a substandard diet., living in an unpainted shack, exhausted by long hours of hard labor and completely dependent on a white employer opposed to any change. With only a monthly church service conducted by a visiting minister for recreation and an infrequent trip into town.

for provisions, with the knowledge that ciolence to "keep him in line" could come any dark night, it can scarcely be expected that he would be interested in an abstraction like voting.

It is impossible to know to want extent generally fear contributes to "apathy" -- fear of violence, insults, reprisals. Though it might seem easy to register and vote at present, many Negroes interviewed did not trust the new order yet. Some foresaw the danger of the clock being turned back if Negores registered in sufficient numbers to challegne white power at the polls.

But, whatever the contributing factors, consultants throughout the region found indifference one of the strongest barriers to increased Negro voting.

In Tennessee, for example, where Negroes comprise approximately 20 pe cent of the total population, it has been farily simple for all citizens to register since the 1940's; the abolition of the poll tax in 1953 made it even easier. Only in three counties in west Tennessee - Haywood, Hardaman and Fayette -- does intimidation pose a major threat. Still, only about 28 per cent of the Negroes of voting age have registered and, of course, even fewer vote. Why?

One Negro active in politics said the answer is, in large part, "lethargy." Another said of the majority of his people, "They're not interested; there's a complacency." A Negro civic worker commented, "If they were prohibited, maybe it would be different."

Negro leaders said it is particularly difficult to stir interest in state elections in Tennessee. One asserted, "The rank and file don't see the importance of voting for state offices... The vast majority are not conscious that the state government is as important as local and national government; they don't realize the importance of voting to prevent the bad issues."

These viewpoints were echoed by a white political leader in Nashville, who sopke of both races: "Only a miserable percentage of those qualified will actually vote; There is a complacency in everybody."

In sections of west Tennessee, Negro leaders have to fight a widespread inclination to leave politics entirely in the hands of the white community.

Evidence of apathy appeared in i terviews over most of the South

In Alabama's black belt, most Dallas County, Negroes found in barber shops and poll rooms would not even talk about voting. Among the comments of those who would: "I don't want nothing do with it;" "If they don't want me to vote, I don't want to," and "Leave them white folks alone." Only 275 of the 18,132 eligible Negroes registered in the county.(1)

Cotton pickers in Escambia County, south of the black belt, joked at the idea of voting and most said, "That's white folks business."

The same answer came from a spokesman for 20 cotton pickers in a field in another Alabama black belt. During this conversation, the white land owner came over to ask, "Is he (the interviewer) trying to start trouble?" There were widespread reports in the county that plantation owners generally see that their Negores don't vote and another that the former practice of white persons taking Negroes to register and then controlling their vote has soptted. Voicing a view heard often in the county, one Negro said, "We have never had any trouble, but was always told how to vote. Now we are left alone."

In Barbour County, Ala., 24 Negroes selected at random all saw no reason for voting. Only 220 of 7, 150 elegible Negroes have registered. The same disinterest was reported among Negroes in Chilton and Walker counties; in the latter, it was difficult even to persuade veterans to register.

(1) ('Registration figures referred to throughout this chapter are for 1956)

Registrars in one Alabama county helped both white and Negro applicants fill out their forms; in one period, not a single Negro was refused, while 23 whites were. Still, only 600 of the 4,027 eligible Negroes have registered. Boards of registration in several other coutnies in Alabama are olbiging also. In these, the major portion of the blame for low registration rests with the Negroes themselves and the background which has shaped their attitudes.

An informed Negro observer in Fort Worth, Texas, gave indifference, ignorance, and political immaturity as the reasons only 8,571 of 71,826 eligible Negroes were registered there and in surrounding Tarrant County.

A Negro leader also blamed political immautrity for the 15,626 of 108,900 eligible. It should be noted, however, that this county is the protest center of the Southwest. Almost every cast against segregation in that area was originated or been given legal aid from Dallas. Consequently, Dallas Negroes tend to separate political and legal action and spent most of their energies fighting discrimination in the latter way.

The majority of Negroes in Ellis County, Texas, (1,711 of 7,090 eligible registered) were described as indeiiferen, feeling that there is no point in being interested in politics because no candidate would do anything for them.

This same attitude is evidently prevalent in Walton County, Ga., where according to a spokesman, many Negroes feel , "There is no need to vote. It won't amount to anything anyway. White folks are running things and will keep on doing so." Some registered Negroes refuse rides to the polls on election day and some Negro women wo promise they will vote will "get in bed on election day to keep from doing so." In Walton, scene of the unsolved lynching of four Negroes in 1946, only meager educational facilities were available to Negroes until recent years.

In Peach County, Ga., where Negroes outnumber whites by a ratio of six to four, many said also that their votes don't count. They have to enter the rear of the City Hall to deposit their ballots in a black box; white voters used the frount door and place their ballots in an unpainted box.

In those South Carolina counties where more than 1,000 Negroes have registered, the field consultant said hundreds of others could qualify. Many have not learned the advantages of the ballot and are novices in politics. They have been told over and over in one way or another that voting is none of their business and this long pe iod of indoctrination is still having its effect.

Education and economics play a part, too. In Horry County, S.C., where 2,700 of the 6,969 Negroes of voting age are on the registration list, many who might qualify will not try. However, approximately 70 per cent depend on the white community for their living. In Florence County, where only 1,600 of the 16,650 Negroes over 21 are registered, it seems that what appears to be apathy is in fact pressure. One of the small towns in the county, Lake City, is a center of White Citizens Council activity.

In Lee County, S.C., 1,500 of the 6,246 non-whites have registered; some of those who have not ar uninterested in voting and the literacy level of Negroes in the county is so low that others could not pass the reading test necessary to qualify.

The view that politics sho ld be left entirely in the hands of whitemen and women was heard frequently among Negroes in several South Carolina counties, including Lancaste , Marlboro, Barnwell, and Dillon. In at least two other counties, the white community has encouraged Negroes to vote, but some of the older Negroes, particularly, are apathetic. This lack of interest is con- ~~sidered a major~~ sidered a major reason more Negroes ar not registered in perhaps as many as 13 counties in South Carolina.

The survey consultant in Florida believes that one of the big obstacles in arousing Negroes to vote is the psychological difficulty of convincing them they need not be afraid. He feels they would experience little more than resistance in 63 of the 67 counties in the state. This was illustrated in 1954 in a county where Negroes never has registered before, individual applicants having been frightened away.. A group of about 100 Negroes went to the courthouse in abody and found they had no trouble in registering. In 1956 over 900 Negroes enrolled.

In Mississippi Delta sections of Louisiana where no Negroes are registered, the majority appear almost totally uninterested in voting. However, they are not far removed from slavery in terms of economics and education; in the main, they follow the dictates of the plantation owners. The immediate hope for an increased Negro electorate in Louisiana lies elsewhere, particularly in the cities. Much remains to be done in Louisiana to overcome the urban Negroes' political indifference, which a field consultant blamed largely on three factors.

1. Often, they are new to the city, without roots in the community; for many this is only a step toward Los Angeles or Chicago.

2. Urban Negro leaders often fail to coordinate their efforts and by confining their attention to their particular organizations fail to mobilize the resources of the entire Negro community.

3. Urban Negro leadership orten is rather poor in quality or so closely identified with the white community it loses the confidence of other Negroes.

In the eastern part of North Carolina, a Negro commented, "The hardest trouble now is to get people to register; they have been rejected so often that they are hesitant about trying again and again." Some migrants into the state come from rural areas in Georgia and South Carolina; trained to avoid anything concerned with politics, they have refused to register.

A Negro minister in a piedmont county of North Carolina contended, "The

[redacted]

Negro has it too easy in this respect; if it were harder to register perhaps more would be interested in exercising their franchise."

The Arkansas field consultant suggested that wider opportunities for Negro participation in the political process over and above registration and voting could do much to overdome apathy. For example, Negroes have practically no voice in the political patronage system.. When they run for local elective office, they are not an integral part of the machinery regulating party selection and support of candidates. In the past two years several Negroes have been appointed by the governor to the state Democratic Committee but many believe their participation was meant to be of a token nature. Only Garland and Miller have Negroes participating in the county party organization. In only one or two areas of the state are Negroes utilized in the actual machinery of balloting, as poll watchers, judges, and counters.

In Virginia, the consultant gave a lack of understanding of the significance of political action or a feeling of the uselessness of such activity as reasons a large number of Negroes seem uninterested in voting. Often, also, there is a vague fear of being unable to register successfully. In the southwest section of the state, where a two-party system generates vigorous political contests, there is a tendency for Negroes to be more active politically.

Because of the fear caused by intimidation in Mississippi, pressures exerted against an already depressed economic group, the low level of education, stringent registration requirements and the general attitude of white citizens, it is not difficult to understand the failure of most Negroes to seek to register and vote. Until the opportunity to vote is improved the extent of disinterest, cannot be measured.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

The racial, economic and social pattern of any Southern community exerts a powerful influence on Negro registration.

Armed with statistics on education, urbanization, farm tenancy, income and racial composition, it is possible to guess with a fair degree of accuracy whether the percentage of eligible Negroes registered will be above or below average.

Relatively few Negroes are likely to be registered in counties where they make up a large proportion of the population, where education and income medians are low and in counties predominantly agricultural and with a high rate of farm tenancy.

At the same time, in counties where Negores comprise a large part of the population, white registration tends to be above normal.

Negroes are more likely to be registered in counties where they represent a small percentage of the total population, where they are better educated, are less dependent on the whims of white landlords and employers and are in a sounder economic position generally.

There are exceptions to these generalizations, of course. Louisiana and Arkansas provide outstanding examples of the variations.

Georgia presents a fairly typical picture. In the state's 157 counties with Negro population of voting age, the median percentage of eligible Negroes registered is 25.[1] However, the range of the registration figures is so variable that counties are divided into "high" and "low" categories.

[1] (The 1950 census reported no Negroes of voting age in two Georgia counties: Dawson and Union.)

In only five Georgia counties does the number of Negro registrants exceed the number of white registrants, although there are more Negroes than whites of voting age in 27 counties.

It is apparent in Georgia that the more Negroes there are in relation to the white citizens, the lower the percentage of Negro registrants. In counties where the percentage of Negroes in the population is below the state average, 69 per cent record Negro registration is below the state median; 68 per cent of the counties above the state average in Negro population are below the median in Negro registration. The association is even more marked in counties with a population over half Negro -- 80 per cent of these fall below the median in non- white registration.

A further association between registration and population: only 36 percent of the counties in Georgia losing population list Negro registration above the median but 65 per cent of the counties growing in population are above. A loss of population generally indicates a county is not keeping pace with the state's growing industrialization. It offers fewer job opportunities; educational facilities are below par. Negores in such counties are particularly hard pressed and the younger ones, who would be most likely to assert their right to vote, move to the nearest city or head North.

The relationship between education and political participation also turned up in the Georgia survey. In counties where Negroes rank above the state median in the number of school years completed 89 per cent also are high in Negro registration. By contrast only 37 per cent of the counties below the median in Negro educational attainment have high registration figures.

As to the significance of economic factors, it is found that of the Georgia counties having median family income above the state figure of $1,130, 61 per cent have high Negro registration. In counties below the median income level, only 35 per cent are high in the number of Negroes qualified to vote. In short Negro registration tends to increase along with overall income.

Also, there is a tendency in Georgia for predominantly industrial counties to rank higher in Negro registration than those primarly agricultural. Among counties in which farm income exceeds manufacturing income, 37 per cent are high in Negro registration, as contrasted with 58 per cent in coutnies where manufacturing exceeds agricultural income.

And, the agricultural counties in Georgia deriving more farm income from livestock, dairying and poultry are somewhat higher in the percentage of Negroes registered than those in which the income stems largely from row crops. Also, there is a definite relationship between tenancy and registration. Among the Georgia agricultural counties which exceed the state average in the number of farms operated by tenants, only 34 per cent have high registration figures, but among the counties below the state verage in tenancy, 63 per cent rank high in Negro registration.

Social and economic factors which influence Negro registration in Georgia apply in large measure over much of the South.

Louisiana, however, is an exception due to a religious cultural factors.

Negro registration in Louisiana is concentrated in the southern and central portions of the state and is lowest in the northwestern

and northeastern parishes. (See Table 4) The following figures show the percentage of Negro registration is higher in the parishes (counties) predominantly Catholic:

	Number of Negroes Registered	Potential Negro Voters	Per Cent Registered
French-Catholic Parishes (2)	70,488	138,000	.51
Non-French Parishes (Predominantly Protestant)	90,922	390,000	.23

Both Negro and white persons interviewed agreed that the attitude toward the Negro in French-Catholic Louisiana is different than that generally found in the northern Protestant parishes. To point up the difference, for example, they said that crowds at political meetings in southern Louisiana are integrated, but segregated in northern part of the state; that Citizens Councils have strong backing in northern parishes but less support in southern Louisiana, Negroes work at skilled jobs beside white employees and use the same facilities.

There are several explanations for this variant attitude of the French Catholic people toward the Negro. For one thing, according to the Louisiana consultant for this survey:

"The Catholic church is virtrally the only major bi-racial institution in Louisiana which is actively working toward integration. For example, in a parish in the Mississippi Delta where

2 (Taken from T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Mitt, "The People of Louisiana," Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1952, p. 143. French Parishes: Acadia, Ascension, Assumption, Avoyelles, Calcasieu, Cameron, Evangeline, Iberis, Iberville, Jefferson, Jefferson Davis, Lafayette, Lafourche, Plaquemines, Pointe Coupee, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, St. John the Baptist, St. Landry, St. Martin, St. Mary, Terrebonne, Vermillion, West Baton Rouge.)

not a single Negro is registered to vote, the Catholic priest stands alone among whites in his fight for racial equality. In this protestant, Anglo-Saxon, delta parish, this priest has initiated integrated Sunday School and communion classes.

"It sould be said on behalf of the protestant ministers in parishes such as this that the Catholic pastor is in a much better position than they to take an advanced position on the Negro question. If a protestant minister should attempt to emulate the priest's example, he would lose his post, whereas the members of a Catholic church have no such control over the selection of their priest."

It sould be noted, too, that the Catholic path is not always smooth, as shown by the vigorous opposition of many white Catholic laymen to the pronouncements on integration of Archbishop Rummell of New Orleans. However, whatever the reasons, the fact remains that the Catholic church is an important variable with respect to Negro registration in Louisiana.

In non-Catholic parishes of Louisiana there is a distinct correlation between the tenancy rate and the per cent of the potential Negro vote registered as shown by the following:

Per Cent Tenancy	Number of Parishes	Mean Per Cent Negro Registration
50% and up	11	12
40-49%	4	19
30-39%	6	25
20-29%	6	36
10-19%	9	53
0-9%	3	59

No measurable relationship exists between tenancy and Negro registration in the French-Catholic parishes, as is seen in the following break-down:

Per Cent Tenancy	Number of Parishes	Mean Per Cent Negro Registration
50% and up	6	65
40-49%	0	--
30-39%	7	48
20-29%	5	67
10-19%	7	43
0-9%	0	--

A high tenancy rate in a parish indicates the existence of a plantation economy. In the plantation parishes a few individuals own the vast majority of the land and the Negroes are in a subservient position.

"In a number of Mississippi Delta parishes", the Louisiana consultant reported,"The plantation owners take pride in the resemblance which exists between the 1856 and 1956 plantations, and if the 'master' is opposed to Negro registration, few Negroes would think of attempting it."

There also is no discernible relation between urbanization and Negro registration, ~~in Louisiana as can be seen by the following~~ following figures:

Per Cent Urban	Number of Parishes	Mean Per Cent of Negroes Registered
70% and up	5	29
50-69%	4	45
40-49%	8	27
30-39%	10	46
20-29%	14	49
10-19%	6	28
0-9%	17	43

This exception to the tendency toward a concentration of Negro registration in urban areas is caused in large part, the Louisiana consultant feels, by a lack of leadership and the fact that city Negroes in the state often do not feel a part of their community.

In rural areas, on the other hand, there is a feeling of communality and often Negroes respond in wholesale fashion to appeals of their leaders to register.

In Arkansas, the registration record of Negroes in the state as a whole is decidedly less impressive than that of white citizens. Economic dependency and the lower income and educational status of Negroes are contributing factors. But the Arkansas consultant for this survey feels that an even greater cause of non-voting by Negroes is their exclusion from the entire business of politics-patronage, office holding, and policy making.

Arkansas provides an interesting variation from the usual voting pattern of counties in the South with a high percentage of Negroes. Surprisingly, in this state, there is a tendency in such counties for the level of white registration to be lower than that of Negro registration to be higher than in the counties with few or no Negroes.

The Negro population in Arkansas is concentrated in non-metropolitan areas, mostly in the eastern and southern counties bordoring the states of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. Traditionally these are the areas of the plantation system, tenancy, one-crop agriculture (cotton), and restrictive race relations. In the past 20 years there have been marked changes, with many Negroes moving to cities for a number of reasons, including the mechanisation of farms and the promise of better jobs elsewhere. With the exception of the larger urban areas, Negro population dropped strikingly in most Arkansas counties between 1940-50, particularly in those with a large proportion of Negroes.

Still, the old order prevails to a large extent in these plantation counties. Negroes lag behind the white citizens in

income and the number of school years completed and both races are below state and national averages.

"Logically, any deterrence to Negro registration and voting would have been found in those areas," the Arkansas consultant commented. He thought the higher Negro registration may be due to "Negro political leadership developed to counteract widespread restrictive racial practices, which in turn tends partially to neutralize the limiting effects of low economic status on suffrage."

In Texas, also, economic status has a definite bearing on Negro voting and as everywhere in the South the self-employed are far more likely to be politically active. The Negro's living still comes primarily from the land in Texas, where are many independent Negro farmers. They raise cotton and timber in east Texas and rice in the south. Some of the rice farmers control extremely large holdings. Some of those around the Jefferson County (Beaumont and Port Arthur) area at times gross over $100,000 a year. Many, however, are small farmers compelled to supplement their annual income by part-time employment in the small towns and cities nearby. This in itself is an emancipating force, for it often marks the first step toward permanent urban habitation and, in some instances, unionization. The independent Negro farmers, with doctors, businessmen, other self-employed Negroes and some teachers, form a corps of political leadership for their people.

In North Carolina, economic dependency of the Negro on the white population has its most telling effect on registration in rural

areas and small towns, particularly in the eastern part of the state. Most vulnerable to pressure are tenant farmers, teachers and domestic servants.

The difficulties potential Negro voters encounter in Virginia tend to mount as the per cent of Negroes in the population increases. In line with the rest of the South, the counties of high Negro population usually are high also in illiteracy and low in economic status, which leads to dependency and susceptibility to pressure from the employing class.

Virginia counties with a relatively high percentage of Negroes are in the Eastern Shore, Coastal Plain, Tidewater, Southside, and Piedmont sections.

Agriculturally, these areas are "largely semi-feudal and paternalistic with the white large land owners operating as quasi-feudal lords," the Virginia consultant wrote.

"For their farms, sawmills, small businesses and homes they want an ample supply of cheap, tractable and exploitable labor. Over the years they have worked out a system of economic, educational, social and political organization which will provide this labor pattern. Being in economic and political control, they have established policies to keep the vote small so as to insure political control....

"In many of the localities a few dominant families, their relatives and friends form something like an interlocking directorate and control the key positions in the economic, social and political system. The result is that the mere awareness of its presence has the effect of cowing both whites and blacks and

especially those who depend on them for land rental contracts, jobs, wages, loans and credit, sponsorship, protection and representation.....

"The educational level of the Negroes, the lack or paucity of leaders among them, their physical and cultural isolation..... their economic poverty which keeps their minds and energies concentrated upon staisfying their basic physical needs, and the helpless people all militate against political activity.

"In the northern part of the state, where the Negro population is somuch smaller percentage-wise, many of the Negroes work in agriculture and in domestic and personal service occupations; Their small numbers isloate them..... and bring them psychologically as well as economically under the dominant influence of their employers."

The connection between Negro population and registration also appears in South Carolina, where the median proportion of Negroes is 47.4 and the Negro registration median is 17.4. Seventy per cent of the counties having fewer Negroes than the state median are above the median in Negro registration; by contrast, only 35 per cent of the countiesof high Negro population rank above the registration median.

South Carolina also offers an example of the correlation between a county's population loss or gain and Negro registration. Two-thirds of the counties in the state gained in population between 1940 and 1950 and 61 per cent of these are above the median in Negro registration. In 80 per cent of the counties losing population, Negro registration is below the median. The tendency for

higher income and education levels to coincide with greater Negro registration also is evident in South Carolina.

For Alabama counties, the median percentage of Negro eligibles registered is 10.9 per cent. Among the Southern states, only Mississippi has a lower median. Ten of Alabama's 67 counties have no Negroes registered, and only two, Marion and Walker, have more than 50 per cent of their eligibles on the books. However, non-whites comprise only 2.7 per cent of the population in Marion and 10 per cent in Walker. The familiar pattern -- low Negro registration going hand in hand with below average income and education and a high degree of farm tenancy-- is apparent in Alabama.

In Mississippi, Negroes make up 41 per cent of the total population of voting age but represent a minute part of the registered electorate. The median registration figure for eligible Negroes is less than one per cent. There were 14 counties in which no Negroes were registered in 1954 (the last year for which figures were available) and 28 in which less than one per cent had registered. As mentioned previously, many observers believe that there are even fewer Negroes registered in Mississippe today than in 1954. Urbanization, industrialization and Negro farm tenancy have a bearing on Negro registration, as in other Southern states. An increase in the median school years completed by all groups in Mississippi seems to have more effect on Negro registration than the school years completed by Negroesonly. This leads to the conjecture that intolerance among better educated whites is somewhat modified, paving the way for increased Negro registration. The same effect appears where the overall income level is above the median.

The county medians of Negro registration found in the survey: (3)

Alabama	10.9	1956
Arkansas	30.1	1956
Florida	44.1	1956
Georgia	25.0	1956
Louisiana	40.1	1956
Mississippi	.83	1954
North Carolina	21.4	1956
South Carolina	17.4	1956
Tenn.		
Texas	26.7	1956
Virginia	20.0	1956

(3)

(Tennessee County by county figures unavailable)

IV

DISCRIMINATION AND INTIMIDATION

Just as the main segregationist movement has switched from the white sheet of the Ku Klux Klan to the white collar of the Citizens Council, so has the pattern of discrimination against the Negro Southerner changed in recent years.

In no field is this gradual shift to subtler methods seen more clearly than in a study of Negro registration and voting. Killings, beatings, the dragging of Negroes from their homes in the middle of the night--these are now rare occurrences, compared to previous decades.

Overt violence, is, in brief, the exception rather than therule for racist dealing with assertive Negro citizens. The threat of violent tactics, however, is kept in some areas by anonymous telephone calls to Negro leaders. Crosses still are burned, jobs threatened. Occasionally, homes are shot into or bombed.

But, today, with less obvious means employed generally, Negroes interested in voting are far more likely to be barred by a question on the Constitution than by a rope or whip.

The Alabama Consultant directed a Field Survey in each of the counties in his state. According to these reports:

Negroes might be treated courteously, as in Bullock County, Alabama, where the Board of Registrars have received Negro applicants pleasantly, let them fill out forms, then told them they didn't pass--with no reasons given. In this county, with 5,423 Negroes of voting age, only six were registered in the Summer of 1956. In 1953, more than 100 attempted to register; in 1955, only 20 even tried and of these, 19 were refused. One of the six registered succeeded only on his seventh trip to the Board.

In other counties of central Alabama, like Bullock, Negroes encountered greater difficulty. This is the "black belt" section of the state, so called because of the dark rich soil, an area where 15 counties have populations over 50 per cent Negro.

Among these is Dallas, where only 275 of the 18,132 Negroes of voting age are

gegistered.[1] In 1956, alone at least 350 were turned down. Some reported that they filled out questionnaires three or four times but still were not sent registration certificates. Many reported they were given no help in filling out forms although white applicants were. One Negro teacher who registered was fired allegedly for being "too smart;" this frightened many other teachers.

Marengo, another county in the Alabama black belt, simply seemed to have stopped registering Negroes. Of 10,223 eligible, 170 were registered before the Supreme Court decision call for an end to segregated schools. This, plus formation of a local Citizens Council, was reported to have hardened the lines of white resistance to Negro equality and to have put the brakes on Negro registration.

In Monroe County, Alabama, where 140 of the 5,914 Negroes of voting age are registered, other hopeful applicants said more often than not they found the Board of Registrars had "misplaced the application forms" or had been told to return later. Registrars in Hale County, where 130 of 7,036 eligible Negroes are on the voting roll, have turned down 300 in the past two years for "failure to fill out forms correctly." One Negro woman teacher in Alabama, said she was refused because she didn't know the address of her estranged husband. Many Alabama Boards required two voters to vouch for all Negro applicants and some require Negroes to produce white character witnesses. Registrars in one County where about two per cent of nearly 7,000 Negroesover 21 have registered announced that a "good white man" must accompany Negro applicants.

In a black belt county which is somewhat less than 50 per cent Negro, Registrars closed their office when a group of Negroes appeared. Other Negro applicants said they were told when the board would meet but then found no one present on arrival. A Negro leader who encouraged other Negroes to vote reported he was threatened with anonymouslt by telephone and told to stop his activities or he would be run out of town. Only about

(1) (Registration figures usedare those of 1956).

200 of over 5,000 have registered.

A Negro leader in Coosa, Alabama, said he also was threatened. Crosses were burned in front of the homes of two leaders of a Negro voters drive in Choctaw County. In the latter, 112 of 4,189 Negroes of voting age are registered; 28 said they were turned down on their first try, but accepted the second time. Most of those initially refused are teachers; maids and yardmen have found it somewhat easier to enroll.

Birmingham and surrounding Jefferson County presents one of the gloomiest pictures for Negroes in the South. In no other major city of the region has it been so difficult for them to vote. Only 7,200 of 121,510 Negroes over 21 registered in 1956; at least that many more were turned down. Instead of the standard form and the character witnesses, Jefferson County registrars have employed another method unique in the state; added questions about government. They might ask on what date the tenth amendment to the Constitution became effective, what was the fourteenth state to be admitted to the Union, on what date did Oklahoma change from a territory to a state? They have recognized no limits to their power to interrogate. (Table 3 for one sample questionnaire handed applicants in 1955). While Negroes have been the Board's main target, while labor union members, particularly if they wear overalls or work clothes, have reported that they sometimes find registration difficult or impossible. Negroes appearing before the Board often have been questioned for from 35 to 40 minutes; they have had to line up separtely and the longer the line the longer the questioning.

Stong, in his study of Jefferson County, described the method used by registrars to avoid suits with the following hypothetical case; a person who failed to satisfy the board was told orally he did not qualify; the applicant then secured an attorney and filed a suit, which was a signal for the board to register the plaintiff. His suit collapsed and no court has an opportunity to pass on Section 33 of the Alabama Code and the "qualified to register" phrase.

In Macon County, Alabama, home of famed Tuskegee Institute, many college trained

(1) "Registration of Voters in Alabama", Donald S. Strong, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama.

Negroes have found the barriers impregnable. Negroes outnumber white persons about five to one; of the 14,526 of voting age, 1,100 have registered. By contrast, the Associated Press reported in April, 1956 that 2,700 out of a total Macon County white population of 5,000 had registered, or that fewer than 100 white persons over 21 had failed to do so. An Alabama observer said that the Board of Registrars would sit until all white citizens interested had registered and then resign. In any event, for the major part of 1956, there was no board in the county, for two of the three members resigned and it takes at least two to transact business. This was at least the third time in a decade this had happened.

In North Carolina, as in other states with literacy laws, the registrar had considerable latitude. He can have the applicant copy indicated sections of the state constitution or he can dictate. Some Negroes have protested the use of dictation, since a registrar often reads too fast or uses a particularly difficult section. However, the State Board of Elections has upheld a registrar's right to use this means of testing.

A Negro attorney in a rural eastern county of North Carolina said, that in certain precincts of this and adjoining counties, "It takes a white man only a few minutes to get registered, but it may take an hour for a Negro. Actually, the latter is given an academic test rather than a literacy test. In this county, the tests are tough and the literacy rate low, which doubly handicaps the Negro. The tests given here actually require an interpretation of law."

A Negro college graduate in North Carolina who attempted to register for the May, 1955, primary said he was turned down because he could not write a section of the state constitution from memory. Some registrars who want to disqualify Negroes have asked for a definition of such words as "ordained," "sovereignty," "posterity," etc. The replies often do not "satisfy the registrar."

But there are counties throughout the state, including the rural piedmont and eastern sections, where literacy requirements are ignored for anyone, white or Negro who want to register. In others, only Negroes are required to do some reading. In some rural North Carolina counties, Negroes can register with a minimum of trouble only if

sponsored by white persons.

Louisiana applicants for registration have been given a rather complicated form and the law has barred any help in filling it out. In most instances, completion is regarded as evidence of literacy although the registrar may, if he wishes, examine an applicant. There has been wide variation in the practive of helping applicants and in the strictness with which forms are scrutinized for mistakes. In some parishes, Negroes have found it almost impossible to satisfy the high standards demanded of them. In others, both Negroes and whites have been permitted to copy from previously completed forms and mistakes have been overlooked.

If a person is unable to complete the form satisfactorily, he may still qualify in some parts of Louisiana. In a number of parishes many white and Negro illiterates have registered under the physical disability provision of the constitution. This makes it possible in some instances to control their ballot., because such registrants are entitled to ask for assistance in voting. Practice varies widely with respect to registration of illiterates but, as a rule, where literate Negroes have found it easy to qualify, illiterate Negroes also have met few obstacles.

Under one Louisiana statute which adds to the difficulties of Negro voting, two bona fide registered voters can challenge by affidavit the right of a person to be registered. The person challenged has to respond within 10 days by appearing before the registrar to "prove" his right to remain on the voting list. If a person fails to appear, his name is removed automatically. Citizens Council groups have purged several hundred Negroes from voting lists through this device is more than a dozen parishes, including Natchitoches, Webster, and La Salle. They are able to learn which Negroes have registered under another Louisiana law which permits any 25 registered voters, by application, to copy or photostat registration records.

The Colfax Chronicle, county weekly of Grant Parish, Louisiana, reported (October 12, 1956) that membersof the Citizens Council worked in the Registrar's office that week in a frank effort to disfranchise the county's 864 Negro voters. The Chronicle also reported.

Their action followed a White Citizens Council meeting in Dry Prong attended by State Senator William Rainach and other Louisiana segregation advocates. W. J. B. Jones of Colfax County, WCC president, said the group voted unaniously to try to purge Negro voters. Louis Earl Stevens, Council secretary, subsequently estimated that at least 90 per cent of the Negro registrants were challenged in Grant Parish.

Where, instead of writing out "colored" on registration blanks the applicant simply put "C" the applications were challenged as being incorrect. Each Negro's age in years, days, and months was refigured and often found off by a day or so. The Chronicle checked the first 100 white registrations in one ward and found only one card which would meet the standards set by the WCC for Negroes. Four, including the Superintendent of Schools, figured their ages incorrectly. In a futher check, the Chronicle discovered that not a single member of a Citizens Council committee had filled in correctly alll the blanks. Needless to say, only the Negroes were challenged. Of the more than 700 Negroes purged two weeks before the November general election, 399 had cleared the challenges a week before the deadline.

The Chronice commended Registrar Maxine Mosley for her fairness in dealing with the Negroes challenged.

Not all members of the white community supported the purge effort. District Attorney Sam L. Wells said he would be a witness and sign affidavits for those challenged registrants whose palce of residence he knew of his own personal knowledge. J. M. Straughan of Route 8 Colfax, wrote the Chronicle:

"I'm a Southerner born and raised right here in Central Louisiana and I am opposed to Integration as strongly as any Southerner could be. But what hasintegration got to do with the removal of Negroes from the registration rolls... I for one, will be glad to sign an affidavit for those colored voters, I know to help keep them from being imposed on."

On February 25, 1957, the Justice Department made public some FBI findings on registration of Negroes in Louisiana. Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III said the

FBI material indicated that testimony by Louisiana Attorney General Jack P. Gremillion to a House Judiciary Subcommittee "might have left a misleading impression in a number of respects." Olney's statement was in a letter to Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) who presided at hearings in which Gremillion tes ified against the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights proposals.(1)

Olney said that Gremillion had mentioned "some difficulty with respect to voting" in Ouachita Parish, but contended this was "more or less an exception."

In fact, Olney asserted, the FBI investigated the handling of registrations in 10 Louisiana Parishes and found that 8,552 Negroes were challenged when they tried to register in 1956.

Olney said that in Ouachita Parish there were some 4,000 registered Negro voters in the early fall of 1956 but that after a purge in October, "There were in excess of 3,000 Negro voters deprived of the right to vote in the general election of November 6."

The Justice Department official challenged a number of Gremillion's statements, including his claim that registrants had a free choice in selecting the section of the United States Constitution they wished to interpret as part of their test.

"In none of the 10 parishes is there any evidence that the registrar permitted the applicant to choose which clause of the Constitution he wished to interpret," Olney said.

"Specifically, in the case arising from Ouachita Parish, the investigation by the FBI disclosed that the registrar of voters in examining applicants used a card on which was written an excerpt from the Constitution which card was given to the registrar by the Citizens Council of Ouachita Parish."

Gremillion had told the committee that when a registered voter was challenged, the registrar sent a record of the challenge to the registrant, including a reply form, giving him 10 days to appear and establish his right to remain on the rolls by presenting statements from three voters registered in the same parish.

(1) (Associated Press, Washington, D. C., February 27, 1957)

Olney said this did not appear to be the general praftice in the parishes investigated. In six, he added, registrars "did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits in the statutory form and generally refused them when offered." He told Chairman Celler that the FBI found instances of registrars refusing to accept white persons as supporting witnesses for Negroes on gpounds they were of a different race

There appeared to be a concerted effort in October 1956, by White Citizens Councils in Louisiana and other Southern states to get Negro registrants off the rolls or to prevent their registration, Olney added.

"With respect only to cases which have been investigated by the EBI," he continued, "the following numbers of Negro voters were challenged in each of the following parishes:

"Bienville, 560,; Caldwell, 330; De Soto, 383; Grant; 758; Jackson, 953; La Salle, 345; Lincoln, 326; Ouachita, 3,240; Rapides, 1,058; and Union, 600.

However, there still are areas in Louisiana where there are no Negro registrants to challenge. For example, in Tensas Parish which is over 50 per cent Negro, none of the 4,500 Negroes of voting age had registered at the time of the 1956 general election. Only one had tried in recent years. A local priest recounted the Negro's experience; When he appeared, the registrar immediately took hom to the sheriff, who asked, "Aren't you happy here? Is something wrong with the way things operate around here? If you aren't happy perhaps we could arrange for you to leave." The hapless Negro promptly assured the sheriff of his "happiness" and "allowed" that his attempt to register had been a tragic mistake. He remained in the community but his wife lost her job.

There also are no Negroes registered in East Carroll, Madison, and West Feliciana parishes, all counties with populations over 50 per cent Negro. "In these parishes," the Louisiana Consultant said, "Subterfuges is unnecessary to discontinue Negro registration. Negroes know they should not and cannot ~~register~~ and therefore rarely attempt to do so.

In the general election in November, 1956, Louisiana voters defeated a proposed constitutional amendment designed to help the Citizens Council cut Negro voting even more. The measure was drafted by the legislative "watch dog" committee on segregation

which previously had won approval easily for its proposals. The amendment, which was turned down by an unofficial total of 190,410 to 178,833, required certain administrative steps before a voter losing his registration could take the matter into court. Thus, said the Associated Press in a dispatch from Baton Rouge, it would have set up "administrative barriers to a federal court action."

In South Carolina, the prevalence of discriminatory tactics in some couties where Negroes are in the majority is quite evident. Registration books are moved from place to place to keep Negroes from getting a certificate; they are given literacy tests that have little to do with reading and writing the State Constitution, as required by South Carolina law; Negroes complain that if a number go toget er to register in some counties, clerks will pass only one or two and tell the rest the books are closed for the day. In a few counties, Negroes who had been certified have complied with demands of employers and other white persons that they remove their names from registration books. Some have said they were threatened for harm for attempting to vote, andmany landlords reportedly have warned their Negro tenenants that if they registered, they would be fired.

Calhoun County, S. C., with more than twice as many Negroes as whites--10,449 to 4,304--has no Negroes registered, although 4,437 of them are of voting age. "Any Negro who tries to get a registration certificate is called a smart Negro and sooner or later leaves the community," a field consultant said. Negroes there are even afraid to discuss voting.

McCormick County, S. C., where the population split is 5,998 Negroes, 3,589 whites, also has no Negroes registered out of the 2,625 over 21. All Negroes who had registration certificates in 1948 had their names purged from the voting list. The majority of Negroes in the county are sharecroppers; reportedly could not sell their produce until their names were removed.

In another South Carolina County, Abbeville, where only 15 of the 3,687 Negroesof voting age are registered, (as compated to 6,000 of the 8,951 whites) an at-
fear was found. Three years ago a Negro cottonwood worker said to h-
night for voting. Since then, Negroes have not taken part i-

of those who had registration certificates have "lost " them.

Intimidation as a means of limiting Negro voting in Texas was found to be relatively rare. Recent violence in the state usually has been aimed at school integration, notably in Mansfield. There have been occasional reports of local discrimination against potential Negro voters, generally in the form of a segment of the white population playing on the ignorance of the poorly educated among the Negros--to imply, for example, that property taces must have been paid to vote. But, by and large, the poll tax remained the only obvious deterrent.

While discrimination in applying provisions of the Virginia poll tax and registration law is not found generally in that state, nevertheless, it has been reported in certain counties and a few cities. Some Negro leaders feel that poorer white citizens often experience the same difficulties as do Negroes.

The poll tac can be an effective barrier for the politically uninformed, the educationally handicapped, and the socially disadvantaged. Just the use of words confused many of the poorly educated who often do not know that in paying their Virginia "capitation tax" they had paid their poll tax. Some tac collectors discouraged voting by telling Negroes they do not have to pay poll taxes. Many Negroes reported they did not receive poll tax bills along with their property tax notices, as did their fellow white citizens. These and similar methods have been employed to discourage Negroes from paying their poll taxes in some counties and it often seems that only those who know their rights under the law and insist on paying can win their right to register.

As for registration itself, Negroes sometimes encountered further barriers in Virginia. The same discriminatory methods of administering literacy tests found in other states turn up here and there in the state where in some counties: Negroes have to meet all the technical requirements of grammar, punctuation, and handwriting in filling out their application forms; they along are given reading or education tests, or have to complete printed forms containing legal phraseology. Some white registrars will see white applicants at any time but are "busy" or "ill" or do not have their books when Negroes appear. When registrars operate in their homes, this presents a particular problem

because of the long-standing southern custom of Negroes appearing in white homes only in a servant capacity.

In 1940, Florida had 51 counties with no Negroes registered, by 1946, only four and 10 years later only two. However, the number of counties in which Negroes are registered gives an exaggerated picture of the extent of Negro registration. In some counties, Negro electors constitute a small proportion of those on the voting lists. This is seen, for example, in the following counties:

COUNTY	NEGRO POPULATION OVER 21	NEGRO PERCENTATE OF TOTAL POPULATION	NUMBER OF NEGROES REGISTERED, 1956
Flagler	872	45.6	13
Gadsden	10,930	56.1	3
Levy	2,107	33.9	51
Liberty	333	18.1	1
Taylor	1,945	30.5	77

In the counties where Negro suffrage is limited most sharply, fear is a major deterring factor. In parts of the state, indicret methods are used to discourage Negro voters and the open threat has been reported, too. In one county, the first Negro registrants in history were subjected to several forms of intimidation--cross burnings, bomb-throwings and shots fired into their homes. All but one of the registrants in this county withdrew their names from the rolls.

In another Florida county, in the plantation section, it was reported that Negroes, most of whom liev in rural areas, are not permitted in the business district on election day. In still another county one supervisor of registration has told Negro applicants, "Come on in and register," while sitting with his legs stretched across the door. Other Negroes complained that lungers around a courthouse told them, "Go ahead and register if you can take what comes afterwards."

Field studies were made in a number of Georgia counties representative of the various sub-regional areas of the state. One of these is Early, located in the extreme southwest

portion of Georgia on the Alabama line. It is in a cluster of counties considered the "hard core" of the state in terms of resistance to integration. In such counties as Early, Miller, Seminole, and Decautr, the Negro population is from 30 to 50 per cent of the total. In other southwest counties such as Clay, Calhoun, Baker, Dougherty, Quitman, Randolph, Terrell, Lee Sumter, Webster, and Stewart, the Negro percentage of the total population is over 50 per cent. The means of excluding Negroes as registrants in these counties is similar to that reported in other areas of the South. In some, there is the ever present threat of violence, which erupts on occasions. Often, police brutality against Negroes indicates to them the can not depend upon law enforcement authorities to offer them protection if they try to vote. In recent years, economic pressures have been directed against Negroes militant enough to demand educational and politcal equality.

In some instances, Georgia sheriffs, instead of the Board of Registrars, question prospective Negro registrants about the Constitution. Sheriffs, being white and also the "law," Negro applicants thus receive two warnings at one time.

In Early county, only 226 Negroes of the 4,790 over 18 (the legal voting age in Georgia) are registered. Many others who went to the Court House to register said they later were summoned to appear there before the Board of Registrars to answer questions. The majority of those who showed up were disqualified and those who did not were removed from the list automatically. This is an effective method of disqualifying Negroes there who often think of going to the Court House for any reason with misgiving. They know they are not expected to drive their cars up to the Court House square to park. Separate ballot boxes for white and Negro votes continue in use in many Georgia counties. This practice of separating ballots on a racial basis in an indirect technique of disfranchising some of the Negro voters who are unwilling to take a chance on having white persons discover wow they voted.

Often, rafial incidents have an effect both in the community involved and in adjacent counties. There is disagreement on the extent to which they deter registration, but fear of violence is bound to condition the thoughts and actions of some. In Walton

County, Georgia, many Negroes interviewed said there is more fear of lynching outside the county than inside. This county was the scene of an unsolved daylight lynching in 1946 of four Negroes--two men and two women, one of whom was pregnant. One Negro in Walton said he did not think that Negroes generally are afraid to register there. He added that the "so-called leading Negroes are afraid but the Negro working by the day isn't. Negro teachers and ministers seem to be afraid because of what they may lose buy what it is, I don't know."

In Arkansas, on rare occasions, clerks in the sheriff's office may tend to discourage poll tax payments through various means of discourtesy. For the most part, however, the poll tax is more important in Arkansas as a source of revenue than as a device for the disfranchisement of the Negro. In 1956, voters rejected an amendment to replea it. Some important Negro leaders opposed its abolition. They believed that if the state dropped the poll tax it might adopt registration procedures requiring the filling out of forms or answering of questions and that Negroes then would experience far more difficulty than at present.

Finally, Mississippi. All forms of violence, intimi dation and discrimination reported from other states were found here. Where other sections usually relied on one or two means of limiting Negro registration, Mississip, home of the white Citizens Council apparently, used them all. As a result, the state which has the highest percentage of Negroes in the country and the lowest percentage registered. Only four per cent were on the list of qualified voters in 1954, although Negroes make up 41 per cent of the total population of voting age.

In the 13 Miccissippi counties listed as having a population of more than 50 per cent Negro, a total of 14 votes was cast in the three elections of which information was available for 1954. Five of the counties had no Negroes qualified and three had one registered who never voted. In the seven counties having more than 60 per cent Negro population, two votes were cast by Negroes in 1954.

Violence, threats, and economic reprisals discouraged Negroes interested in voting in Mississippi. Some instances were publicized but it may reasonably be supposed that many others went unreported. In 1955, along a string of reports of brutality and illegal

tactics came out of the state.

In the early spring of that year, Gus Courts, a Negro grocer at Belzoni, Miss., was told to move from his home and withdraw his names as president of the local NAACP chapter. He was forced to move his grocery store and advised to remove his name from the voting rolls. He refused and in November, 1955, he was shot and seriously wounded by a group of men in a car who fired into his store.

Recovering from his wounds, Courts told a reported: "I've known for a long time it was coming, and I'd tried to get prepared in my mind for it. But that's the hard thing to do when you know they're going to try to slip up and steal your life in the night and not in the bright. It's bad when you know you might get shot just walking around in your store. That's a hard kind of life to lead."

Courts was puzzled as to why anyone would want to shoot him for, "I've never been a trouble maker and I've never had the vote. That's all I wanted."

Courts' predecessor as NAACP president in Belzoni, the Rev. George Washington Lee, was killed May 7, 1954. The United Press, in a story from Belzoni on the Courts' shooting, gave this backgroun on the Lee death:

"The Reverend Lee was shot, allegedly on the day he refused a request from a white citizen that he remove his name from the voters registration list. In that death, first of three race killings in Mississippi this year, Lee reportedly was driving down a Belzoni street when a car in which two white men and a Negro were riding suddenly came from behind and a shotgun blast shattered the Negro's car."

A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of accidental death and made no reference to the wounds in the dead man's face.

Other incidents in Mississippin in 1955, as reported by Wire Service and newspapers: T. V. Johnson, Belzoni Negro undertaker, was told tl remove his name from the voting rolls if he desired continued credit; the Rev. James Hargroves fled the state after he was threatened with the fate of the Reverend Lee if he continued to work for the NAACP. In Agust, Lamar Smith, a Lincoln County Negro was shot fatally; no indictment was returned, although reports indicated there were several witnesses to the shootings. Elsewhere, the

home of a Negro leader was fired upon, and crosses were burned in front of the homes of two others. There were additional instances of violence against Negroes for activities other than voting.

If, despite the harrassment and brutality, Negroes still tried to vote in Mississippi, there was the state's registration law to act as a deterrent. The rigid education test, the essay on citizenship, all the requirements of the tighter registration law passed in 1954 presented innumerable opportunities for the white registrar opposed to Negro registration.

VIII

VOTING PERFORMANCE

The percentage of Southerners who vote is well below the national average, as field reports for this study emphasized once again.

And, it is not only Negro disfranchisement which depresses the South's average for, except in occasional, heated contests, white citizens in the region are less likely to vote than citizens in other parts of the country.

Compare the North and South turnout in a presidential election or the vote for governor in Southern Democratic primaries and in general elections in the North--whatever the yardstick used, the voting performance of the South generally lages behind.

Many reasons for this lack of electoral enthusiasm can be advanced: the one-party system, lower educational and economic levels, poll tax and registration requirements, plus the historic tendency to leave power in the hands of the few in the South.

V.O. Key in Southern Politics in State and Nation studied primary and general elections from 1920-47. He found by "by standard, precious few Southerners exercise the rights of citizens in a democracy."

He discovered that, in the period surveyed, "Usually less than 30 per cent of all citizens 21 years of age and over vote for governor in Democratic primaries in most Southern states; in four states--Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee and Alabama--the rate of participation averages less than 20 per cent.

The Key study showed that about five times as large a proportion of the electorate voted for governor in the general elections of Ohio and New York as in gubernatorial primaries in Virginia. The New York rate was about twice that of Texas. Key found that even fewer Southerners vote for U. S. Senator. For example, Vermont, virtually a one-party state, had nearly 65 per cent turnout of eligible voters in the election of a Senator in 1944, while Alabama had slightly less than 20 per cent. Research showed that "Northern one-party states exceed the South in electorial interest only in lesser degree than do two-arty states."

For years the absence of a contest for the South's electoral votes resulted in an exceptionally low turnout for presidential elections. However, in 1956, when there was a far more spirited battle, the region still did not reppond to the same degree as the rest of the United States. The Associated Press reported that the total vote in the nation consisted of 77.4 per cent of those registered and represented 60.4 per cent of the estimated civilian population of voting age. In the 11 Southern states, approximately 70 per cent of those registered voted, representing only 39 per cent of the eligible population.

How does the registered Southern Negro react within this framework of low voter participation? Does he, for example bloc vote? The answer to the latter question is "yes" and "no."

Whenever Negroes feel their special interests are involved, they are inclined to vote in a bloc. They are neither more nor less vulnerable to the charge of wholesale support or opposition than those who rally in an opposing bloc to the "white supremacy" banner. All groups--including farm, labor and industry--tend to vote solidly against the candidate who singles them out for special attack.

If race is not an issue, voting by Negroes usually follows the egneral pattern and their vote splits as does that of the rest of the population.

The question of "bloc voting" arises in any assessment of Negro suffrage because it has so long been a pet charge of Southern white supremacists, who hold that the Negro is trying to achieve political domination by this means.

In regard to this charge, a Negro lawyer in Shreveport, Louisiana, summed up a common attitude: "I am told that I should vote as an American and not as a Negro. Well, I love America as much as anyone and I would like to weigh our policies in the Middle East and Far East when I vote. However, I'm too busy tyring to be fr3e- to become an American-- to concern myself with such questions. When I vote I must concern myself with what is good for Negroes."

Unfortunately, the Negro in the South often is forced to decixe between two racist candidates, which in the case is about the best he can do is to follow the advice once

given by the NAACP: "Vote against the incumbent."

Where candidates represent overlapping issues of particular importance to Negroes, their vote is likely to split. An example of this was noted in the 1956 gubernatorial primary in Louisiana, when Earl Long and New Orleans Mayor de Lesseps Morrison were the principal contenders.

Negroes outside New Orleans voted overwhelmingly for Long and his ticket. The name "LOng" (Earl is the brother of the late Huey Long) is identified by Negroes with pensions and other state services oriented toward lower economic groups. Because most Negroes still are in this stratum, they tended to vote for Long. However, in New Orleans, the name "Morrison" is as well known and is idenfified with low-cost housing for Negroes, better park and school facilities, and related services. Negroes there divided rather evenly, giving Morrison a slight edge.

There also was a split in the vote for Earl J. Amedee, Negro candidate for attorney general in the same Louisiana primary. Amedee received little more than 50 per cent of the Negro vote. (In the state, he received only nine per cent of the total vote) Again, Negroes were divided, in this case between a Long and a Negro candidate. Undoubtedly, economics alone did not account for the split. There was evidence that many Negroes outside New Orleans did not know Amedee was a member of their race; also, no one could know how many others saw his candidacy as a gesture, without hope of success, and preferred to vote more practically.

The fact that the presence of a Negro candidate on the ballot does not always result in overwhelming support by members of his race was also seen in Rome, Georgia. In, 1952 an elderly Negro ran for the Board of Education there. Since he had not gone beyond the seventh or eighth grade, some of the Negro political leaders felt he was not qualified and refused to endorse him. Others thought it was not yet time for a Negro to seek such an office in Rome. Whatever their reasons, Negroes did not support the candidate.

The same thing happened in 1956 primaries in Chattanooga and Memphis, Tennessee, when Negro candidates for the general assembly did not win overwhelmingly--or, in some

precincts, even majority--support of their race. Several of those interviewed said this was because the candidates simply didn't have the proper qualifications. Among others, the bandwagon psychology was apparent--they felt the Negro candidate didn't have a chance and preferred to stick with the winner.

On the other hand, in a special election for councilman in Nashville in 1956, a Negro grocer ran against a white minister. The Tennessee consultant said that both candidates were generally considered progressive and fair. The Negro precinct in the ward voted 1,132 to 64 for the Negro candidate and the white precinct when 1,373 to 60 for the white minister.

By and large, Negro registration has risen noticeably in both Memphis and Nashville as Negro candidates with wide popular appeal entered various races or as white candidates who offered a real choice of issues competed.

As Negroes do not always back a candidate of their race, neither do they necessarily support those white candidates who seek to flatter them by soliciting their votes. A white supporter of former Governor Herman Talmadge approached a Negro businessman who carried some weight with others of his race in McIntosh, Georgia and asked him to support Talmadge in his bid for the United States Senate. The Negro told him, "I won't enslave my soul. What's the use of giving me a piece of bread and then calling me 'nigger'?"

Throughout the region, Negroes often show particular interest in local elections for through these the greatest immediate benefits can be realized. Where the Negro has been enfranchised in sufficient numbers to have a marked influence on local elections, politicians are inclined to pay attention. Material benefits such as paving, improved street lighting and recreational facilities are likely to result. Frequently the most intense interest is shown in election of sheriffs. There are special reasons for this. As Negro registration and voting increases, police brutality against Negroes is likely to decrease; this, in turn, can lead to an even larger Negro vote. In short, the sheriff's office is seen as a key position affecting the Negro's security and well-being.

In discussing this, the Georgia consultant commented:

"Generally speaking, persons who don't understand the racial set-up can't imagine what goes on in the mind of a Negro political leader who knows that the law enforcement officers and some other white citizens are avowedly against what he is doing. Further, he knows that it is difficult to select a jury that will convict any of its 'white bretheren' who move violently against Negroes "who get out of their place.' This is one reason why Negro political leaders readily seek to influence the election of the sheriff and the mayor, who often appoints the chief of police. They wish to reduce the threat and force of police brutality and thus increase the area in which they and their racial followers can find more personal physical security. When this happens their minds are relieved somewhat and they can forge on with their political leadership."

But, in addition to a lessening of police intimidation, Negroes can look for other gains from local participation, particularly where they hold or promised to hold the balance of power. Although Southern Negroes still have a long, difficult road to travel before gaining major material benefits by their vote, there are straws in the wind.

These were particularly evident in the Texas findings. Negro strength at the polls has resulted in such things as a Negro youth center in Midland; in Longview, three new elementary schools in Negro areas in three years, Negro service on juries, delegates to county political conventions, employment of Negro policement. In Brookshire, a bond issue for construction of a Negro gymnasium and a white school cafeteria was carried by two votes: Negroes held the balance of power. Greenville and Beaumont Negroes have served as delegates to county or state Democratic conventions. In large part through the political efforts of Negroes in Fort Bend County, farmers have benefitted from a huge federal project which has been draining 18,000 acres of farm land, all owned by Negroes. Where farmers were able to grow three bales of cotton on 50 acres before the project, they are increasing their yield to one bale per acre.

In Darlington County, South Carolina, where the Palmetto Voters' League (Negro) was founded, 9,000 of the 10,455 Negroes of voting age, or 83 per cent were reported registered and 13,000 of the 15,235 eligible white men and women, or 86 per cent.

Since Negroes began voting in Darlington, all streets in their communities have been paved and lighted; two Negro policement with a radio car added; three Negroes named to the Darlington County Democratic Edecutive Committee, and Negroes put in complete charge of three voting precincts.

Still another example of what the vote can bring was seen in Dublin and Laurens County, Georgia. Negroes in Dublin had no running water; their streets were unlighted and in poor condition and, although they had paid taxes for the sewage system for years, almost none benefitted. Then the county split into two factions and the Negro vote suddenly assumed importance as the balance of power. As a result, the city council, mayor and sheriff dedided that $350,000 would be spent in extending water mains and sewer lines into Negro neighborhoods and in paving the main street of the Negro section. Negroes in Spaulding County, Georgia benefitted in similar fashion when their vote increased.

In Floyd County (Rome), Georgia, Negroes began registering in appreciable numbers in 1946. Ten years later, 45 per cent of the eligible--2,839--were on the voting list. In that period, police brutality, once intense, subsided; two Negro policemen were appointed and others promised.

In addition to practical incentives and the aim of good citizenship, what other factors movitate the Negro voter?

In South Carolina, the voting pattern of Negroes varies from area to area. Those registered in some counties can be counted on to vote in all elections; in others, it takes a sharp local contest to arouse interest. Issues dealing with civil rights have drawn the largest Negro vote in Georgetown, Dorchester, Colletin and Horry counties. In 1956, the primary brought the largest Negro turnout in Charleston County as a protest against the Citizens Council, which backed certain candidates. In Florence County, it was reported that a large number of Negroes voted only when one of their race was mistreated by an official before an election. Negro candidates brought out the heaviest Negro vote ever in Spartanburg.

The latter factor also accounted for the largest Negro vote in Atlanta when Dr. Rufus E.Clement, Negro educator, ran successfully for the School Board in 1953. Still only an estimated 10,000 of the 19,000 Negroes registered there at the time voted.

On the other hand, when a Negro candidate ran for local office in Portsmouth, Virginia, approximately 90 per cent of the Negro registrants voted. Observers in Richmond estimated that about 50 to 65 per cent of the Negroes registered there generally voted. In Petersburg, Virginia, the range is from 35 to 95 per cent, depending upon local issues, whether a Negro candidate is running, and whether there is an intensive get-out-the-vote drive.

As for Virginia as a whole, however, it must be emphasized that even a 100 per cent turnout of the white and Negro registrants still would leave the state with a poor voting record. Only 35 per cent of all citizens over 21 had registered in 1952 for the general election (and Virginians usually vote in the greatest numbers in presidential elections). Four years later, the picture had changed a little. Key found that over the years, the organization of Senator Harry F. Byrd has had to win the support of only five to seven per cent of the adult population to nominate its candidate for governor in the Democratic primary.

Compared to Virginia, electoral enthusiasm runs high in Mississippi, which had a better participation record, despite its large non-voting Negro population. Key reported that in the 26 year period surveyed, the percentage of whites voting in Democratic primaries in Mississippi almost equalled average participation rate of all citizens in New York or Ohio general elections.

But while the white citizens in Mississippi are more inclined to vote than in some Southern states, a vast segment of the population remains disfranchised. Negroes make up 41 per cent of the total population of voting age but only four per cent of the total registered. And, if one could judge by figures for 1954, the only year for which estimates of Negro participiption are available county by county, only a small percentage

of the comparatively few Negroes qualified voted.

Governor J. P. Coleman estimated that of the 20,000-22,000 Negroes registered in Mississippi in 1954, fewer than 8,000 voted in statewide elections. The governor said earlier he did "not now favor the Negro voting in Mississippi. He is wholly unprepared to assume this responsibility."

A special city election in Greenville, Mississippi in 1954 indicated what some encouragement could accomplish. Of 942 Negroes registered, 546 voted. An official there said this was the only time, the Negro vote was solicited in Greenville.

Apparently, some Negroes have registered in Mississippi for reasons not connected with voting. Some have qualified in order to get post-office or other government jobs but never voted even though they had paid poll taxes for years. In one county, the clerk said Negroes registered in order to have a public record of their age for use in old age assistance claims.

No study of voting performance in the South can be complete without some mention of an ugly facet of political life which is not necessarily confined to the region below the Mason-Dixon line--vote bying and manipulation.

Negroes in some parts of the South, have a long history of "being voted." They were used during the Reconstruction Era by scalawags and carpet-baggers. After Reconstruction, some Negroes were "voted" by former masters, often against their own interests.

By and large, this manipulation of Negroes by white has ended, but it has not disappeared altogether.

For example, in North Carolina, reports were rampant in one area that the white political machine has had a "slush fund " with which to purchase the allegiance of Negro ministers who were expected to influence their congregations.

From Arkansas came reports that certain liquor interests have paid poll taxes for Negroes with the understanding that they would "vote right" on a liquor referendum.

In an Alabama town, a Negro minister and leader discourage Negro voting; some suspected he was in the pay of a white industrial firm.

In Louisiana, there were reports that in some areas where sheriffs permitted gambling there was a tacit political alliance with Negro voters. This quixotic situation works out thusly: The white middle class opposes gambling. The sheriff has to look elsewhere for political support. He finds it among Negroes who he "pays off" with a cessation of police brutality and passing of the word to the machine that the Negroes have needs which must be met such as paved streets and electric lights.

Like all rumors, these are hard to pin down but if true, one thing is clear: in each case, members of both races are vulnerable to charges of corruption.

May 15, 1957

Mr. Solomon Sutker
Associate Professor
Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Sol:

Thanks for your note and the copies of your correspondence with Professor Newton. We agreed sometime ago with Charles Thompson, of Howard, who edits the Journal of Negro Education, that it was perfectly all right with us for our voting project consultants to share their findings with the contributors to his Summer Yearbook issue. We made it clear to him, however, that the agreement of the particular consultant in question would also be necessary. Therefore, the decision is entirely yours.

The complications that have held up the publication of our voting report are too involved for a letter of reasonable length. But we are very near publication, and God willing we will have it out soon. May I assume that you are willing to be identified in the Foreword as having made the North Carolina study? We will make it crystal clear that you and the other consultants are in no way responsible for our summary of the findings.

Meanwhile, feel free to make any use you wish of your own manuscript. We formally release all claims.

I hope you have a good Summer in Kansas. We will be looking forward hospitably to seeing you in August.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE
STILLWATER

May 11, 1957

RECEIVED MAY 14 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter to Professor I.G. Newton, Department of Political Science, North Carolina College at Durham which I believe is self-explanatory. I would appreciate any ideas or suggestions which you might have regarding Professor Newton's request. Also, I am enclosing a duplicate of his letter.

How are things in Atlanta? I expect to be leaving here for my summer project in Kansas toward the end of this month. I hope that, for once, I shall be able to see you and your family in August. Let's both keep our fingers crossed.

Sincerely yours,

Solomon Sutker
Associate Professor

SS/jwc
Encls.

May 11, 1957

Professor I.G. Newton
Department of Political Science
North Carolina College at Durham
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Professor Newton:

In regard to your letter of May 8 concerning the study I made last summer for the Southern Regional Council, I wish to advise that I am not free at the moment to release this study for the following reasons.

The Southern Regional Council has first option on the use of this material and to date I have not been advised that they have exercised that option.

Secondly, I hope to issue the study myself in some form--either mimeographed or printed--after the Southern Regional Council utilizes it.

The above situation obviously limits the immediate circulation of the study entitled "The Current Status of Negro Suffrage in North Carolina," unless the Southern Regional Council agrees to do so. Therefore, I suggest that you write Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and ascertain from him whether he can release the material to you. Also, I would like to know to what extent the material you are preparing and which I already have may duplicate one another.

If it is possible for you to get the information you want on this basis, I will be most happy to cooperate.

Sincerely yours,

Solomon Sutker
Associate Professor

SS/jwc

CC: H.C. Fleming

COPY

North Carolina College at Durham
Durham, North Carolina

May 8, 1957

Mr. Solomon Sutker
A and M College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Sutker:

I have been advised by Mrs. Hortense C. Moon, Assistant Editor of the Journal of Negro Education, that you prepared a summary of a study of North Carolina under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council.

At present, I am attempting to prepare an article for the Journal under the title "Expansion of Negro Suffrage in North Carolina." I should be pleased if you would be kind enough to send me a copy of the summary you prepared. It is my opinion that I may receive considerable benefit from the opportunity to read your material.

Please advise of any expenses involved in the transfer of the manuscript.

With best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

I.G. NEWTON/m.r.

I.G. Newton
Department of Political Science

IGN:mr

COPY

Sent to Mr. Howard Schulman
Office of Senator Paul Douglas

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

See Corrected Copy June 7, 1957

June 5, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

From: Research Office, Southern Regional Council

Re: Negro Voter Registration in Southern States

The attached material on Negro voter registration was compiled in the summer of 1956 from official records or from the best estimates available from reliable sources in each county. The registration figures are for 1956 except in Arkansas, where only 1955 figures were available. There have been newspaper reports that Negro registration has decreased in Mississippi, but the Southern Regional Council cannot supply accurate figures for this state. The State Times of Jackson conducted a survey of Negro registration in some Mississippi counties in 1956, and excerpts from its report are included.

We do not have registration data for Tennessee. Because of Texas' extensive geographical area, the consultant did not travel throughout the state's 254 counties. It is estimated that 90% of Texas' Negro population resides in the 95 counties included in this report. The lack of registration data for many counties in North Carolina does not mean that there were no Negroes registered; we could not secure the number of registrants or a racial breakdown of registrants in these North Carolina counties. In all other states, a zero, blank space or dash means that there were no Negro registrants known to our sources of information. If a county has no Negroes registered, the column, "Potential Negro Voters," should be checked to determine if there are potential Negro registrants. This column includes the number of non-whites 18 and over in Georgia and Kentucky; those 21 and over in all other states. The majority of the non-whites in the South are Negroes, though a few persons of other races are found in some counties and included in the figures reported here.

The Southern Regional Council is aware of the excess of registrants over potentially eligible persons in some counties. However, these are the figures furnished from official records or other reliable sources. Where there is an excess, it may be due, in part, to the failure to purge registration lists and/or population growth since 1950.

ALABAMA

County	(1950) Potential Negro Voters	(1956) No. of Negroes Registered	County	(1950) Potential Negro Voters	(1956) No. of Negroes Registered
Autauga	4,042	73	Morgan	4,641	
Baldwin	4,493	625	Perry	6,351	300
Barbour	7,158	220	Pickens	5,547	600
Bibb	2,801	235	Pike	6,866	720
Blount	429		Randolph	2,728	1,171
Bullock	5,425	6	Russell	10,135	560
Butler	6,024	805	Shelby	3,356	375
Calhoun	8,304	1,800	St. Clair	2,363	750
Chambers	7,175	649	Sumter	8,700	295
Cherokee	736	250	Talladega	9,318	1,134
Chilten	2,027	350	Tallapoosa	5,083	
Chectaw	4,822	112	Tuscaloosa	14,157	5,500
Clarke	6,434	700	Walker	3,850	2,800
Clay	1,010		Washington	2,835	600
Cleburne	380	60	Wilcox	8,218	
Coffee	3,114	600	Winston	63	
Colbert	4,519	921			
Conecuh	4,435	960			
Coosa	1,828	450			
Covington	3,157	175			
Crenshaw	2,801	600			
Cullman	249	81			
Dale	2,454	380			
Dallas	18,145	275			
DeKalb	443				
Elmore	5,543	226			
Escambia	5,425	1,606			
Etowah	7,672	2,000			
Fayette	1,497	326			
Franklin	700	200			
Geneva	1,686	300			
Green	6,628	157			
Hale	7,041	130			
Henry	3,929	600			
Houston	7,211	1,700			
Jackson	1,242				
Jefferson	121,667	7,000			
Lamar	1,204	100			
Lauderdale	4,022	495			
Lawrence	3,010	408			
Lee	8,954	500			
Limestone	4,013	800			
Lowndes	6,512	00			
Macon	14,539	1,100			
Madison	10,333	1,500			
Marengo	10,226	170			
Marion	384	200			
Marshall	604				
Mobile	45,493	6,400			
Monroe	5,914	140			
Montgomery	34,079	2,176			

~~*NOTE: NOT FOR PUBLICATION~~

ARKANSAS

County	1950 Negro Pop. Over 21	1955 Negro Regis-trants	County	1950 Negro Pop. Over 21	1955 Negro Regis-trants
Arkansas	2934	995	Lee	7572	1610
Ashley	5062	1361	Lincoln	4808	1391
Baxter	3	0	Little River	2107	782
Benton	43	5	Logan	209	183
Boone	--	0	Lonoke	3267	805
Bradley	2744	1210	Madison	9	5
Calhoun	1277	844	Marion	--	--
Carroll	13	2	Miller	5000	1840
Chicot	6924	2588	Mississippi	11975	3915
Clark	3228	1067	Monroe	4930	1031
Clay	6	0	Montgomery	24	15
Cleburne	2	0	Nevada	2578	825
Cleveland	1061	371	Newton	1	0
Columbia	5603	957	Ouachita	7020	2500
Conway	2196	1527	Perry	133	65
Craighead	6944	292	Phillips	15226	3561
Crawford	414	21	Pike	294	86
Crittenden	16495	1352	Poinsett	1754	195
Cross	4041	723	Polk	9	0
Dallas	2504	1033	Pope	426	150
Desha	6511	2518	Prairie	1192	900
Drew	3118	1038	Pulaski	28881	8364
Faulkner	1480	430	Randolph	102	57
Franklin	91	23	St. Francis	10734	2300
Fulton	5	0	Saline	974	413
Garland	3751	2520	Scott	94	45
Grant	370	231	Searcy	3	0
Greene	40	5	Sebastian	2678	661
Hempstead	5244	1452	Sevier	610	235
Hot Spring	1575	717	Sharp	5	3
Howard	1406	460	Stone	3	0
Independence	407	100	Union	8434	2570
Izard	62	27	Van Buren	59	31
Jackson	2067	1215	Washington	309	40
Jefferson	21174	5774	White	726	288
Johnson	144	18	Woodruff	3549	954
Lafayette	3004	1033	Yell	335	55
Lawrence	164	67			

FLORIDA

County	(1950) Potential Negro Voters	(1956) No of Negroes Registered	County	(1950) Potential Negro Voters	(1956) No. of Negroes Registered
Alachua	9,430	3,153	Pasco	1,713	624
Baker	818	361	Pinellas	12,118	3,477
Bay	4,028	2,012	Polk	15,492	4,989
Bradford	1,408	859	Putnam	5,199	1,770
Brevard	3,544	2,160	St. Johns	5,053	2,051
Broward	12,234	6,958	St. Lucie	3,732	1,813
Calhoun	594	231	Santa Rosa	928	730
Charlotte	469	268	Sarasota	2,896	783
Citrus	879	580	Seminole	6,881	2,242
Clay	1,230	1,193	Sumter	1,703	790
Collier	1,402	741	Swannee	2,606	565
Columbia	3,357	1,645	Taylor	1,945	91
Dade	42,682	19,048	Union	2,453	6
DeSoto	1,229	807	Volusia	10,415	5,761
Dixie	387	181	Wakulla	833	345
Duval	55,832	27,368	Walton	1,051	954
Escambia	14,521	6,733	Washington	1,056	743
Flayler	872	64			
Franklin	904	521			
Gadsden	10,930	5			
Gilchrist	203	29			
Glades	584	262			
Gulf	1,129	481			
Hamilton	1,983	507			
Hardee	404	375			
Hendry	1,034	135			
Hernando	869	622			
Highlands	2,054	1,243			
Hillsborough	24,941	8,856			
Holmes	326	130			
Indian River	1,764	427			
Jackson	5,843	3,430			
Jefferson	3,272	183			
Lafayette	176	-0-			
Lake	5,110	1,363			
Lee	3,017	1,818			
Leon	11,213	4,046			
Levy	2,107	603			
Liberty	333	1			
Madison	3,153	1,010			
Manatee	4,425	1,686			
Marion	8,387	4,324			
Martin	1,374	706			
Monroe	2,043	1,652			
Nassau	2,123	1,223			
Okaloosa	1,177	606			
Okeechobee	406	348			
Orange	14,321	3,137			
Osceola	958	358			
Palm Beach	22,253	6,520			

~~*NOTE: NOT FOR PUBLICATION~~

GEORGIA

County	Potential Negro Voters	No of Negroes Registered	County	Potential Negro Voters	No of Negroes Registered
Appling	1356	1068	Elbert	3371	986
Atkinson	897	408	Emanuel	3597	1657
Bacon	558	8	Evans	1340	494
Baker	1819	0	Fannin	47	63
Baldwin	8461	2487	Fayette	1261	11
Banks	229	32	Floyd	6046	2730
Barrow	1235	413	Forsyth	25	20
Bartow	2404	702	Franklin	970	300
Ben Hill	2659	918	Fulton	99347	24441
Berrien	1107	738	Gilmer	14	6
Bibb	25993	5140	Glascock	470	21
Bleckley	1588	39	Glynn	6069	2185
Brantley	451	175	Gordon	641	348
Brooks	4693	707	Grady	3442	527
Bryan	1269	885	Greene	3548	2586
Bulloch	4755	1795	Gwinnett	1751	1000
Burke	8797	399	Habersham	381	300
Butts	2168	1414	Hall	2357	1421
Calhoun	3232	126	Hancock	4094	1850
Camden	2062	1556	Haralson	721	319
Candler	1494	1174	Harris	3380	275
Carroll	3578	939	Hart	1803	327
Catoosa	183	129	Heard	867	388
Charlton	772	12	Henry	3657	1529
Chatham	38272	9720	Houston	3835	443
Chattahoochee	1510	8	Irwin	2171	800
Chattooga	1030	1020	Jackson	1571	436
Cherokee	473	320	Jasper	2327	570
Clarke	6249	2866	Jeff Davis	1034	42
Clay	2148	97	Jefferson	5588	237
Clayton	2070	275	Jenkins	2899	891
Clinch	1222	422	Johnson	1717	416
Cobb	3935	1948	Jones	2223	536
Coffee	3133	980	Lamar	2230	673
Colquitt	4409	1047	Lanier	926	473
Columbia	2451	487	Laurens	7298	3537
Cook	1861	750	Lee	2456	29
Coweta	5788	1348	Liberty	2825	2453
Crawford	1806	125	Lincoln	1617	3
Crisp	4390	835	Long	695	1061
Dade	72	45	Lowndes	8350	2767
Dawson	0	0	Lumpkin	82	73
Decatur	6231	895	Macon	2914	141
Dekalb	8694	2650	Madison	2056	126
Dodge	2863	2068	Marion	4821	54
Dooly	3887	1008	McDuffie	1158	356
Dougherty	11773	2130	McIntosh	1879	1197
Douglas	1020	730	Meriwether	5727	1207
Early	4790	226	Miller	1372	6
Echols	379	15	Mitchell	5955	345
Effingham	1838	211	Monroe	2885	737
		986			

GEORGIA cont.

County	1950 Potential Negro Voters	1952 No. of Negroes Registered
Montgomery	1613	887
Morgan	3264	738
Murray	96	28
Muscogee	20031	9987
Newton	3860	1539
Oconee	932	446
Oglethorpe	2201	229
Paulding	602	418
Peach	4270	640
Pickens	225	80
Pierce	1295	425
Pike	1915	372
Polk	2795	
Pulaski	2371	248
Putnam	2295	531
Quitman	1005	45
Rabun	71	17
Randolph	4971	473
Richmond	23694	5372
Rockdale	1322	563
Schley	1184	134
Screven	5146	729
Seminole	1631	22
Spalding	5075	1151
Stephens	1268	514
Stewart	4363	68
Sumter	7441	485
Talbot	2757	210
Taliaferro	1575	888
Tattnall	2384	1681
Taylor	2233	325
Telfair	2375	101
Terrell	5054	105
Thomas	8246	1700
Tift	3576	913
Toombs	2631	155
Towns	3	0
Treutlen	1041	18
Troup	9423	2036
Turner	2009	418
Twiggs	2593	354
Union	0	0
Upson	3822	542
Walker	1389	1136
Walton	3236	598
Ware	4979	1298
Warren	2836	200
Washington	6387	1363
Wayne	1644	1448
Webster	1313	0
Wheeler	1101	476
	192	

County	1950 Potential Negro Voters	1952 No. Of Negroes Registered
White	192	189
Whitfield	859	951
Wilcox	1841	258
Wilkes	3748	263
Wilkinson	2621	327
Worth	4837	322

~~**NOTE: NOT FOR PUBLICATION~~

KENTUCKY

County	1956 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No. of Negroes Registered	County	1956 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No. of Negroes Reg
Adair	657	550	Hopkins	2654	1800
Allen	187	125	Jackson	2	---
Anderson	313	250	Jefferson	49000	25000
Ballard	398	380	Jessamine	818	450
Barren	1505	867	Johnson	2	---
Bath		300	Kenton	3238	2100
Bell	1173	845	Knott	110	225
Boone	135	69	Knox	383	200
Bourbon	1976	1000	Larue	366	400
Boyd	720	300	Laurel	189	220
Boyle	1920	705	Lawrence	57	30
Bracken	98	363	Lee	24	15
Breathitt	56	13	Leslie	9	5
Breckinridge	463	451	Letcher	772	805
Bullitt	202	72	Lewis	25	15
Butler	111	41	Lincoln	777	515
Caldwell	763	250	Livingston	82	41
Calloway	575	350	Logan	1769	1200
Campbell	1043	829	Lyon	624	150
Carlisle	82	50	Madison	2048	1650
Carroll	187	160	Marion	1021	700
Carter	29	10	Marshall	14	4
Casey	42	15	Martin	---	---
Christian	7072	3759	Mason	1350	1000
Clark	1343	851	McCracken	4450	2036
Clay	306	87	McCreary	24	15
Clinton	40	20	McLean	78	28
Crittendon	98	81	Meade	212	159
Cumberland	408	304	Menifee	12	5
Daviess	2141	1125	Mercer	731	590
Edmonson	84	45	Metcalf	304	302
Elliot	---	---	Monroe	271	310
Estill	64	45	Montgomery	937	540
Fayette	12719	5622	Morgan	2	---
Fleming	255	260	Mohlenberg	1140	900
Floyd	427	350	Nelson	1095	700
Franklin	2022	851	Nickolas	210	168
Fulton	1578	1100	Ohio	284	180
Gallatin	64	40	Oldham	967	500
Garrard	759	525	Owen	284	100
Grant	64	40	Owsley	45	15
Graves	1293	1006	Pendelton	71	50
Grayson	62	42	Perry	990	700
Green	509	275	Pike	837	500
Greenup	115	262	Powell	93	140
Hancock	114	27	Pulaski	565	500
Hardin	2441	450	Robertson	24	15
Harlan	3620	3500	Rockcastle	13	10
Harrison	478	150	Rowan	11	4
Hart	993	500	Russell	99	40
Henderson	2562	1478	Scott	1283	900
Henry	608	400	Shelby	1573	1000
Hickman	602	450	Simpson	1042	350

KENTUCKY

County	1952 Potential Negro Voters	1952 No. of Negroes Registered	
Spencer	261	125	
Taylor	726	550	
Todd	1568	1500	
Trigg	1002	800	
Trimble	12	6	
Union	936	700	
Warren	3469	2500	
Washington	826	296	
Wayne	279	326	
Webster	1140	400	
Whitley	140	90	
Wolfe	6	5	
Woodford	1325	850	

LOUISIANNA

County	1956 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No. of Neg. Registered	County	1956 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No. Of Neg. Registered
Acadia	4500	3448	Saint Tammany	4450	1997
Allen	2470	1811	Tangipahoa	9550	3749
Ascension	4180	1926	Tensas	4500	0
Assumption	3380	1992	Terrebonne	5880	980
Avoyelles	4810	1960	Union	3160	1600
Beauregard	1940	1120	Vermillion	2390	1916
Bienville	3980	587	Vernon	1470	891
Bossier	8020	495	Washington	6520	1806
Caddo	43770	5500	Webster	6940	1769
Calcasieu	14990	6244	West Baton Rouge	3530	1017
Caldwell	2430	450	West Carroll	1420	292
Cameron	250	236	West Feliciana	4000	0
Catahoula	2070	330	Winn	2480	1430
Claiborne	5980	17			
Concordia	4560	587			
De Soto	6480	762			
East Baton Rouge	40700	8629			
East Carroll	5150	0			
East Feliciana	6390	1361			
Evangeline	3290	3262			
Franklin	5070	650			
Grant	1680	864			
Iberia	7130	4225			
Iberville	7110	2411			
Jackson	2240	1113			
Jeffe son	13690	6097			
Jefferson Davis	2890	1690			
Lafayette	8980	4549			
La Fourche	2950	1572			
La Salle	860	742			
Lincoln	5420	1166			
Livingston	1630	1162			
Madison	6100	0			
Morehouse	8590	935			
Natchitoches	8350	2954			
Orleans	124600	31880			
Ouachita	16400	5782			
Plaquemines	2840	49			
Pointe Coupee	5580	1319			
Rapides	20500	3160			
Red River	2600	1512			
Richland	5230	740			
Sabine	2190	1385			
Saint Bernard	1140	802			
Saint Charles	2350	1949			
Saint Helena	2170	1694			
Saint James	3740	2117			
Saint John	3730)	2426)			
The Baptist	)	)			
Saint Landry	16500	13050			
Saint Martin	7820	2668			
Saint Mary	4400	2583			

~~*** NOT FOR PUBLICATION~~

Mississippi

The State Times of Jackson, Mississippi surveyed a number of counties in the fall of 1956 to determine changes in Negro registration since 1952. The 1956 and 1952 registration figures listed below are those released by The State Times.

COUNTY	NON-WHITE POPULATION OVER 21 1950	NEGROES REGISTERED, 1956	NEGROES REGISTERED, 1952
Hinds	35,021	4,305	2,500
Marion	4,103	500	100
Clarke	3,849	0	0
Smith	1,400	13	1
Calhoun	1,893	2	3
Tunica	9,123	38	3
Wilkinson	4,558	55	50
Benton	1,749	35	35
Issaquena	1,790	0	0
Sharkey	4,533	1	1
Choctaw	~~1,412~~ 1482	13	18
Covington	2,354	440	311
Itawamba	470	36	12

NORTH CAROLINA

County	Potential Negro Voters	No. of Negs. Registered	County	Potential Negro Voters	No. of Neg Registered
Alamance	6897	3300	Iredell	5387	1100
Alexander	516		Jackson	732	
Alleghany	147		Johnston	6686	1200
Anson	6143	1560	Jones	2238	165
Ashe	154		Lee	3214	585
Avery	151		Lenoir	10266	2050
Beaufort	7066	200	Lincoln	1593	500
Bertie	7016	400	McDowell	796	400
Bladen	5496	600	Macon	198	
Brunswick	3322	550	Madison	105	50
Buncombe	9950	4200	Martin	6117	1500
Burke	1824		Meckenburg	29472	8075
Cabarrus	5169		Mitchell	35	
Caldwell	1574		Montgomery	1960	945
Camden	991		Moore	8900	1002
Carteret	1599		Nash	11712	2400
Caswell	4383	950	New Hanover	11675	5445
Catawba	2878	100	Northampton	8206	500
Chatham	3963		Onslow	3316	500
Cherokee	172	50	Orange	4385	
Chowan	2681		Pamlico	1549	100
Clay	44		Pasquotank	4961	
Cleveland	6652		Pender	4180	
Columbus	7897	350	Perquimans	2290	
Craven	8446		Person	4118	1400
Cumberland	14275	1200	Pitt	14057	500
Currituck	1102		Polk	799	400
Dare	241		Randolph	2273	600
Davidson	3563	2000	Richmond	6065	1252
Davie	1143	325	Robeson	22062	4000
Duplin	7336		Rockingham	6966	1700
Durham	20101	9050	Rowan	7000	2500
Edgecombe	12845	600	Rutherford	2828	
Forsyth	25027	13000	Sampson	8660	
Franklin	6643		Scotland	5791	488
Gaston	8163		Stanly	2329	
Gates	2344		Stokes	932	
Graham	113		Surry	1372	
Granville	7179		Swain	706	
Green	3690		Transylvania	385	
Guilford	22309	8000	Tyrell	939	
Halifax	14350	950	Union	4666	1095
Harnett	5924	900	Vance	7179	1000
Haywood	488	125	Wake	21902	5000
Henderson	1319		Warren	6908	800
Hertford	6210	700	Washington	2730	
Hoke	4201	385	Watauga	129	
Hyde	1207	50			

NORTH CAROLINA cont.

County	1950 Potential Negro Voters	1952 No. of Neg. Registered
Wayne	15141	1500
Wilkes	1482	
Wilson	10964	1500
Yadkin	576	200
Yancey	116	80

**NOTE: ~~NOT FOR PUBLICATION~~

SOUTH CAROLINA

County	Potential Negro Voters 1950	No. of Negroes Registered 1956	County	Potential Negro Voters	No. of Negroes Voters Reg.
Abbeyville	3678	15			
Aiken	9896	1500			
Allendale	3891	350			
Anderson	9993	3000			
Bamberg	4485	500			
Barnwell	4776	750			
Beaufort	7624	2000			
Berkeley	8125	3200			
Calhoun	4437	0			
Charleston	34111	6000			
Cherokee	3692	1000			
Chester	6788	650			
Chesterfield	6059	35000			
Clarendon	9279	1200			
Colleton	6768	1200			
Darlington	10455	9000			
Dillon	6520	4000			
Dorchester	5772	800			
Edgefield	4312	800			
Fairfield	5931	550			
Florence	16650	1600			
Georgetown	7321	2100			
Greenville	17150	9000			
Greenwood	6782	2500			
Hampton	4607	350			
Hoory	6969	2700			
Jasper	3281	1100			
Kershaw	7065	1000			
Lancaster	5111	1500			
Laurens	7313	700			
Lee	6246	1500			
Lexington	4698	150			
McCormick	2625	0			
Marion	8668	1500			
Marlboro	7460	200			
Newberry	5896	775			
Oconee	2457	2000			
Orangeburg	19158	2200			
Pickens	2364	900			
Richland	28383	12500			
Saluda	2971	500			
Spartanburg	17546	7000			
Sumter	14807	1800			
Union	4879	1500			
Williamsburg	12121	900			
York	10904	2900			

** ~~NOTE: NOT FOR PUBLICATION~~

TEXAS

Usual order is reversed

County	Potential Negro Voters	No of Neg. Registered
Anderson	6,235	1,488
Angeline	4,143	2,336
Austin	1,875	112
Bailey	150	78
Bastrop	3,261	1,103
Bell	8,968	1,264
Bexar	51,144	15,497
Bowie	16,467	3,012
Brazoria	9,900	2,765
Brazos	8,795	2,504
Burleson	3,625	835
Caldwell	1,855	481
Camp	1,866	779
Cass	4,332	947
Chambers	1,105	339
Cherokee	6,772	986
Collin	1,642	350
Colorado	3,852	1,139
Dallas	108,900	15,626
Dawson	1,330	62
Denton	2,623	231
Dewitt	1,923	349
Ector	2,243	260
Ellis	7,090	1,711
El Paso	16,276	1,433
Falls	6,190	1,934
Fannin	3,399	638
Fayette	2,762	1,244
Fort Bend	6,461	858
Freestone	4,487	1,495
Galveston	26,806	6,490
Gonzales	3,572	896
Grayson	6,845	1,117
Gregg	16,042	2,398
Grimes	4,730	767
Guadalupe	2,875	699
Hardin	3,572	827
Harris	163,604	36,654
Harrison	12,872	3,914
Hays	817	210
Henderson	2,980	1,403
Hill	1,977	738
Hopkins	1,275	374
Houston	6,685	2,023
Hunt	3,715	1,157
Jackson	1,165	557
Jasper	5,563	1,273
Jefferson	47,916	10,567
Johnson	1,335	370
Jones	581	144
Kaufman	5,333	1,274

County	No. of Neg. Registered	Potential Negro Voters
Lamar	1,721	4,972
Lavaca	674	2,941
Lee	616	1,535
Leon	1,426	2,946
Liberty	1,626	5,734
Limestone	1,894	5,192
Lubbock	2,016	17,136
McLennan	6,038	25,371
Madison	561	1,359
Marion	913	2,541
Matagorda	1,174	5,179
Midland	1,023	7,195
Milam	1,182	4,177
Montgomery	1,361	5,342
Morris	422	1,483
Nacogdoches	2,015	6,782
Navarro	1,513	6,990
Newton	1,081	3,552
Nueces	2,684	13,814
Orange	1,536	6,618
Panola	1,264	4,821
Polk	913	2,368
Petter	712	6,344
Red River	533	3,297
Robertson	1,114	3,812
Rockwall	283	695
Rusk	3,163	8,182
Sabine	361	1,576
San Augustine	601	1,263
San Jacinto	572	2,146
Shelby	615	3,924
Smith	3,713	18,698
Tarrant	8,571	71,826
Taylor	739	4,634
Travis	5,268	27,855
Trinity	1,023	1,449
Upshur	1,369	2,772
Victoria	1,898	5,451
Walker	1,406	6,924
Waller	1,063	2,908
Washington	3,750	4,606
Wharton	1,963	4,937
Wichita	1,006	9,534
Willaimson	813	3,336

*NOTE: ~~NOT FOR PUBLICATION~~

Texas has 254 counties. More than 90% of the Negro population resides in the 95 counties listed here.

VIRGINIA

County	1950 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No of Negroes Registered
Accomac	6,591	220
Albemarle	2,840	350
Alleghany	1,193	168
Amelia	1,999	555
Amherst	2,854	546
Appomattox	1,107	202
Arlington	4,248	1,185
Augusta	956	179
Bath	480	21
Bedford	2,916	1,066
Bland	79	12
Botetourt	891	---
Brunswick	5,503	705
Buchanan	6	---
Buckingham	2,493	290
Campbell	3,357	955
Carolina	3,086	406
Carroll	200	11
Charles City	1,930	704
Charlotte	2,702	284
Chesterfield	4,489	1,150
Clarke	746	255
Craig	13	---
Culpeper	1,907	452
Cumberland	1,996	340
Dickenson	163	57
Dinwiddie	7,879	395
Elizabeth City	6,973	inc. with Hampton
Essex	1,594	126
Fairfax	6,563	1,115
Fauquier	2,913	106
Floyd	236	104
Fluvanna	1,301	82
Franklin	1,750	307
Frederick	214	48
Giles	265	140
Gloucester	1,960	513
Goochland	2,515	657
Grayson	462	53
Green	357	87
Greensville	4,506	790
Halifax	8,675	521
Hanover	3,388	764
Henrico	3,253	814
Henry	3,474	400
Highland	103	11
Isle of Wight	3,957	735
James City	1,590	330
King & Queen	1,795	205
King George	987	325
King William	1,888	1,146
Lancaster	2,015	415
Lee	257	97
Loudoun	2,098	531
Louisa	2,602	361
Lunenburg	2,905	500
Madison	976	79
Mathews	1,139	150
Mecklenburg	7,655	335
Middlesex	1,568	212
Montgomery	959	465
Nansemond	8,931	1,148
Nelson	1,882	352
New Kent	1,150	240
Norfolk	8,898	1,426
Northampton	5,105	529
Northumberland	2,118	716
Nottoway	3,607	655
Orange	1,791	247
Page	313	110
Patrick	626	80
Pittsylvania	9,271	502
Powhatan	1,349	329
Prince Edward	3,468	725
Prince George	3,129	175
Prince William	5,724	
Princess Anne	1,524	1,800
Pulaski	1,165	695
Rappahannock	617	330
Richmond	1,077	235
Roanoke	2,321	539
Rockbridge	1,211	345
Rockingham	409	78
Russell	370	75
Scott	187	36
Shenandoah	231	75
Smyth	289	82
Southampton	7,972	575
Spotsylvania	1,470	335
Stafford	800	350
Surry	1,941	310
Sussex	4,034	540
Tazewell	1,667	267
Warren	663	137
Warwick	7,129	
Washington	741	148
Westmoreland	2,285	331
Wise	1,376	207
Wythe	663	169
York	1,699	607

VIRGINIA (Con't).

Independent City	Potential 1950 Negro Voters	No. of Negroes 1956 Registered
Va. Beach City		100
Warrick City		868
Alexandria City	5,129	1,640
Bristol City	704	110
Buena Vista	148	29
Charlottesville	3,079	2,110
Clifton Forge	645	171
Danville	6,517	1,448
Fredricksburg	1,224	357
Hampton	1,644	2,087
Harrisonburg	433	185
Hopewell	917	350
Lynchburg	6,506	2,506
Martinsville	2,825	352
Newport, News	11,754	3,341
Norfolk	42,028	9,328
Petersburg	9,399	1,407
Portsmouth	19,196	3,444
Radford	369	144
Richmond	48,257	11,569
Roanoke	9,420	2,408
South Norfolk	1,434	868
Staunton	1,397	285
Suffolk	3,004	476
Williamsburg	569	93
Winchester	722	91
Galax		15
Colonial H eights	7	—
Chesterfield Court House		
Fall Church	90	42
Waynesboro	564	130
Covington		310
Norton		135

~~*NOTE: NOT FOR PUBLICATION~~

June 7, 1957

MEMORANDUM

From: Research Office, Southern Regional Council

Re: Negro Voter Registration in Southern States

The attached material on Negro voter registration was compiled in the summer of 1956 from official records or from the best estimates available from reliable sources in each county. The registration figures are for 1956 except in Arkansas, where only 1955 figures were available. There have been newspaper reports that Negro registration has decreased in Mississippi, but the Southern Regional Council cannot supply accurate figures for this state. The State Times of Jackson conducted a survey of Negro registration in some Mississippi counties in 1956, and excerpts from its report are included.

We do not have registration data for Tennessee. Because of Texas' extensive geographical area, the consultant did not travel throughout the state's 254 counties. It is estimated that 90% of Texas' Negro population resides in the 95 counties included in this report. The lack of registration data for many counties in North Carolina does not mean that there were no Negroes registered; we could not secure the number of registrants or a racial breakdown of registrants in these North Carolina counties. In all other states, a zero, blank space or dash means that there were no Negro registrants known to our sources of information. If a county has no Negroes registered, the column, "Nonwhite or Negro Population Over 21 (or 18)," should be checked to determine if there are potential Negro registrants. In some counties, persons other than Negroes are part of the nonwhite total, but the majority of the nonwhite persons in the South are Negroes.

The Southern Regional Council is aware of the excess of registrants over potentially eligible persons in some counties. However, these are the figures furnished from official records or other reliable sources. Where there is an excess, it may be due, in part, to the failure to purge registration lists and/or population growth since 1950.

ALABAMA

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Autauga	4,042	73	Marengo	10,226	170
Baldwin	4,493	625	Marion	384	200
Barbour	7,158	220	Marshall	604	0
Bibb	2,801	235	Mobile	45,493	6,400
Blount	429	0	Monroe	5,914	140
Bullock	5,425	6	Montgomery	34,079	2,176
Butler	6,024	805	Morgan	4,641	0
Calhoun	8,304	1,800	Perry	6,351	300
Chambers	7,175	649	Pickens	5,547	600
Cherokee	736	250	Pike	6,866	720
Chilten	2,027	350	Randolph	2,728	1,171
Choctaw	4,822	112	Russell	10,135	560
Clarke	6,434	700	St. Clair	2,363	750
Clay	1,010	0	Shelby	3,356	375
Cleburne	380	60	Sumter	8,700	295
Coffee	3,114	600	Talladega	9,318	1,134
Colbert	4,519	921	Tallapoosa	5,083	0
Conecuh	4,435	960	Tuscaloosa	14,157	5,500
Coosa	1,828	450	Walker	3,850	2,800
Covington	3,157	175	Washington	2,835	600
Crenshaw	2,801	600	Wilcox	8,218	0
Cullman	249	81	Winston	63	0
Dale	2,454	380			
Dallas	18,145	275			
De Kalb	443	0			
Elmore	5,543	226			
Escambia	5,425	1,606			
Etowah	7,672	2,000			
Fayette	1,497	326			
Franklin	700	200			
Geneva	1,686	300			
Green	6,628	157			
Hale	7,041	130			
Henry	3,929	600			
Houston	7,211	1,700			
Jackson	1,242	0			
Jefferson	121,667	7,000			
Lamar	1,204	100			
Lauderdale	4,022	495			
Lawrence	3,010	408			
Lee	8,954	500			
Limestone	4,013	800			
Lowndes	6,512	0			
Macon	14,539	1,100			
Madison	10,333	1,500			

ARKANSAS

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1955	County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1955
Arkansas	2934	995	Lee	7572	1610
Ashley	5062	1361	Lincoln	4808	1391
Baxter	3	0	Little River	2107	782
Benton	43	5	Logan	209	183
Boone	0	0	Lonoke	3267	805
Bradley	2744	1210	Madison	9	5
Calhoun	1277	844	Marion	0	0
Carroll	13	2	Miller	5000	1840
Chicot	6924	2588	Mississippi	11975	3915
Clark	3228	1067	Monroe	4930	1031
Clay	6	0	Montgomery	24	15
Cleburne	2	0	Nevada	2578	825
Cleveland	1061	371	Newton	1	0
Columbia	5603	957	Ouachita	7020	2500
Conway	2196	1527	Perry	133	65
Craighead	6944	292	Phillips	15226	3561
Crawford	414	21	Pike	294	86
Crittenden	16495	1352	Poinsett	1754	195
Cross	4041	723	Polk	9	0
Dallas	2504	1033	Pope	426	150
Desha	6511	2518	Prarie	1192	900
Drew	3118	1038	Pulaski	28881	8364
Faulkner	1480	430	Randolph	102	57
Franklin	91	23	St. Francis	10734	2300
Fulton	5	0	Saline	974	413
Garland	3751	2520	Scott	94	45
Grant	370	231	Searcy	3	0
Greene	40	5	Sebastian	2678	661
Hempstead	5244	1452	Sevier	610	235
Hot Springs	1575	717	Sharp	5	3
Howard	1406	460	Stone	3	0
Independence	407	100	Union	8434	2570
Izard	62	27	Van Buren	59	31
Jackson	2067	1215	Washington	309	40
Jefferson	21174	5774	White	726	288
Johnson	144	18	Woodruff	3549	954
Lafayette	3004	1033	Yell	335	55
Lawrence	164	67			

FLORIDA

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Alachua	9,430	3,153	Okaloosa	1,177	606
Baker	818	361	Okeechobee	406	348
Bay	4,028	2,012	Orange	14,321	3,137
Bradford	1,408	859	Osceola	958	358
Brevard	3,544	2,160	Palm Beach	22,253	6,520
Broward	12,234	6,958	Pasco	1,713	624
Calhoun	594	231	Pinellas	12,118	3,477
Charlotte	469	268	Polk	15,492	4,989
Citrus	879	580	Putnam	5,199	1,770
Clay	1,230	1,193	St. Johns	5,053	2,051
Collier	1,402	741	St. Lucie	3,732	1,813
Columbia	3,357	1,645	Santa Rosa	928	730
Dade	42,682	19,048	Sarasota	2,896	783
De Soto	1,229	807	Seminole	6,881	2,242
Dixie	387	181	Sumter	1,703	790
Duval	55,832	27,368	Swannee	2,606	565
Escambia	14,521	6,733	Taylor	1,945	91
Flagler	872	64	Union	2,453	6
Franklin	904	521	Volusia	10,415	5,761
Gadsden	10,930	5	Wakulla	833	345
Gilchrist	203	29	Walton	1,051	954
Glades	584	262	Washington	1,056	743
Gulf	1,129	481			
Hamilton	1,983	507			
Hardee	404	375			
Hendry	1,034	135			
Hernando	869	622			
Highlands	2,054	1,243			
Hillsborough	24,941	8,856			
Holmes	326	130			
Indian River	1,764	427			
Jackson	5,843	3,430			
Jefferson	3,272	183			
Lafayette	176	0			
Lake	5,110	1,363			
Lee	3,017	1,818			
Leon	11,213	4,046			
Levy	2,107	603			
Liberty	333	1			
Madison	3,153	1,010			
Manatee	4,425	1,686			
Marion	8,387	4,324			
Martin	1,374	706			
Monroe	2,043	1,652			
Nassau	2,123	1,223			

GEORGIA

County	Nonwhite Population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Nonwhite Population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Appling	1356	1068	Echols	379	15
Atkinson	897	408	Effingham	1838	211
Bacon	558	8	Elbert	3371	986
Baker	1819	0	Emanuel	3597	1657
Baldwin	8461	2487	Evans	1340	494
Banks	229	32	Fannin	47	63
Barrow	1235	413	Fayette	1261	11
Bartow	2404	702	Floyd	6046	2730
Ben Hill	2659	918	Forsyth	25	20*
Berrien	1107	738	Franklin	970	300
Bibb	25993	5140	Fulton	99347	24441
Bleckley	1588	39	Gilmer	14	6
Brantley	451	175	Glascock	470	21
Brooks	4693	707	Glynn	6069	2185
Bryan	1269	885	Gordon	641	348
Bulloch	4755	1795	Grady	3442	527
Burke	8797	399	Greene	3548	2586
Butts	2168	1414	Gwinnett	1751	1000
Calhoun	3232	126	Habersham	381	300
Camden	2062	1556	Hall	2357	1421
Candler	1494	1174	Hancock	4094	1850
Carroll	3578	939	Haralson	721	319
Catoosa	183	129	Harris	3380	275
Charlton	772	12	Hart	1803	327*
Chatham	38272	9720	Heard	867	388
Chattahoochee	1510	8	Henry	3657	1529
Chattooga	1030	1020	Houston	3835	443
Cherokee	473	320	Irwin	2171	800
Clarke	6249	2866	Jackson	1571	436
Clay	2148	97	Jasper	2327	570
Clayton	2070	275	Jeff Davis	1034	42*
Clinch	1222	422	Jefferson	5588	237
Cobb	3935	1948	Jenkins	2899	891
Coffee	3133	980	Johnson	1717	416
Colquitt	4409	1047	Jones	2223	536
Columbia	2451	487	Lamar	2230	673
Cook	1861	750	Lanier	926	473
Coweta	5788	1348	Laurens	7298	3537
Crawford	1806	125	Lee	2456	29
Crisp	4390	835	Liberty	2825	2453
Dade	72	45	Lincoln	1617	3
Dawson	0	0	Long	695	1061
Decatur	6231	895	Lowndes	8350	2767
Dekalb	8694	2650	Lumpkin	82	73
Dodge	2863	2068	Macon	2914	141
Dooly	3887	1008	Madison	2056	126
Dougherty	11773	2130	Marion	4821	54
Douglas	1020	730	McDuffie	1158	356
Early	4790	226	McIntosh	1879	1197
			Meriwether	5727	1207
			Miller	1372	6

County	Nonwhite Population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Mitchell	5955	345
Monroe	2885	737
Montgomery	1613	887
Morgan	3264	738*
Murray	96	28
Muscogee	20031	9987
Newton	3860	1539*
Oconee	932	446
Oglethorpe	2201	229
Paulding	602	418
Peach	4270	640
Pickens	255	80
Pierce	1295	425
Pike	1915	372
Polk	2795	1390@
Pulaski	2371	248
Putnam	2295	531
Quitman	1005	45**
Rabun	71	17
Randolph	4971	473
Richmond	23694	5372
Rockdale	1322	563
Schley	1184	134
Screven	5146	729
Seminole	1631	22
Spalding	5075	1151***
Stephens	1268	514
Stewart	3463	68*
Sumter	7441	485
Talbot	2757	210
Taliaferro	1575	888
Tattnall	2384	1681
Taylor	2233	325
Telfair	2375	101***
Terrell	5054	105
Thomas	8246	1700
Tift	3576	913
Toombs	2631	155
Towns	3	0
Treutlen	1041	18
Troup	9423	2036
Turner	2009	418
Twiggs	2593	354
Union	0	0
Upson	3822	542
Walker	1389	1136
Walton	3236	598
Ware	4979	1998
Warren	2836	200
Washington	6387	1363
Wayne	1644	1448
Webster	1313	0
Wheeler	1101	476
White	192	189
Whitfield	859	951
Wilcox	1841	258
Wilkes	3748	263
Wilkinson	2621	327
Worth	4837	322

*1954 data or 1956 totals divided on a basis of 1954 Negro-white ratio (some counties do not report racial breakdown for 1956).

**1952 Negro-white ratio applied to 1956 total.

*** 1954 data

@Estimate. Polk did not report a racial breakdown.

KENTUCKY

County	Estimated Negro Population over 18 1956	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Estimated Negro Population over 18 1956	Negroes Registered 1956
Adair	657	550	Hancock	114	27
Allen	187	125	Hardin	2,441	450
Anderson	313	250	Harlan	3,620	3,500
Ballard	398	380	Harrison	478	150
Barren	1,505	867	Hart	993	500
Bath	368	300	Henderson	2,562	1,478
Bell	1,173	845	Henry	608	400
Boone	135	69	Hickman	602	450
Bourbon	1,976	1,000	Hopkins	2,654	1,800
Boyd	720	300	Jackson	2	0
Boyle	1,920	705	Jefferson	49,000	25,000
Bracken	98	363	Jessamine	818	450
Breathitt	56	13	Johnson	2	0
Breckinridge	463	451	Kenton	3,238	2,100
Bullitt	202	72	Knott	110	225
Butler	111	41	Knox	383	200
Caldwell	763	250	Larue	366	400
Calloway	575	350	Laurel	189	220
Campbell	1,043	829	Lawrence	57	30
Carlisle	82	50	Lee	24	15
Carroll	187	160	Leslie	9	5
Carter	29	10	Letcher	772	805
Casey	42	15	Lewis	25	15
Christian	7,072	3,759	Lincoln	777	515
Clark	1,343	851	Livingston	82	41
Clay	306	87	Logan	1,769	1,200
Clinton	40	20	Lyon	624	150
Crittenden	98	81	Madison	2,048	1,650
Cumberland	408	304	Magoffin	10	3
Daviess	2,141	1,125	Marion	1,021	700
Edmonson	84	45	Marshall	14	4
Elliott	0	0	Martin	0	0
Estill	64	45	Mason	1,350	1,000
Fayette	12,719	5,622	McCracken	4,451	2,036
Fleming	255	260	McCreary	24	15
Floyd	427	350	McLean	78	28
Franklin	2,022	851	Meade	212	159
Fulton	1,578	1,100	Menifee	12	5
Gallatin	64	40	Mercer	731	590
Garrard	759	525	Metcalf	304	302
Grant	64	40	Monroe	271	310
Graves	1,293	1,006	Montgomery	937	540
Grayson	62	42	Morgan	2	0
Green	509	275	Mohlenberg	1,140	900
Greenup	115	262	Nelson	1,095	700

KENTUCKY

County	Estimated Negro Population over 18 1956	Negroes Registered 1956
Nickolas	210	168
Ohio	284	180
Oldham	967	500
Owen	284	100
Owsley	45	15
Pendelton	71	50
Perry	990	700
Pike	837	500
Powell	93	140
Pulaski	565	500
Robertson	24	15
Rockcastle	13	10
Rowan	11	4
Russell	99	40
Scott	1,283	900
Shelby	1,573	1,000
Simpson	1,042	350
Spencer	261	125
Taylor	726	550
Todd	1,568	1,500
Trigg	1,002	800
Trimble	12	6
Union	936	700
Warren	3,469	2,500
Washington	826	296
Wayne	279	326
Webster	1,140	400
Whitley	140	90
Wolfe	6	5
Woodford	1,325	850

LOUISIANA

Parish	Estimated Negro population over 21 1956	Negroes Registered 1956	Parish	Estimated Negro Population over 21 1956	Negroes Registered 1956
Acadia	4500	3448	Saint Tammany	4450	1997
Allen	2470	1811	Tangipahoa	9550	3749
Ascension	4180	1926	Tensas	4500	0
Assumption	3380	1992	Terrebonne	5880	980
Avoyelles	4810	1960	Union	3160	1600
Beauregard	1940	1120	Vermillion	2390	1916
Bienville	3980	587	Vernon	1470	891
Bossier	8020	495	Washington	6520	1806
Caddo	43770	5500	Webster	6940	1769
Calcasieu	14990	6244	W. Baton Rouge	3530	1017
Caldwell	1430	450	W. Carroll	1420	292
Cameron	250	236	W. Feliciana	4000	0
Catahoula	2070	330	Winn	2480	1430
Claiborne	5980	17			
Concordia	4560	587			
DeSoto	6480	762			
E. Baton Rouge	40700	8629			
E. Carroll	5150	0			
East Feliciana	6390	1361			
Evangeline	3290	3262			
Franklin	5070	650			
Grant	1680	864			
Iberia	7130	4225			
Iberville	7110	2411			
Jackson	2240	1113			
Jefferson	13690	6097			
Jefferson Davis	2890	1690			
Lafayette	8980	4549			
Lafourche	2950	1572			
LaSalle	860	742			
Lincoln	5420	1166			
Livingston	1630	1162			
Madison	6100	0			
Morehouse	8590	935			
Natchitoches	8350	2954			
Orleans	124600	31880			
Ouachita	16400	5782			
Plaquemines	2840	49			
Pointe Coupee	5580	1319			
Rapides	20500	3160			
Red River	2600	1512			
Richland	5230	740			
Sabine	2190	1385			
Saint Bernard	1140	802			
Saint Charles	2350	1949			
Saint Helena	2170	1694			
Saint James	3740	2117			
Saint John, The Baptist	3730	2426			
Saint Landry	16500	13050			
Saint Martin	4400	2583			
Saint Mary	7820	2668			

Mississippi

The State Times of Jackson, Mississippi surveyed a number of counties in the fall of 1956 to determine changes in Negro registration since 1952. The 1956 and 1952 registration figures below are those released by The State Times.

COUNTY	NON-WHITE POPULATION OVER 21 1950	NEGROES REGISTERED 1956	NEGROES REGISTERED 1952
Benton	1,749	35	35
Calhoun	1,893	2	3
Choctaw	1,482	13	18
Clarke	3,849	0	0
Covington	2,354	440	311
Hinds	35,021	4,305	2,500
Issaquena	1,790	0	0
Itawamba	470	36	12
Marion	4,103	500	100
Sharkey	4,533	1	1
Smith	1,400	13	1
Tunica	9,123	38	3
Wilkinson	4,558	55	50

NORTH CAROLINA

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Alamance	6,897	3,300	Hertford	6,210	700
Alexander	516		Hoke	4,201	385
Alleghany	147		Hyde	1,207	50
Anson	6,143	1,560	Iredell	5,387	1,100
Ashe	154		Jackson	732	
Avery	151		Johnston	6,686	1,200
Beaufort	7,066	200	Jones	2,238	165
Bertie	7,016	400	Lee	3,214	585
Bladen	5,496	600	Lenoir	10,266	2,500
Brunswick	3,322	550	Lincoln	1,593	500
Buncombe	9,950	4,200	McDowell	796	400
Burke	1,824		Macon	198	
Cabarrus	5,169		Madison	105	50
Caldwell	1,574		Martin	6,117	1,500
Camden	991		Mecklenburg	29,472	8,750
Carteret	1,599		Mitchell	35	
Caswell	4,383	950	Montgomery	1,960	945
Catawba	2,878	1,000	Moore	8,900	1,002
Chatham	3,963		Nash	11,712	2,400
Cherokee	172	50	New Hanover	11,675	5,445
Chowan	2,681		Northampton	8,206	500
Clay	44		Onslow	3,316	500
Cleveland	6,652		Orange	4,385	
Columbus	7,897	350	Pamlico	1,549	100
Craven	8,446		Pasquotank	4,961	
Cumberland	14,275	1,200	Pender	4,180	
Currituck	1,102		Perquimans	2,290	
Dare	241		Person	4,118	1,400
Davidson	3,563	2,000	Pitt	14,057	500
Davie	1,143	325	Polk	799	400
Duplin	7,336		Randolph	2,273	600
Durham	20,101	9,500	Richmond	6,065	1,525
Edgecombe	12,845	600	Robeson	22,062	4,000
Forsyth	25,027	13,000	Rockingham	6,966	1,700
Franklin	6,643		Rowan	7,080	2,500
Gaston	8,163		Rutherford	2,828	
Gates	2,344		Sampson	8,660	
Graham	113		Scotland	5,791	488
Granville	7,179		Stanly	2,329	
Green	3,690		Stokes	932	
Guilford	22,309	8,000	Surry	1,372	
Halifax	14,350	950	Swain	706	
Harnett	5,924	900	Transylvania	385	
Haywood	488	125	Tyrrell	939	
Henderson	1,319		Union	4,666	1,095

NORTH CAROLINA

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Vance	7,179	1,000
Wake	21,902	5,000
Warren	6,908	800
Washington	2,730	
Watauga	129	
Wayne	15,141	1,500
Wilkes	1,482	
Wilson	10,964	1,500
Yadkin	576	200
Yancey	116	80

SOUTH CAROLINA

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes registered 1956
Abbeyville	3,678	15
Aiken	9,896	1,500
Allendale	3,891	350
Anderson	9,993	3,000
Bamberg	4,485	500
Barnwell	4,776	750
Beaufort	7,624	2,000
Berkeley	8,125	3,200
Calhoun	4,437	0
Charleston	34,111	6,000
Cherokee	3,692	1,000
Chester	6,788	650
Chesterfield	6,059	3,500
Clarendon	9,279	1,200
Colleton	6,768	1,200
Darlington	10,455	9,000
Dillon	6,520	4,000
Dorchester	5,772	800
Edgefield	4,312	800
Fairfield	5,931	550
Florence	16,650	1,600
Georgetown	7,321	2,100
Greenville	17,150	9,000
Greenwood	6,782	2,500
Hampton	4,607	350
Horry	6,969	2,700
Jasper	3,281	1,100
Kershaw	7,065	1,000
Lancaster	5,111	1,500
Laurens	7,313	700
Lee	6,246	1,500
Lexington	4,698	150
McCormick	2,625	0
Marion	8,668	1,500
Marlboro	7,460	1,200
Newberry	5,896	775
Oconee	2,457	2,000
Orangeburg	19,158	2,200
Pickens	2,364	900
Richland	28,383	12,500
Saluda	2,971	500
Spartanburg	17,546	7,000
Sumter	14,807	1,800
Union	4,879	1,500
Williamsburg	12,121	900
York	10,904	2,900

TEXAS

County	Nonwhite population Over 21 1956	Negroes Registered 1956
Anderson	6,235	1,488
Angelina	4,143	2,336
Austin	1,875	112
Bailey	150	78
Bastrop	3,261	1,103
Bell	8,968	1,264
Bexar	51,144	15,497
Bowie	16,467	3,012
Brazoria	9,900	2,765
Brazos	8,795	2,504
Burleson	3,625	835
Caldwell	1,855	481
Camp	1,866	779
Cass	4,332	947
Chambers	1,105	339
Cherokee	6,772	986
Collin	1,624	350
Colorado	3,852	1,139
Dallas	108,900	15,626
Dawson	1,330	62
Denton	2,623	231
De Witt	1,923	349
Ector	2,243	260
Ellis	7,090	1,711
El Paso	16,276	1,433
Falls	6,190	1,934
Fannin	3,399	638
Fayette	2,762	1,244
Fort Bend	6,461	858
Freestone	4,487	1,495
Galveston	26,806	6,490
Gonzales	3,572	896
Grayson	6,845	1,117
Gregg	16,042	2,398
Grimes	4,730	767
Guadalupe	2,875	699
Hardin	3,572	827
Harris	163,604	36,654
Harrison	12,872	3,914
Hays	817	210
Henderson	2,980	1,403
Hill	1,977	738
Hopkins	1,275	374
Houston	6,685	2,023
Hunt	3,715	1,157
Jackson	1,165	557
Jasper	5,563	1,273
Jefferson	47,916	10,567
Johnson	1,335	370
Jones	581	144
Kaufman	5,333	1,274
Lamar	4,972	1,721
Lavaca	2,941	674
Lee	1,535	616
Leon	2,946	1,426
Liberty	5,734	1,626
Limestone	5,192	1,894
Lubbock	17,136	2,016
McLennan	25,371	6,038
Madison	1,359	561
Marion	2,541	913
Matagorda	5,179	1,174
Midland	7,195	1,023
Milam	4,177	1,182
Montgomery	5,342	1,361
Morris	1,483	422
Nacogdoches	6,782	2,015
Navarro	6,990	1,513
Newton	3,552	1,081
Nueces	13,814	2,684
Orange	6,618	1,536
Panola	4,821	1,264
Polk	2,368	913
Potter	6,344	712
Red River	3,297	533
Robertson	3,812	1,114
Rockwall	695	283
Rusk	8,182	3,163
Sabine	1,576	361
San Augustine	1,263	601
San Jacinto	2,146	572
Shelby	3,924	615
Smith	18,698	3,713
Tarrant	71,826	8,571
Taylor	4,634	739
Travis	27,855	5,268
Trinity	1,449	1,023
Upshur	2,772	1,369
Victoria	5,451	1,898
Walker	6,924	1,406
Waller	2,908	1,063
Washington	4,606	3,750
Wharton	4,937	1,963
Wichita	9,514	1,006
Williamson	3,336	813

VIRGINIA

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes registered 1956	County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes registered 1956
Accomac	6,591	220	King George	987	325
Albemarle	2,840	350	King William	1,888	260
Alleghany	1,193	168	Lancaster	2,015	415
Amelia	1,999	555	Lee	257	97
Amherst	2,854	546	Loudoun	2,098	531
Appomattox	1,107	202	Louisa	2,602	361
Arlington	4,248	1,185	Lunenburg	2,905	500
Augusta	956	179	Madison	976	79
Bath	480	21	Mathews	1,139	150
Bedford	2,916	1,066	Mecklenburg	7,655	335
Bland	79	12	Middlesex	1,568	212
Botetourt	891	0	Montgomery	959	465
Brunswick	5,503	705	Nansemond	8,931	1,148
Buchanan	6	0	Nelson	1,882	352
Buckingham	2,493	290	New Kent	1,150	240
Campbell	3,357	955	Norfolk	8,898	1,426
Caroline	3,086	406	Northampton	5,105	529
Carroll	200	11	Northumberland	2,118	716
Charles City	1,930	704	Nottoway	3,607	655
Charlotte	2,702	284	Orange	1,791	247
Chesterfield	4,489	1,150	Page	313	110
Clarke	746	255	Patrick	626	80
Craig	13	0	Pittsylvania	9,271	502
Culpepper	1,907	452	Powhatan	1,349	329
Cumberland	1,996	340	Prince Edward	3,468	725
Dickenson	163	57	Prince George	3,129	175
Dinwiddie	7,879	395	Prince William	1,524	---
Elizabeth City	6,973	inc. with Hampton	Princess Anne	5,724	1,414
Essex	1,594	126	Pulaski	1,165	695
Fairfax	6,563	1,115	Rappahannock	617	330
Fauquier	2,913	106	Richmond	1,077	235
Floyd	236	104	Roanoke	2,321	539
Fluvanna	1,301	82	Rockbridge	1,211	345
Franklin	1,750	307	Rockingham	409	78
Frederick	214	48	Russell	370	75
Giles	265	140	Scott	187	36
Gloucester	1,960	513	Shenandoah	231	75
Goochland	2,515	657	Smyth	289	82
Grayson	462	53	Southampton	7,972	575
Greene	357	87	Spotsylvania	1,470	335
Greensville	4,506	790	Stafford	800	350
Halifax	8,675	521	Surry	1,941	310
Hanover	3,388	764	Sussex	4,034	540
Henrico	3,253	814	Tazewell	1,667	267
Henry	3,474	400	Warren	663	137
Highland	103	11	Washington	741	148
Isle of Wight	3,957	735	Westmoreland	2,285	331
James City	1,590	330	Wise	1,376	207
King & Queen	1,795	205	Wythe	663	169
			York	1,699	607

Virginia - continued

Independent City	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes registered 1956
Alexandria City	5,129	1,640
Bristol City	704	110
Buena Vista	148	29
Charlottesville	3,079	1,054
Clifton Forge	645	171
Colonial Heights	7	0
Covington		310
Danville	6,517	1,448
Falls Church	90	42
Fredricksburg	1,224	357
Galax		15
Hampton	8,617	2,087
Harrisonburg	433	185
Hopewell	917	350
Lynchburg	6,506	2,506
Martinsville	2,825	352
Newport News	11,754	3,341
Norfolk	42,028	9,328
Norton		135
Petersburg	9,399	1,407
Portsmouth	19,196	3,444
Radford	369	144
Richmond	48,257	11,569
Roanoke	9,420	2,408
South Norfolk	1,434	868
Staunton	1,397	285
Suffolk	3,004	476
Virginia Beach City		100
Warrick City	7,129	868
Waynesboro	564	130
Williamsburg	569	93
Winchester	722	91

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Copy in "Criticisms - James C. Davis" file

June 14, 1957

Hon. Emanuel Celler
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Celler:

We felt that you would like to have a copy of the enclosed letter to Representative James C. Davis protesting his recent attack on the Southern Regional Council. Also enclosed are copies of editorials from the Atlanta Constitution and the Chattanooga Times commenting favorably on the Council and its work.

Please feel free to make any use you may wish of the enclosed letter and editorials.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:hs

encs

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Copy in Criticisms - James C. Davis file

June 14, 1957

Mr. Howard Schuman
Office of Senator Paul Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Schuman:

I thought you and Senator Douglas should have the enclosed copy of my letter to Representative James C. Davis protesting his attack on the Southern Regional Council. Also enclosed are copies of editorials from the Atlanta Constitution and the Chattanooga Times commenting favorably on the Council and its work.

I have also sent copies of the enclosed to Representative Celler.

If you should find yourselves in need of documentation on the Council's origins or activities, do let me know.

With kindest regards to you and the Senator,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/hs

encs.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Voting Survey; distribution of for second re criticism - James C. Davis

June 14, 1957

Hon. James C. Davis
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Davis:

In this morning's Atlanta Constitution, the following paragraphs appear:

> The Stone Mountain congressman attacked statistics on Negro voting in the South as prepared by the Southern Regional Council and quoted to the House by Rep. Celler (D-NY).
>
> Davis, in his speech, linked the Southern Regional Council with an earlier Southern Conference for Human Welfare, some of whose members he said had long records of connection with subversive front organizations.
>
> "I say that is not a respectable source of information for us to pass on in connection with this bill," he asserted.

While we have not seen the full text of your remarks, the views attributed to you above are wholly unjustified. The Southern Regional Council is the direct successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which was founded in 1919, and has never had any connection with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare or its successor, the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Furthermore, any suggestion that the Southern Regional Council is or has ever been sympathetic to the Communist movement is utterly false. Since it was founded, the Southern Regional Council has been squarely opposed to Communism and all other totalitarian philosophies. Untrue allegations to the contrary do a grave disservice to some of the South's finest citizens, and give comfort only to the Communists themselves.

The Southern Regional Council's findings on Negro voter registration in the South stand on their own merits. The study was conducted last summer as part of the Council's continuing survey of progress in this field, and the results were supplied to the Library of Congress at its request.

Wherever available, official sources were drawn on. You may be interested to know that the Georgia registration figures cited in our report were those on file at the office of the Georgia Secretary of State as of late summer 1956.

Very truly yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/hs

cc: Rep. Emanuel Celler

June 17, 1957

Mr. Howard Schuman
Office of Senator Paul Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Schuman:

We thought you might be interested in the enclosed article from the Palmetto Leader.

Substantially the same article appeared in the Columbia State on June 12, 1957 in case you would like to verify the article with another newspaper.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf

Encl. - 1 newspaper clipping

June 25, 1957

Mr. Howard Schuman
Office of Senator Paul Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Schuman:

Here is another clipping for your file.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl. 1 newspaper clipping

HCF -

Attached list shows distribution of county by county voting figures to all state affiliates with the exception of Ga. + Tenn. (Please return for research files.)

MM

July 3, 1957

The report of Negro Voter Registration has been mailed to the following persons:

Mr. Loren P. Beth

Ky — Mr. Hugh A Brim

Honorable Charles C. Diggs, Jr.

Mr. James Dombrowski

Mr. Thomas I. Emerson

Ark — Mr. Nat Griswold

Ala — Mr. Robert E. Hughes

NC — Mr. Harry S. Jones

Mr. V. O. Key, Jr.

Tex — Mr. Edwin G. Kloppe

Mr. Samuel Lubell

Va — Mr. John H. Marion

SC — Mr. James T. McCain

Mr. Henry Moon

Mr. Paul H. Sanders

Mr. Donald S. Strong

Mr. Charles Thompson

La — Mr. Milton C. Vigo

Mr. William B. Welsh

Fla — Mr. William K. Williams

July 3, 1957

Mr. Howard Schuman
Office of Senator Paul Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Schuman:

Here is another clipping for your file.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

CO file

Survey Voting of distribution

July 3, 1957

The report of Negro Voter Registration has been mailed to the following persons:

Mr. Loren P. Beth

Mr. Hugh A Brim

Honorable Charles C. Diggs, Jr.

Mr. James Dombrowski

Mr. Thomas I. Emerson

Mr. Nat Griswold

Mr. Robert E. Hughes

Mr. Harry S. Jones

Mr. V. O. Key, Jr.

Mr. Edwin G. Kloppe

Mr. Samuel Lubell

Mr. John H. Marion

Mr. James T. McCain

Mr. Henry Moon

Mr. Paul H. Sanders

Mr. Donald S. Strong

Mr. Charles Thompson

Mr. Milton C. Vigo

Mr. William B. Welsh

Mr. William K. Williams

Mr David Byrd - Sunday Dept, N. Y. Times

Mr. Richard Scammon

Senator Douglas

Survey of Attorney distrib. of

July 10, 1957

Mr. Howard Schuman
Office of Senator Paul Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Schuman:

You may recall that, when our voting figures were introduced in the House by Representative Celler, Representative James C. Davis cited an article in the Firing Line to attack the Southern Regional Council's reputability. Since that time, we have prepared the enclosed analysis of the Firing Line charges. I thought you should have a copy, as well as our current list of board members and the brief history of SRC, also enclosed.

With good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 1 Firing Line Analysis
1 List of SRC Board Members
1 History of SRC

FILE COPY

July 10, 1957

Mr. David Bird
Sunday Department
NEW YORK TIMES
Times Bldg.
229 W. 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bird:

I am enclosing a copy of the voting report released by the Southern Regional Council and a supplementary sheet showing the estimated registration of Negroes in 1947, 1952 and 1956. We did not secure estimates of Negro registration in Kentucky in 1947 and 1952.

I am sorry that we do not have reliable enough estimates of white registration in 1956 to submit to you.

Sincerely,

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant

The voting report referred to is the June 7th Memo, "Negro Voter Registration in Southern States."

State	Negroes Registered 1947	Negroes Registered 1952	No. of Non-Whites 21 and over 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	% of Eligible Negroes Registered 1956
Alabama	6,000	25,224	516,245	52,000	10.1
Arkansas	47,000	61,413	232,191	69,677	30.0
Florida	49,000	120,900	366,797	149,786	40.8
Georgia	125,000	144,835	622,703	163,825	26.3
Kentucky			130,711	86,973	
Louisiana	10,000	120,000	481,284	161,410	31.5
Mississippi	5,000	20,000	497,354		
North Carolina	75,000	100,000	549,741	135,000	24.7
South Carolina	50,000	80,000	390,024	100,790	25.8
Tennessee	80,000	85,000	318,790	90,000	28.2
Texas	100,000	181,916	582,944	214,000	36.7
Virginia	48,000	69,326	422,670	83,098	20.0

This sheet was sent to Mr. Bird.

HBl

No. of Whites 21 and over 1950	Estimated Number of Whites Registered 1956	% of Eligible Whites Registered 1956	Potential Negro Voters As % of All Potential Voters	Negro Registrants As % of Total Registrants
1,231,514	818,500	66.5	30.0	6.0
880,675	510,968	58.2	21.0	12.0
1,456,716	1,456,955	100.0	20.0	9.0
1,558,566	1,168,010	74.9	29.0	12.0
1,612,267	1,447,427			
1,105,861	735,088	66.5	30.0	18.0
710,669			41.0	
1,761,330	1,865,000	105.9	24.0	7.0
760,843	544,275	71.5	34.0	16.0
1,659,758	520,000	31.9	16.0	15.0
4,154,281			12.0	
1,602,669	792,329	43.2	21.0	9.0

This was not sent because we did not feel the estimates of white registration were reliable enough. However, Mr. Bird phoned on July 11, 1957 and I gave him much of this material after he assured me that SRC would not be listed as its source.

FBI

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE
DEAN OF STUDENTS

July 16, 1957

Miss Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Irving:

Thank you kindly for your letter of July 9 concerning the corrections which should be made in the table dealing with Negroes who were registered in Alabama. The corrections have been made on the galley proof which Dr. Thompson sent to me, and which I am sending back to him today.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion
Dean of Students

CGG:as

VIA AIR MAIL

July 19, 1957

Mr. Newton Aiken, Editor
The Evening Sun
Baltimore 3, Maryland

Dear Mr. Aiken:

Your letter inquiring about Negro registration figures is most timely.

I am enclosing figures gathered by the Southern Regional Council in a survey extending through the summer and fall of 1956. Also enclosed is a narrative report on the status of Negro suffrage in the South. This latter report is just completed and is being sent to the press and interested individuals only today.

I hope that these materials will be helpful to you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures -

July 23, 1957

Mr. Maxwell M. Rabb
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Max:

In view of the current lively interest in the right to vote, I thought you would like to see a copy of this latest report by the Southern Regional Council on "The Negro Voter in the South." It was released to the press just the other day.

Although I know you won't have time to read all of this material, I am also enclosing a copy of our semi-annual report on program activities. If you have time to scan it, I believe you will find it of interest.

I hope we will have another opportunity soon to discuss the many matters in which we are mutually interested. Meanwhile, my best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming

HCF/mf
Enclosures - "The Negro Voter"
Semi-Annual Report of SRC

Mr. Maxwell M. Rabb
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Max:

In view of the current lively interest in the right to vote, I thought you would like to see a copy of this latest report by the Southern Regional Council on "The Negro Voter in the South." It was released to the press just the other day.

Although I know you won't have time to read all of this material, I am also enclosing a copy of our semi-annual report on program activities. If you have time to scan it, I believe you will find it of interest.

I hope we will have another opportunity soon to discuss the many matters in which we are mutually interested. Meanwhile, my best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

HCF

enc.
"The Negro Voter"
Semi-Annual Report

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

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LT = International Letter Telegram

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AA15 NSB267 (30).

NS PBA098 8 COLLECT WUX PINE BLUFF ARK 25 1157AMC=

HAROLD C FLEMING=SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC

143 ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE=ATLA=

1957 JUL 25 PM 1 41

YOU MAY IDENTIFY ME AS STATE CONSULTANT=

TILMAN C COTHRAN=

RECEIVED JUL 25 1957

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
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S

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

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FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
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			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

JULY 25, 1957

DR. TILMAN COTHRAN, CHRM.
DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY
A. M. & N. COLLEGE
PINE BLUFF, ARKANSAS

SUMMARY OF VOTING SURVEY FINDINGS READY FOR PRINTED PUBLICATION. PLEASE ADVISE COLLECT WIRE WHETHER YOU MAY BE IDENTIFIED AS STATE CONSULTANT AND IF OTHERS SHOULD BE CREDITED. INTRODUCTION WILL MAKE CLEAR SRC SOLELY RESPONSIBLE FOR PREPARATION OF OVERALL SUMMARY.

HAROLD C. FLEMING
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

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7 JUL 25 AM (417).

AA75 NSB156

NS HSA319 19 COLLECT=FAX HOUSTON TEX 25 1036AMC=

HAROLD C FLEMING, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

63 AUBURN AVE NORTH EAST ATLA=

I MAY BE IDENTIFIED AS STATE CONSULTANT OTHERS MERELY FIELD WORKERS AND TOO NUMEROUS TO NAME APPRECIATE COPY=

HENRY ALLEN BULLOCK CHAIRMAN OF GRADUATE RESEARCH=

RECEIVED JUL 25 1957

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

DOMESTIC SERVICE

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DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

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			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

JULY 25, 1957

DR. HENRY A. BULLOCK
TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
HOUSTON 4, TEXAS

SUMMARY OF VOTING SURVEY FINDINGS READY FOR PRINTED PUBLICATION.

PLEASE ADVISE COLLECT WIRE WHETHER YOU MAY BE IDENTIFIED AS STATE CONSULTANT AND IF OTHERS SHOULD BE CREDITED. INTRODUCTION WILL MAKE CLEAR SRC SOLELY RESPONSIBLE FOR PREPARATION OF OVERALL SUMMARY.

HAROLD C. FLEMING
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

July 25, 1957

Mr. Frank McCulloch
Office of Senator Paul Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McCulloch:

Here are the two copies of our narrative report on Negro suffrage in the South. I trust you were able to secure it from The Library of Congress.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - "The Negro Voter"

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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LT=International Letter Telegram

1201

1957 JUL 25 AM 10 29

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RN ATLANTA

A LLX15 (CT CZA161) 21 COLLECT=COLUMBUS OHIO 26 926AME=

HAROLD C FLEMING, SOUTHERN REG COUNCIL=

AN ANS JULY 25 RN ATLA=

YOU MAY IDENTIFY ME AS STATE CONSULTANT. ASSISTANT PROFESSOR KENNETH N VINES TULANE UNIVERSITY SHOULD ALSO RECEIVE CREDIT=

DR JOHN H FENTON DEPT OF FINANCE COLUMBUS OHIO=

State Office Bldg
Capitol 1-1265
ext. 763

Chgd

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

DOMESTIC SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fullrate telegram
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DAY LETTER
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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

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FULL RATE
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			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

JULY 25, 1957

DR. JOHN H. FENTON
TULANE UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS, LOUSISIANA

SUMMARY OF VOTING SURVEY FINDINGS READY FOR PRINTED PUBLICATION. PLEASE ADVISE COLLECT WIRE WHETHER YOU MAY BE IDENTIFIED AS STATE CONSULTANT AND IF OTHERS SHOULD BE CREDITED. INTRODUCTION WILL MAKE CLEAR SRC SOLELY RESPONSIBLE FOR PREPARATION OF OVERALL SUMMARY.

HAROLD.C. FLEMING
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
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JUL 27 AM 1 45 VL 50

AA23

A LLR181 PD=PETERSBURG VIR 27 1057AME=

HARRY C FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIR=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC RM 432

63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST RN ATLA=

USE MY NAME AS CHIEF CONSULTANT, AND THAT OF DR W E GARNETT, AND FORMER PROFESSOR GEO W WOODY JR AS FIELD WORKERS PROVIDED IT DOES NOT COMMIT US TO APPROVAL OF A REPORT WE HAVE NOT SEEN=

H W ROBERTS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

DOMESTIC SERVICE

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FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

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FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

DR. HARRY W. ROBERTS
DEPT OF SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE
PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA

JULY 25, 1957

SUMMARY OF VOTING SURVEY FINDINGS READY FOR PRINTED PUBLICATION. PLEASE ADVISE COLLECT WIRE WHETHER YOU MAY BE IDENTIFIED AS STATE CONSULTANT AND IF OTHERS SHOULD BE CREDITED. INTRODUCTION WILL MAKE CLEAR SRC SOLELY RESPONSIBLE FOR PREPARATION OF OVERALL SUMMARY.

HAROLD C. FLEMING
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

July 30, 1957

Mr. Theodore Bernstein
Assistant Managing Editor
New York Times
279 West 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bernstein:

John Popham suggested that you would be interested in the enclosed report on discrimination against would-be Negro voters in the South. It has had a good deal of public notice in the last few days.

This represents only part of the findings of a South-wide survey carried out by the Southern Regional Council last summer and fall. Other parts of the survey dealt at greater length with the less spectacular problems that interfere with full exercise of the ballot by Negroes in the South. Discrimination by registrars and other local officials is only one of the obstacles, and it is found mainly in the rural counties known as the "Black Belt." Social and economic factors, apathy and lack of motivation are also serious problems in many of the cities and less prejudiced areas of the South. We will soon be publishing a complete report of our findings, and I will be glad to see that you get a copy at that time.

Meanwhile, let us know at any time if we can supply information on racial matters in the South that would be of help to you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

July 31, 1957

Mr. Frank McCulloch
Office of Senator Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McCulloch:

We are interested in obtaining a quantity of reprints of the portion of the Congressional Record of July 26, 1957, concerning the Southern Regional Council. Could you tell me the easiest and most inexpensive way of going about obtaining such material?

We would appreciate any aid you may extend us in this matter.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Survey Voting Distrib. of

August 1, 1957

Mr. S. L. Gentry
228 Church Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Gentry:

Since Mr. Fleming is on vacation, your letter of July 30, has been referred to me. We are mailing you, under separate cover, a copy of a recent survey on The Negro Voter In The South. We are expecting to publish this in full detail in a later issue of New South, our monthly publication. This is the only form of mailing list we have and subscription to the magazine is two dollars ($2.00) per year. I am enclosing a sample copy for your perusal. Also enclosed is some informational material concerning the Council.

If we can be of additional help please do not hesitate to write.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lcc
Encls. (3)

RECEIVED AUG 1 1957

RECE

'57

228 Church St
Sumter, S.C.
July 30, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
The Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I noticed in the Congressional Record some days ago that Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois quoted some figures on voting in the Southern States which he said had been supplied by your organization as a result of a survey you had recently completed.

If the result of this survey is in a form that you can furnish me with a copy without inconvenience, I shall appreciate it very much if you will let me have a copy. If you maintain a mailing list of those to whom you furnish such information, I shall appreciate it if you will include my name on such list.

Thanking you, I am

Sincerely yours,

S. L. Gentry

S. L. GENTRY

Central Office
file Copy

August 2, 1957

Miss Helen Fuller
1244 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Fuller:

In answer to your wire of this morning, I am enclosing a brief memo with some ideas of Fred Routh, Assistant Director of Southern Regional Council, and mine. Since you have the earlier report, I am just including the state totals for 1947, 1952 and 1956. I hope this material will be of some aid to you.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

PROSPECTIVE NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION

Trends in Negro voter registration in the Southern area if a civil rights bill is passed with a jury trial amendment probably will closely parallel earlier voting increases. That is, the greatest increase of Negroes registering to vote would still probably be in urbanized areas rather than rural areas where Negroes traditionally have found it difficult to register.

Many factors other than legal weapons are used in restraining the Negro from registering, and these factors probably will be used for some time to come.

For instance, intimidation by community elements other than registrars probably will continue long after civil rights legislation is passed. The anonymous telephone call and even overt violence will be difficult to stop through the bill pending in Congress, with or without the jury trial amendment. This type of voter intimidation is greatest in rural black belt areas where Negro population approaches or is greater than the white population.

Socio-economic factors also will operate to limit Negro voting in some sections of the South despite passage of the civil rights legislation. As reported earlier, "Negroes are more likely to register in counties where they represent a small percentage of the total population, where they are better educated, are less dependent on the whims of white landlords and employers, and are in sounder economic position."

The one deterring factor to Negro registration which probably will be changed most by such legislation is the chief legal weapon -- the literacy or constitutional interpretation test. The change here will depend largely

The degree of urbanization and industrialization will help determine the legislation's effectiveness. For instance, urban centers, such as Dallas, Texas; Atlanta, Georgia; Memphis, Tennessee; Louisville, Kentucky; Charlotte, North Carolina; New Orleans, Louisiana; and Miami, Florida, will probably experience appreciable increases in Negro voting registration. Birmingham, Alabama, on the other hand will not be easily influenced in allowing the Negro to vote. The socio-economic factors and leadership in Birmingham may be expected to continue hampering the Negro's move toward voting.

In conclusion, states shown in Table I (attached) which have experienced appreciable increases in voting registration for Negroes between 1947 and 1956, will probably benefit greatly from the civil rights legislation. In contrast, those states with little gains in the past may be expected to continue excessive hampering tactics despite such legislation.

August 2, 1957

on whether the Federal Government is given the power to bring cases against registrars who discriminate, and on the determination of the Federal Government to invoke the law to do away with such practices. If Federal officials seek injunctions against discriminating registrars and if injunctions are successful, then registration by Negroes can be expected to increase in those states which have used legal weapons to limit voter registration (see earlier report of Southern Regional Council for such states.) The success or failure of early cases under such legislation probably will determine the extent Negroes will seek court relief based upon this legislation. Again, injunctions against registrars who discriminate against Negroes probably will be more successful in urbanized areas than in the rural South.

The success of the civil rights legislation ultimately will depend largely on the determination and leadership in a given Negro community. In those areas where Negroes already are pushing vigorously for implementation of the school decision on segregation, then one can expect greater demands for voting rights. It also can be expected that in states where Negro voters' groups and other strong leadership have operated to encourage voting, Negro registration will increase. Again, however, it is in these areas that the Negro already has made the greatest gains. For instance, until Negro leaders in Mississippi can encourage voting with little fear of personal danger or other reprisals, Negro voting registration is likely to remain low.

The "self-image" of a community and the respectability of the white opposition also are factors which will determine the effectiveness of civil rights legislation. North Carolina, for instance, likes to be considered as the most progressive of the Southern states and Negroes may have more success there.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

1201

HALL, PRESIDENT

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HAROLD C FLEMING, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

'63 AUG 1 PM 4 17

WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE BACKGROUND MEMO FROM YOU ON WHAT CHANGES IN VOTING PATTERNS YOU WOULD ANTICIPATE IN WHICH STATES IN WHAT TIME IF RIGHTS BILL WITH JURY AMENDMENT BECOMES LAW. WOULD NEED SUNDAY OR MONDAY MORNING LATEST. REGARDS=

HELEN FULLER=

Dolly Sherrey

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

August 5, 1957

Mr. Frank W. McCulloch
Office of Senator Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McCulloch:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 3, concerning my request about reprints of the Congressional Record. The portion we would be interested in would be the portion entitled the "Southern Regional Council" in the July 26, 1957 Congressional Record which begins on page 11590, and ends just above the section entitled "Excessive Oil Imports" on page 11595. Could you quote cost for 200, 500 and 1,000 copies?

Again thanks for your interest.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA., CHAIRMAN
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
ROBERT S. KERR, OKLA.
J. ALLEN FREAR, JR., DEL.
RUSSELL B. LONG, LA.
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RALPH E. FLANDERS, VT.
GEORGE W. MALONE, NEV.
FRANK CARLSON, KANS.
WALLACE F. BENNETT, UTAH
ELIZABETH B. SPRINGER, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

August 3, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Will you be good enough to let us know the pages of the Congressional Record you would like to have reprinted?

The estimate of costs naturally depends upon the length of the reprint. The order must be placed through the office of the member who inserted the material, who in this case would be Senator Douglas. We shall be very glad to place the order, but I assume that it would be advisable for us first to give you an estimate of the costs of varying quantities so that you can determine how many you would like to have printed.

Senator Douglas and all of us are most grateful for the promptness with which Mr. Fleming responsed to our request for additional material and for the over-all work which the Regional Council has done in studying and making available to the public basic facts about the southern region.

With all kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Frank W. McCulloch

Frank W. McCulloch
Administrative Assistant to
Senator Paul H. Douglas

FWM/es

HCF - FYI

Sent 8/19/57

STATE OF LOUISIANA
BOARD OF REGISTRATION
STATE CAPITOL
BATON ROUGE

DOUGLAS FOWLER
DIRECTOR
AND
EX-OFFICIO SECRETARY

Voting Survey

MEMBERS
EARL K. LONG, GOVERNOR
LETHER E. FRAZAR, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR
ROBERT ANGELLE, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

August 6, 1957

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

At your convenience, please send to me a copy of the report released by you which was dated July 18, 1957.

If there is any cost incurred, please advise me and I will send you a check to cover same.

Very truly yours,

Douglas Fowler

Douglas Fowler,
Director

DF:brh

STRATHMORE THISTLEMARK
100 % RAG U.S.A.

RECEIVED AUG 9 1957

RECEIVED AUG 19 [redacted]

Voting Survey

2315 Emerson Street, Palo Alto, Calif.
Aug. 13, 1957

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The attached clipping is from the Time Magazine, page 12, July 29, 1957.

Either Time misquoted you, or you are no authority upon the Reconstruction Period. The whites were violently kept from the polls in localities where coloreds were in the majority--as nearly every honest schoolboy, even in the North, will admit.

Yours truly

Margaret F. Ingram

Mrs. E. B. Ingram

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

Survey Voting Distr. of

15 August 1957

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thanks for sending me an extra copy of your special report on "The Negro Voter in the South." It's quite possible that the first copy you sent was addressed to me, but I did not receive it. In any event, we can make very good use of the two copies we now have.

Thanks, too, for your complimentary comments about the work we have done on the school question in North Carolina. I like to feel that we have played a constructive role, and it is gratifying to find others who share that view.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Editor

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 12, 1957

Mr. Reed Sarratt, Executive Editor
Journal and Sentinel
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Sarratt:

Since Harold Fleming is on vacation your letter of August 8, has been referred to me. I am sorry you did not receive a copy of our Special Report, but I do believe the one we mailed was addressed to you. However, I am mailing you another copy. We appreciate the clipping from the Winston-Salem paper.

Also we here at the Council appreciate the fine work you have done personally and through the Winston-Salem papers in support of the programs taken by Winston-Salem, Charlotte, and Greensboro. My sister, who resides in Winston-Salem sends me pertinent clippings from the local papers and so we are kept abreast of the fine work being done there.

Again thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Encl.: The Negro Voter In The South

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

RECEIVED AUG 12 1957

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

8 August 1957

Dear Harold:

You didn't send me a copy of your special report of July 18 on "The Negro Voter in the South. If copies still are available, I should like to have one.

You did send a copy of the report to our editorial staff, and they printed an excerpt from it. I attach a clipping. The editorial boys won't let me have their copy of your report because they want to keep it for their files.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Editor

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 22, 1957

Mr. Frank W. McCulloch
Administrative Assistant to
Senator Paul H. Douglas
United States Senate
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McCulloch:

Thank you for your letter of August 8, concerning reprints from the Congressional Record. We would like three thousand copies, record size, with title across top of page of the material mentioned in the earlier letter. This includes the material entitled Southern Regional Council in the July 26, Congressional Record beginning on page 11590 and continuing to the title Excessive Oil Imports on page 11595.

If it is possible, we would appreciate if you would just bill the Council for cost. If payment in advance is required, let me know the exact cost and we will mail you a check.

We do appreciate your help in this matter.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA., CHAIRMAN
ROBERT S. KERR, OKLA.
J. ALLEN FREAR, JR., DEL.
RUSSELL B. LONG, LA.
GEORGE A. SMATHERS, FLA.
CLINTON P. ANDERSON, N. MEX.
PAUL H. DOUGLAS, ILL.
ALBERT GORE, TENN.
EDWARD MARTIN, PA.
JOHN J. WILLIAMS, DEL.
RALPH E. FLANDERS, VT.
GEORGE W. MALONE, NEV.
FRANK CARLSON, KANS.
WALLACE F. BENNETT, UTAH
WILLIAM E. JENNER, IND.
ELIZABETH B. SPRINGER, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

August 8, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Since the material which you wish to have reprinted from the Congressional Record runs to a little more than five pages, it will necessitate using either an 8-page form of the same size as the Record, itself, or a 12-page pamphlet form which is half the Record size. The estimated costs of such reprints are as follows:

Record Size:	First 1,000.....	$121.14
	Title across top of page, if desired.....	5.38
	Total.....	$126.52
	Added thousands, up to 7,000	18.79
12-Page Pamphlet Size:	First 1,000	$111.22
	Title across top of page, if desired.....	5.38
	Total	$116.60
	Added hundreds, up to 1,200.....	2.07

Or

If order is over 1,200:

	First 1,000	$112.80
	Added thousands, up to 4,400	$ 16.43 +5.38

The Government Printing Office does not take orders of less than 1,000 copies. If you will let us know what quantity you desire, we shall be glad to place the order.

Sincerely,

Frank W. McCulloch

Frank W. McCulloch
Administrative Assistant to
Senator Paul H. Douglas

FWM/es

VIA AIRMAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

August 23, 1957

Miss Florence B. Irving
615 South East Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Florence:

We are preparing to publish the voting study and would like to know the dope on the new registration laws in North Carolina so we can include this in a footnote. Would you send us some information concerning this?

I shall try to get time to write you a more lengthy letter sometimes very soon. I will appreciate any help on the above matter.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf

August 26, 1957

Miss Florence B. Irving
615 South East Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Florence:

No need to search for the election law I wrote you about Friday. I found reference to it here. Thought I would dash this off so you would not go through a lot of trouble if you have not already.

Thanks any way.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lcc

Survey voting...

MEMORANDUM

August 30, 1957

To: The Staff

From: H. C. Fleming

:

I received today a long distance call from Pierce Fredricks of the New York Times Magazine. They are considering a picture lay-out showing Negro registration activities in the wake of the passage of the civil rights bill. His question was, where is there likely to be such activity in the next week or so? I checked with Jim McCain, Bob Hughes and Jim Pierce. Results, as communicated to Fredricks this afternoon:

The new law in South Carolina requires a total re-registration. Plans are being laid for a statewide effort by Negroes to qualify under the new law. Since the new requirements are more stringent it remains to be seen how uphill a job this will be. McCain felt that a considerable amount of registration by Negroes might be going on, at least in Columbia, as early as the first of next week.

Bob Hughes had little specific information about what is in prospect in Alabama. But, Pierce said that he felt there would be increased activity next week in Montgomery and perhaps in Tuskegee. The Board of Registrars of Montgomery has been summoned to appear before the Federal Grand Jury to testify on alleged discriminatory practices.

Fredricks asked me to call him next week if I got further word of developments.

:

JC
NCM
E.F.V.
JBR

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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A WA302 PD=FAX WASHINGTON DC 30 344PME=

JOHN CONSTABLE OR HAROLD FLEING=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE

NORTHEAST ATLA=

WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF YOU WOULD SEND ME INFO WE DISCUSSED SPECIAL DELIVERY AIRMAIL. I'M FLYING TO ATLANTA TUESDAY MORNING, ARRIVING 10:50AM EST. WOULD APPRECIATE LUNCHING WITH YOU. LEAVING 1:25PM EST FOR COLUMBIA, SC SINCERELY=

HERB KAPLOW NBC NEWS WASHINGTON=

10:50AM EST 1:25PM EST=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

August 29, 1957

Mr. Herb Kaplow
NBC Newsroom
Sheraton Park Hotel
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Kaplow:

Pursuant to our conversation via telephone this afternoon, I am sending you some material concerning voting in the Southern states.

Harold Fleming and I discussed the items you mentioned and came up with a list of areas you might try to cover.

In North Carolina, the clipping concerning alleged voter discrimination and the resulting law suit should give you ample information for a beginning there. Also included in the North Carolina material is the new law passed by the N. C. State Legislature on April 12, 1957.

In McCormick County, South Carolina, you may find a good example of Negroes not registering. A feature for you here might be to determine the reason why. Our South Carolina consultant reported that all Negroes, who registered in 1948, were purged from the registration list. Mrs. Mamie Crawford, registrar in McCormick County since 1949, maintains that no Negroes have attempted to register since she has been in office.

In Georgia, Negroes in Randolph County brought suit in federal court charging they had illegally been purged from the registration list and the federal judge ordered reinstatement and damages. This suit for the Negroes was handled by Daniel Duke of Atlanta.

Atlanta, Georgia, would represent a good example of a place where Negroes are registering with little or no difficulty. You would probably be able to film actual registration proceedings by Negroes here.

Alabama offers quite a bit of activity in the voter area. Wilcox and Lowndes counties are two black belt counties with no Negroes registered. Macon County, which has been in the news recently, offers a different picture of voter discrimination.

Montgomery and Birmingham, Alabama, are prime examples of large cities in which registration discrimination against Negroes is practiced.

In Mississippi, a check of Sunflower County where no Negroes are registered might be interesting. This is the county in which the White Citizens' Council had its beginning and is the home county of Senator Jim Eastland.

In Louisiana, you may take your pick of situations from the voting memo included.

Persons here in the South who may be helpful include Martin Luther King, Jr., leader in the Montgomery Improvement Association, Montgomery, Alabama; Dean Charles G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama; James McCain, 1508 Lady Street, Columbia, South Carolina; and the Reverend Robert E. Hughes, Room 1218 Comer Building, Birmingham, Alabama.

Mr. Fleming may be able to add to these names when you see him here. He also will be able to implement the information included here.

One other item mentioned over the telephone -- Robert B. Patterson is executive secretary of the Association of Citizens' Councils. His address is Greenwood, Mississippi. The Citizens' Councils' paper is published at 605 Plaza Building, Jackson, Mississippi. The editor is W. J. Simmons, who also doubles as administrator for the organization.

Hope this helps some.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:fc

October 1, 1957

Miss Maxine Lombard
1004 Navasota Street
Austin, Texas

Dear Miss Lombard:

Mr. Fred Routh has asked that I send you some information concerning recent voting material compiled on Texas. The Consultant who compiled the report on Texas is Mr. H. A. Bullock, Professor of Sociology and Chairman of Graduate Research, Texas Southern University, Houston Texas.

In determining voter registration Mr. Bullock selected a number of Texas counties, determined the number of Negroes paying poll taxes and then estimated the number of Negro voters by conferring with county officials. Other county figures included in the survey were estimates based on the information from the sampling of counties.

Included here is the county by county breakdown of Negro voters in some counties of Texas. You will note that this is not a complete listing of counties but includes the counties with the highest proportion of Negro residence. This material is also being sent to the others whom you listed.

If I can be of additional help to you please do not hesitate to write.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

Same letter sent to the following:

~~Mr. William Petri, 705 Shady Lane, Austin, Texas~~
Mr. Fred Schmidt, AFL-CIO, VFW Building, Austin
Mr. Jerry Holleman, AFL-CIO , VFW Building, Austin
Rev. C. Wm. Black, 336 Nebraska St., San Antonio, Texas

October 1, 1957

Mr. William Petri
705 Shady Lane
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Petri:

Miss Maxine Lombard has asked that the inclosed material be sent to you. The Consultant who compiled the report on Texas is Mr. H. A. Bullock, Professor of Sociology and Chairman of Graduate Research, Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas.

In determining voter registration Mr. Bullock selected a number of Texas counties, determined the number of Negroes paying poll taxes and then estimated the number of Negro voters by conferring with county officials. Other county figures included in the survey were estimates based on the information from the sampling of counties.

Included here is the county by county breakdown of Negro voters in some counties of Texas. You will note that this is not a complete listing of counties but includes the counties with the highest proportion of Negro residence.

If I can be of additional help to you please do not hesitate to write.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

1 Oct 57

TO: John Constable

Maxine Lombard (formerly with our Texas affiliate) called this ayem and asked for information on the Texas section of SRC's voting study. Specifically she asked:

1. Who was the Consultant ?

2. What method did he use in determining the number of Negro registrants?

3. May she have a county-bycounty breakdown of the Negro voters.

She asked that this information be sent, if possible to the following people:

1. Miss Maxine Lombard
   1004 Navasota St.
   Austin

2. Mr. William Petri
   705 Shady Lane
   Austin

3. Mr. Fred Schmidt, AFL-CIO
   VFW Building
   Austin

4. Mr. Jerry Holleman, AFL-CIO
   VFW Building
   Austin

5. Rev. C. Wm. Black
   336 Nebraska St.
   San Antonio

FR

This letter also sent to attached list of people.

December 12, 1957

Mr. Lynwood Holland
Department of Political Science
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Mr. Holland:

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of "The Negro Voter in the South", which I feel you will find of interest.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

Copy of "The Negro Voter in the South" sent to each of the following by EFV on December 11, 1957:

Lynwood Holland, Department of Political Science, Emory University

Charles Hounshell, Department of Political Science, Emory University

C. H. Pritchett, Department of Political Science, Chicago University, Chicago 37, Illinois

Charles Harden, " " " " " " "

Morton Grodzins, " " " " " " "

Martin Diamond, " " " " " " "

Robert Pickus, 4522 S. Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

James Mackay, 1245 Ridgewood Drive, N.E. Atlanta, Georgia

Matthew Lynch, Tennessee State Labor Council, 939 Church Street, Nashville, Tennessee

Robert Rowe, Director of Education, Kentucky State Federation of Labor, 312 Armory Place, Louisville 2, Kentucky

E. C. Pippin, Alabama Labor Council, Leu Building, Montgomery, Alabama

C. M. Shaw, Director, Department of Education, Louisiana State Labor Council, 427 Ricou-Brewster Building, Shreveport, Louisiana

E. H. ("Lige") Williams, Director, AFL-CIO, Region 7, 1919 St. Claude Avenue, New Orleans, Louisiana

Carey Haigler, Director, AFL-CIO, Region 5, 1106-10 Independence Building, Charlotte, North Carolina

C. H. Gillman, Regional Director, AFL-CIO, Hurt Building, Atlanta, Georgia.

Bill Dodds, Solidarity House, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit 14, Michigan

Roy Reuther, " " " " " " " "

V. H. Williams, Executive Secretary, Arkansas State Labor Council, 415 National Old Line Building, Little Rock, Arkansas

Odell Smith, President, Arkansas State Labor Council, 411 National Old Line Building, Little Rock, Arkansas

Wilbur Hobby, Editor, Durham Labor Journal, P.O. Box 197, Durham, North Carolina

Julian Carper, 102 N. Belvidere Street, Richmond 20, Virginia

Julius Fry, International Representative, TWUA, 402 State Street, Greensboro, North Carolina

Julian Frazer, Field Representative, UAW, Railway Exchange Building, Kansas City, Missouri

Mr. Robert Rankin, Chairman, Political Science Department, Duke University, Durham, N.C. (Durham city councillor)

Earl Henderson, 526 St. Paul Place, Baltimore 2, Maryland

Cullen B. Gosnell, Director, Institute of Citizenship, Emory University

Note: attached letter sent to all the above except Robert Pickus, Matthew Lynch, Wilbur Hobby, Cullen B. Gosnell.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 • ILLINOIS
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
1126 EAST 59TH STREET

20 January 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Thank you very kindly for the copy of "Negro Voter in the South" which I have read with interest and appreciation. I had clipped a note about it from the New York Times and meant to order it but had not done so.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Charles M. Hardin

262 Maxwell Street
Decatur, Georgia
January 14, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory Via:

I appreciate very much your sending me the booklet on The Negro Voter in the South.

The following might also appreciate receiving a copy:

Dr. George G. Thielman
Department of Political Science

Mr. William M. Grubbs, Head
Department of Political Science

Dr. Melvin W. Ecke
Department of History

Yours sincerely,

David B. Hawk

Copies despatched by
JHL January 17, 1958

Georgia State College
33 Gilmer St., S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

December 17, 1957

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Please accept my personal thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of "The Negro Voter in the South". John Griffin showed me a copy two weeks ago, and I was very anxious to get hold of one. I shall cherish this with much pleasure, for I am glad to see that such a study has been made.

How are you and your family getting along? I am embarrassed in that I have not seen or talked with you this fall. We must get together soon. I have been so busy this fall I have not had any time to call my own.

At this Christmas Season, Mrs. Holland joins me in wishing for you, Margaret and your son, all the love, health, and happiness that one family may have. With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Lynwood M. Holland

LMH/lc

Lynwood M. Holland

ALABAMA LABOR COUNCIL
AFL-CIO

CARL E. GRIFFIN
President

E. C. PIPPIN
First Vice-President

LEROY LINDSEY
Secretary-Treasurer

E. J. BARNETT
Second Vice-President

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT
326 Leu Building — Montgomery, Alabama
Phone AMherst 3-6016

January 9, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I deeply appreciate your sending me a copy of "The Negro Voter In The South." I find it very interesting and informative.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes, I remain

Sincerely,

Pip

E. C. Pippin, 1st Vice-President

ECP:ek

oeiu-18

Thanks for the New Years Card. I hope yours is a most prosperous one as well. Looking forward to seeing you soon.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 • ILLINOIS
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
1126 EAST 59TH STREET

December 27, 1957

Dear Emory:

Thanks very much for the study on Negro voting in the South, which arrived today.

I hope that things are going well with you, and that your wife is continuing to make good progress.

Sincerely,

C. Herman Pritchett

C. Herman Pritchett

Duke University
DURHAM
NORTH CAROLINA

Department of Political Science

December 17, 1957

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you very much for "The Negro Voter in the South." It interests me greatly and it will be of value to me in my classroom teaching.

Very sincerely yours,

Robert S. Rankin

Robert S. Rankin

RSR:sf

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LORAIN 8-4000

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER.....PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY.....SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER.....VICE-PRESIDENT
NORMAN MATTHEWS....VICE-PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT
PAT GREATHOUSE.....VICE-PRESIDENT

December 18, 1957

Mr. Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

It was certainly good to hear from you again and I shall be glad to read "The Negro Voter in the South".

I have been hoping that I would get down your way and I expect I will one of these days and then we certainly can have a long visit.

I certainly hope your family is feeling back in top shape.

Fraternally,

Bill Dodds

Bill Dodds

b d;sbw
oeiu-42

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

7 January 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Thank you so much for sending me a copy of "The Negro Voter in the South."

I know that both of us are awfully busy, but I do hope that it will be possible for us to get together one of these days for a chat.

Sincerely,

Charles

CDH/lc

Charles D. Hounshell

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
1126 EAST 59TH STREET

3 January 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

This is, first of all, a note of thanks for sending me the excellent little study on "The Negro Voter in the South." It contains some information which I will find very useful in some new work I am doing.

I also owe you an apology for not responding sooner to your note concerning the reaction of the Augusta Courier to my Scientific American article. Actually, the Courier was reacting to a rather garbled news story, put out by the International News Service, which was itself based upon a press release of the magazine. In case you did not see the actual article, I am glad to attach a copy. The Scientific American piece was, for editorial purposes, confined pretty sharply to the statistics of the racial distribution in large metropolitan areas and to some of the immediate social, political and economic consequences. I am doing two longer articles on the same general problem. These bear down rather heavily on "solutions." They are simple enough to state but devilishly difficult to make practical. Since the only good "solution" is to build a free market in housing that would scatter Negro residences throughout all areas of the cities and the suburbs, I rather gather that the Courier will not take too kindly to the idea. When I get some reprints of the longer article (it will appear in a book published by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund), I will be certain that one is sent to Mr. Roy Harris. My guess, based upon some unhappy previous experiences, is that he will not acknowledge it.

There was in your last two notes no mention of your wife. I hope this is only an indication of the fact that she is progressing well.

Thanks again for writing. I promise to be a more prompt correspondent in the future. Very best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Morton Grodzins

May 12, 1958

Dr. Harry W. Roberts, Head
Department of Sociology
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Roberts:

I take it that your inquiry refers to questionnairs used by the state consultants in our voting study. If so, I can supply you with only one - that used by Professor James Pierce in Alabama. The other consultants did not send us copies of the instruments they used, merely the end results of their surveys.

If by any chance I am mistaken and you are interested in the questionnaires used by registrars, let me know and I will see what I can turn up.

I am glad to know that you are planning further work in this area. We will soon undertake a limited follow-up to our 1956 survey. As soon as our plans are set, I will be in touch with you again to see whether we may further benefit from your services. Meanwhile, kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Survey Questionnaire of Negro Suffrage in Alabama)

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MARGE MANDERSON**

HCF:

If Mr. Roberts means questionnaires we sent in connection with the voting survey, we can send him a copy of the attached outline (OUR ONLY COPY) we used. There were no other questionnaires - however, the consultants in some of the states evidently used them; we have a copy of ~~the~~ (attached) one from Alabama (but from no other states).

If he means questionnaires used in registration, we can send him copies of application forms used in Miss., La., S.C., Alabama, and Georgia (including, of course, the 30 question test).

~~MM Please advise~~
~~HCF~~

Virginia State College

Petersburg, Virginia

April 23, 1958

Rec'd 5/5/58

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am wondering if, in the process of gathering data on the voting activities of Negroes in the several Southern States, you had secured copies of some of the questionnaires that were used. If so, would you be good enough to send me a copy of each. I plan further work in this area. If you have only single copies, I would be happy to duplicate them and return the originals to you.

You did an excellent job in summarizing the results of the study. Thank you so much for the copies you sent me.

Every good wish.

Very sincerely yours,

Harry W. Roberts

Harry W. Roberts, Head
Department of Sociology

HWR:gc

Same letter sent to:
Dr. Tilman C. Cochran
Dr. Lewis Killian
Dr. Elston E. Roady
Dr. Kenneth Vines
Dr. Henry A. Bullock
Dr. Harry W. Roberts

September 10, 1958

Dr. James E. Pierce, Dean
Graduate Division
The Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Doctor Pierce:

The Southern Regional Council is planning to bring up to date the 1956 study "Negro Voter in the South."

We are particularly interested to have any comments you might make as to changes in the past two years. For example, does it seem to you that interest in voting has increased or decreased among Negroes in your state? Naturally, any specific instances you might cite would be welcome. We would be interested also in learning of any groups, new or continuing which are working to increase registration among Negroes and in your views on their effectiveness.

In fact, anything pertinent would be helpful--instances of discrimination against those trying to vote or register, the effect of any legal changes, emergence of Negro candidates, any change in attitude of political parties and candidates toward Negro voters, etc.

Of course, we are faced with updating registration figures as far as possible. Any later ones which you could share with us or suggestions as to how we might obtain them, would be most helpful.

If you have any clippings which you think would be useful we would copy them and return them promptly.

Sincerely,

MP/lcd (Mrs.) Margaret Price

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

September 10, 1958

Mr. Kenneth Toler
Mississippi Bureau
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Toler:

The Southern Regional Council is compiling a list of current voter registration in the 11 Southern states. We are interested first in the number of white and Negro voters registered in each state. Also, where available, we are gathering the number of each registered county-by-county. Mississippi presents a particular problem since there apparently is no central source for official figures.

Could you offer any suggestions as to how we might arrive at a reasonable estimate of current white and Negro registration in Mississippi? We thought you might know of a reliable reporter who could do the necessary checking for us. Of course, the Council is willing to pay an honorarium and expenses. Naturally, if you yourself would have the time to check for us we would be pleased.

Yours truly,

MP/lec

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

September 26, 1958

Dr. Kenneth Vines
Department of Political Science
Tulane University
New Orleans 8, Louisiana

Dear Doctor Vines:

Thank you for your letter of September 25. We are delighted that you will be able to send us some material on Negro registration and voting and look forward to hearing from you again with great interest.

In reponse to a routine request the Louisiana Secretary of State sent a copy of his report to the governor, covering the period January 1, 1955 -- December 31, 1956, which includes total voter registration in 1956. This, of course, is the total we had received from you at the time of the earlier survey. I had hoped that the secretary might have current figures. Do you think that the various parishes might have submitted now voting figures but that these have not yet been printed?

Any help you might offer in gathering the current total of white and Negro registrations in Louisiana would be appreciateed.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

MP/bcc

VIA AIR MAIL

September 29, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

John Griffin called this morning to relay word received from the Virginia Secretary of State. Unfortum tely, no county-by-county figures. But following are the state totals, which the Secretary of State said were based on reports of estimated numbers of voters furnished by clerks of courts throughout the State. He didn't say how recently these reports had been gathered, but I suppose we may assume these are 1958 figures.

Total Registration - 937,129

White Registrants - 805,431
Colored Registrants - 131,626
Indian Registrants - 72

Bruce Galphin's series began Sunday in the Journal-Constitution. John Constable will be sending you the articles as they come out.

I was delighted to hear from Ben this morning that he is going to be here next week. I am sure an Atlanta stop will result in one or more good pieces.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

October 14, 1958

Mr. Ronnie Dugger
The Texas Observer
504 West 24th Street
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Dugger:

Thank you for your suggestions for the gathering of voting totals in Texas. I appreciate the time and thought you've given the subject and can understand, alas, your reasons for thinking someone else should do the polling.

We'll try to work out the polling along the lines you suggested and right now are casting about for the most likely person and method of getting the information needed.

I'll keep you posted on our progress, so you will be hearing from me again soon.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

MP/bcc

October 14, 1958

Prof. Donald S. Strong
Department of Politicial Science
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Mr. Strong:

Thank you for your letter of October 2 concerning the study of Negro voting about which I wrote earlier.

I appreciate your suggesting John R. Vaughn for the Dallas County project and I am writing to him today to ask if he would be willing to undertake the study there.

Until we know definitely whether or not you would be interested in the Birmingham project I have not mentioned this area to Mr. Vaughn.

We would be pleased, of course, if you do feel you can find time for the Birmingham study. SRC can offer a fee of $250.00, plus expenses. So far as the time element is concerned, we have been thinking in terms of a two-phase report. A preliminary report on which a news release could be based before the November general election is planned first. In this, we hope to present current voting totals, summarize changes in registration laws, pending suits, etc., and perhaps include portions of reports on one or two counties which might be in hand then. Later, when the various county studies are in, a somewhat more extensive report could be drawn up. For the latter, we have been thinking of a January 1 deadline for the county reports. Does this sound feasible to you?

To give some idea of the kind of information we are seeking, I drew up rather hastily a list of questions which I thought might be of some help to those who, unlike you, have not worked in this field previously. Your suggestions as to other information we might seek would be welcome.

Again, thank you for your help. We hope that your other commitments will leave you enough time to undertake the Birmingham report.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

MP/bcc

October 14, 1958

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director, Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Siceloff:

Your letter of October 2 contained good news indeed. We're delighted that you are willing to undertake the report on Beaufort County, with the understanding that you will fit it in with your work at Penn. We appreciate, too, your generosity in waiving the fee but I know Harold Fleming would not want you to pay any costs yourself and certainly would want you to submit an expense account, at the very least.

As to the time element, I feel sure this can be worked out. Perhaps you could give us an idea of a deadline that would be acceptable to you. We have been thinking in terms of two categories. A preliminary report on which a news release could be based just before the November 4 general election is planned first. In this, we hope to present current voting totals, summarize changes in registration laws, pending suits, etc., and perhaps include a report on one or two counties which we might have in hand then. Later, when the various county reports are in, a somewhat more extensive report could be drawn up. For the latter, we have been thinking of a January 1 deadline for the county studies. Does this sound feasible to you?

I am enclosing a rather hastily drawn up list of questions, which might be of some help in getting the county report underway. At least, it may give you an idea of the sort of thing we have in mind. As to the advisibility of asking elected officials for information, my feeling would be that this should be left to your discretion; you know the area and can tell better than we here how it would be easiest for you to work.

The possible contrast you mentioned between the upper and lower sections in Beaufort sound intriguing but in any event I think Beaufort will provide an interesting study. If there is anything I can do to help in any way, please let me know.

Thank you, too, for your suggestions as to the other counties. I want to go into this matter again soon with Harold and discuss with him the men you mentioned for the other South Carolina counties.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

MP/bec

October 14, 1958

Mr. John Vaughn
Department of Political Science
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Mr. Vaughn:

Donald Strong has written that he has discussed with you my letter regarding the Southern Regional Council's planned follow-up to an earlier study of Negro voting in the eleven Southern states.

He perhaps told you that we hope to present several studies-in-depth of selected counties in the South. We thought one of the Black Belt counties in Alabama would be an interesting subject and selected Dallas County. Then when Mr. Strong wrote, recommending you for the Dallas project, saying you already had written an excellent term paper on this area, it seemed like a stroke of good fortune for us.

SRC can offer a fee of $250.00, plus expenses. As for a deadline, in case you are interested in the project, does January 1 sound feasible? Tentatively, a preliminary report is planned for around November 1, giving current voting totals, changes in registration laws in the past two years, pending suits, etc. Then, later, when the various county studies are in, a somewhat more extensive report is planned. The latter would be based in large part on the county reports. As to how these would be used, I can best illustrate by referring you to the earlier SRC "Negro Voting in the South" which I am sending separately.

I drew up a rather sketchy list of questions to give an idea of the kind of information sought. Quite obviously, some of these will have little bearing in Dallas County and I'm sure you can think of other things that would be meaningful.

I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience. Please feel free to call on us for any additional information.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

MP/bec

THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH--1958

(In 1956, the Southern Regional Council conducted an extensive survey on Negro voting in the South. This report represents the preliminary findings of a year-long study now being conducted by the Council as a follow-up to the earlier survey. A more detailed report will be published when the findings are completed.)

November 2, 1958

The Negro Voter in the South -- 1958

In 1956 the Southern Regional Council surveyed the status of the Negro voter in the South. At that time, it was found that about 25 per cent of the eligible Negroes had registered to vote, as contrasted with 60 per cent of the eligible white population.

In all, an estimated 1,238,000 Negroes were on the voting rolls in eleven Southern states.(1) This figure indicated the slow but steady growth of Negro suffrage in the region which began with the outlawing of the white primaries in 1944.

The intervening two years since the survey was made have brought increased racial tensions in the South, passage of the first federal civil rights legislation since Reconstruction, a long list of federal court decisions to speed the Negro toward full legal equality and new state laws to delay change in racial patterns. How have these events affected the trend toward increased use of the ballot by Negro Southerners?

Preliminary findings of a follow-up survey being made by the SRC indicate that, for the region as a whole, Negro registration showed little change from the 1956 total. In some states the number of Negro registrants rose appreciably, but these gains were largely offset by sharp drops in other states due to purges and statewide re-registration.

The fact that Negro voters held their own was in itself something of an achievement in view of trends during the past two years and in the face of disinterest prevalent nationwide at the time of off-year elections.

(1 Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.)

In certain areas it undoubtedly has become more difficult for Negroes to register, because of new voting restrictions and stricter applications of the old requirements. In some sections where political leaders have fanned racial prejudices, Negroes are even more hesitant about attempting to register than they were two years ago. But, in many parts of the South, lack of political consciousness remains the greatest barrier. Leaders of both races long have contended that if all bars to Negro voting were removed tomorrow, there still would not be a great rush to the polls. This is not expected until Negroes have been able to raise their economic and educational levels, their leadership has been broadened and they have reached a position where their political participation promises more tangible results. Neither the new civil rights legislation nor the federal agencies created by it promise any quick or dramatic improvement in Negro suffrage. Even where registration boards are cooperative, a gradual process of political education obviously will be required. All this should not obscure the fact that the trend is upward and that the long range prospect in the South is for a Negro registration comparable to the white.

Currently, there are an estimated 1,266,488 Negroes registered in the eleven Southern states. Figures from six states are from official sources; in the others, the totals are estimates of veteran capitol news correspondents who consulted with state officials and political workers.

State-by-state figures:

	Negro Registration[2] 1958	Negro Percentage of Total Registration
Alabama	60,000	6.9
Arkansas	64,023	11.4
Florida	144,810	9.1
Georgia	158,051	12.4
Louisiana	130,000	13.7
Mississippi	35,000	6.8
North Carolina	150,000	7.5
South Carolina	57,978	10.8
Tennessee	185,000	13.2
Texas	150,000	6.8
Virginia	131,626	14.1
Totals	1,266,488	10.9

In Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, where official figures show a decline in Negro registration, the number of qualified white voters also dropped. The sharp decline of registration of both races in South Carolina was attributable in large part to the total re-registration this year, as is required every 10 years in the state.

Registration increased among both white and Negro citizens in

(2 Totals are official for Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Virginia. For details see Appendix.)

North Carolina and Virginia. In Louisiana, the white registration rose while Negro registration fell sharply, from 161,410 to 130,000, due chiefly to widespread purges in several parishes. Pro-segregation groups in Louisiana have made a concerted effort to strike Negro voters from the rolls.

The very slight increase in the number of Negroes registered in the region--24,488 more in 1958 than in 1956-- came in a mid-term election year when, in the country as a whole, registration was down approximately four million from 1956, the Associated Press found in a survey (Oct. 22, 1958).

In addition to the problem of apathy which plagues political workers in every state during the years between presidential elections, another factor has had an effect upon Negro registration in the past two years. Some Negro leaders have been preoccupied by immediate problems of local discrimination and court tests of state and city segregation laws, which left little time for registration drives.

Two states, Georgia and Virginia, have passed laws making registration more difficult and Alabama seems headed in that direction.

Suits challenging registration laws have been brought by Mississippi and North Carolina residents. The Rev. H. B. Darby of Prentiss has filed a suit which in effect seeks to prove that registration laws in Mississippi were designed to be administered arbitrarily and that they are used to discriminate against Negroes. A three-judge federal court panel has the case under advisement. In North Carolina a Negro woman has carried her challenge of the state's literacy test to the Supreme Court of the United States. Mrs. Louise Lassiter of Seaboard,

who says she can neither read nor write, has contended she is entitled by the Constitution to a vote despite North Carolina's registration laws, which require literacy tests.

In many ways, the 1958 picture varies little from that of 1956. In the areas of high Negro population and low income and educational levels, it remains generally difficult if not impossible for Negroes to register, particularly in the areas of "hard core" resistance to local change.

However, these problems are now engaging the attention of federal officials to a greater extent. Gordon M. Tiffany, staff director of the Federal Civil Rights Commission, has announced that his agency is making field studies of voting complaints in three states--Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi.

The Commission hit its first snag in Macon County, Ala. In October, the County Board of Registrars there refused to let two Commission staff investigators inspect its voting records. They acted on the advice of State Atty. Gen. John Patterson, Democratic governor-nominee. Patterson held that under state law these are not state records and need not be turned over. The Commission staff members wanted to examine the records as part of their investigation of complaints that Negroes have been denied the right to register to vote in Tuskegee and surrounding Macon County. Following the refusal by the registrars, the Commission voted unanimously to hold a hearing December 8 in Montgomery on the Macon County complaints. Members indicated they will subpoena the county's registration records if necessary.

The Justice Department's new Civil Rights Division has filed suit accusing officials of Terrell County, Ga., with discriminating against Negroes seeking to vote. The suit, filed in Federal District Court, is directed against Terrell's five election registrars and deputy registrars. In essence, the Government charges the registrars with "arbitrary refusal to register Negroes who demonstrated themselves to be fully qualified to register." The complaint said that among a group of Negroes denied registration on April 7, 1958, were four college graduates, all school teachers, and a fifth who attended Tuskegee Institute. The complaint alleges they were turned down for failing to pass a literacy test. The court is being asked to issue an injunction prohibiting Terrell County from following different procedures in the processing of voting applications of Negro and white citizens and from applying more stringent standards in the literacy tests of Negroes.

Terrell County was in the news earlier this year because of racial troubles. On June 8, the Washington Post and Times Herald reported not only of unsuccessful attempts by Negroes to register but charges of police brutality. Subsequently, federal investigators proposed indictments based on the deaths of two Negroes, the pistol wounding of a third, the beating of a fourth and the allegedly illegal detention of a third. However, a federal grand jury in August refused to indict three Dawson policemen under the civil rights statute.

Congress gave the Civil Rights Commission and the Justice Department different roles under the Civil Rights Act passed in 1957. As set forth in the act, the Justice Department can seek court orders to enforce voting rights but does not have subpoena powers. The Commission

can investigate cases to determine the status of civil rights anywhere in the nation and ways to protect them. The Commission has the power to subpoena witnesses and hold hearings to obtain information, but it has no enforcement powers. The subpoena power is backed by the power of the federal courts to punish refusals to obey as contempt. The Commission is charged with reporting its findings and recommendations for further legislation to the President and Congress by September, 1959, when the agency expires.

Appointment of the Civil Rights Commission and creation of the new division of the Justice Department have not brought immediate benefit for prospective Negro voters in all parts of the South. Both agencies face opposition, not only in Macon County, Ala., but elsewhere, as can be seen from statements by some officials. For example:

In Birmingham, Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Conner said in September he would refuse to cooperate with any civil rights investigation by federal authorities. Connor said any persons arrested by federal officials in civil rights or integration cases in Birmingham would not be placed in the Birmingham jail.

The Georgia judge who appoints the Terrell County registrars, Walter I. Geer of Colquitt, reacted to the voting suit there with a threat to jail any FBI agents who investigate his court "in a high-handed, menacing manner." The Associated Press quoted Judge Geer as describing the suit as an "arrogant, unwarranted, high-handed effort of radical Republican leaders to intimidate the people of Terrell County."

In Clayton, Ala., Circuit Court Judge George Wallace, who once threatened to jail FBI agents investigating jury rolls in his circuit,

said in January that records of his court would be closed to civil rights investigators. He said that any federal agent who persisted in trying to get information in violation of his order "will be treated as...having committed contempt in the presence of the court."

Meeting in Clayton while the Civil Rights Act was pending in Congress, the Barbour County, Ala., grand jury echoed Judge Wallace's sentiments. The county grand jury said that it would "recommend that the citizens of this county and the law-enforcement officials of this county refuse to aid in the politically and spitefully inspired civil rights investigations of our citizens."

Also, while the bill was being debated, Alabama Lt. Gov. Guy Hardwick predicted that white people of the state would resort to a total boycott of Negroes "if Congress passes this outrageous civil rights bill and the Negroes attempt to avail themselves of its provisions."

Mississippi Gov. J. P. Coleman said the bill would be nullified "if we remain firm, cool and calm."

Georgia Gov. Marvin Griffin said, "We're not going to have a federal judge tell us who can vote and who can't."

On the more positive side, Gov. LeRoy Collins of Florida said he had no objections to the Civil Rights Commission's announced investigation of Negro voting rights in Florida, provided it was carried out in a sound manner.

Nevertheless, while the Civil Rights legislation undoubtedly toughened resistance to Negro voting in some areas, at the same time it heartened many Negroes who moved ahead in their effort to enroll more of their race. The two most active regional groups working in this field

have been the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, spearheaded by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. of Montgomery, Ala. was formed in 1957 by Negro leaders throughout the South in a "crusade for citizenship." Its announced aim: to aid and encourage Negroes to register and vote and to gather facts, where resistance is met, and present them to duly constituted authorities.

Upon passage of the civil rights legislation, the NAACP announced a goal of 3,000,000 Negro voters in the South by 1960. The Wall Street Journal (Aug. 7, 1958) reported that "although it is too soon to predict the outcome of the Negroes' newest battle for the ballot, Negro leaders frankly admit it's off to a modest start."

"We are doing a groundwork job with no thought that each month will show a spectacular increase worthy of headlines," Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, said.

Donald S. Strong, professor of political science at the University of Alabama, has suggested that various aspects of the current scene "raise the question whether we have not perhaps reached a temporary plateau in the move toward re-enfranchisement of the Southern Negro. In its unvarnished form, the proposition is that in most areas of the South, a Negro with political consciousness, who really wants to vote, can overcome the relatively mild obstacles in his way. Similarly, in the rural black belt the obstacles are so formidable and the number of politically-conscious Negroes so relatively few that it is hard to foresee a substantial increase in registration in the near future."[3]

3
("The Future of the Negro Voter in the South," The Journal of Negro Education, summer, 1957)

Strong said that part of the problem of increasing the number of Negro voters is that of overcoming indifference to politics on the part of many. He suggested that "if all extralegal obstacles to Negro voting could suddenly be swept away, Negroes would not rush to the polls." He pointed out a comparison between the enfranchisement of women and the enfranchisement of Southern Negroes. He said that it was not until 36 years after women had been given the vote, in 1956, that they voted in substantially the same numbers as men. He drew another analogy with various immigrant groups and said only when these had produced their own lawyers and prosperous merchants were they able to command a respectful hearing in politics.

"Negroes, too, must develop a corps of middle-class leaders with substantial education and economic independence of whites," Strong added.

While Strong said that eleven years of Negro voting in the South "constitute a success story," he concluded that "despite the progress of the past decade, it is probable that the second million votes will come harder."

Developments in the various states in the past two years include:

ALABAMA: In 1957, the Alabama legislature gerrymandered Tuskegee's city limits and cut the town's area in half, thus placing about 410 of the community's 420 Negro voters outside the city. (On Oct. 30, 1958, a federal district court upheld the gerrymander, saying the legislature had the power to change the city limits.) Tuskegee had 1,315 whites and 5,397 Negroes, according to the 1950 census. However, white registered voters outnumbered Negro registrants by about 200. Sam Englehardt,

Macon County state senator and executive secretary of the White Citizens Councils of Alabama, and author of the bill changing Tuskegee's city limits, commented, "We gerrymandered those niggers right out of town." He indicated this was because of the new Civil Rights Act, which he called "our greatest danger." Later, the Macon County Abolition Commission was set up by referendum in the fall of 1957 with authority to recommend the abolition of the county if considered necessary to maintain white control. The agency held hearings at which most of the surrounding counties said they would accept parts of Macon, although none appeared very enthusiastic. In September, 1958, the Commission made its report; it did little beyond restate the conviction that the situation in Macon County was serious, that the activities of the Federal Civil Rights Commission should be watched, and that a permanent Macon County Committee should be set up to watch developments.

Meanwhile, a new voter qualification bill to tighten registration requirements is ready for the next session of the Alabama legislature.

GEORGIA: The 1958 session of the General Assembly passed and Gov. Marvin Griffin signed into law a new registration bill which its sponsors frankly admitted was intended to discourage Negro voting. Chief provisions require, in most cases, two trips to the courthouse to register and a longer and more difficult set of questions for illiterates. The governor's efforts to re-instate the poll tax and to require biennial re-registration failed in the legislature.

In Atlanta, the race issue was injected into the mayoralty campaign in which incumbent William B. Hartsfield won a sixth term over

Lester Maddox, 41,301 to 24,489. Maddox called for a large turnout to defeat what he termed the "mayor's Negro bloc vote." Hartsfield denied his opponent's charge that he was "controlled by the NAACP" and said his opposition was running on a platform of "hate and strife." Hartsfield ran up large pluralities in areas predominantly Negro, some precincts giving him a margin of 79 to one. Hartsfield also carried predominantly white precincts, 27,191 to 23,134 for Maddox.

LOUISIANA: Sen. Russell Long (D-La.) said in a television interview last year and again later in Baton Rouge that the disfranchisement of 10,000 Negroes in northern Louisiana was embarassing to him in Washington and was difficult to explain. He added that all qualified citizens should vote and said the NAACP drive to get Negroes registered was commendable. State Rep. Edgar H. Lancaster Jr. countered that the 10,000 persons whose names were removed were registered illegally. He had a resolution signed by officials in East Carroll, Madison, and Tensas parishes saying that the action was taken in strict conformity with Louisiana laws.

About 10-11,000 voters, mostly Negroes, were dropped from the voting rolls of northern parishes within a period of several months in 1956-57 when the Citizens Council made a concerted effort to comb voter lists. The FBI moved into the state to check for possible civil rights violations. The effectiveness of the purges in some of the northern parishes could be seen in Ouachita, for example, where the number of Negroes registered dropped from 5,700 to 776 in 1958; in Morehouse the number dropped from 935 to 200 and in Natchitoches from 2,800 to 1,300.

However, Louisiana voters did defeat a proposed constitutional amendment in 1956. It was designed to help White Citizens Councils trim Negro voting even more. The amendment, which was defeated 190,410 to 178,833, would have provided two administrative steps before the voter losing his registration could take the matter into court, setting up administrative barriers to a federal court action.

New Orleans' 31,000 registered Negroes backed Mayor de Lesseps S. Morrison heavily as he made a successful bid for a fourth term in 1958. Morrison avoided the race issue in his campaign, although he did reply to a questionnaire that he favored continued segregation. Morrison received 91,103 votes to 66,765 for five opponents. A candidate who made continuance of segregation his number one plank finished fourth.

In the fall of 1958 voter registration was a controversial issue in Winnfield, home town of Gov. Earl K. Long.[4] State Sen. William Rainach, Louisiana segregation leader, went to Winn Parish with a special legislative segregation committee studying voter registration irregularities.

Rainach charged that the registration office kept irregular hours, that records were taken from the office and that registrars were not requiring proper filling out of cards. He said most irregularities were confined to Negroes.

After closed hearings, Registrar Mary Flournoy promised Rainach to improve the operation of her office. She was presented a copy of "Voter Qualifications in Louisiana--the Key to Victory in the Segregation Struggle" published by the Louisiana Citizens Councils.

(4 Southern School News, October, 1958)

Governor Long charged the investigation was engineered by Dist. Atty. Leander H. Perez of St. Bernard and Plaquemines parishes, segregationist and political foe of Long.

MISSISSIPPI: Jackson officials were advocating an expansion of the city limits. Maintainance of a "proper" ratio of white and Negro voters was advanced as one reason for the move. The population ratio in the 1950 census was 60 per cent white and 40 per cent Negro. In a 1955 survey it appeared that the white population in the city had not increased, whereas the Negro had. Col. Battle Barksdale, executive director of the City Planning Board, said that by 1960 the ratio would be 55 per cent white-45 per cent Negro, without any corporate change. By expanding the city limits, he said, an additional 20,000 white persons would be brought in and only about 1,000 Negroes.

In May, 1958, Gov. J. P. Coleman vetoed a bill designed to protect white control of the Mississippi ballot box by placing voter registration in the hands of a court-appointed registrar in each county. The governor said the bill was unconstitutional because it would make the registrar an inferior court. Earlier, however, the governor had urged the legislators, in a joint session, that something must be done to stop "unqualified" voting, which generally was interpreted to mean voting by Negroes.

Rep. Whitten (D-Miss.) in an address at Forest warned Mississippians against "wooing the Negro vote." He also asserted that Mississippi could avoid a crisis like that in Little Rock "if we can refrain from giving the federal government an ounce of cooperation."

NORTH CAROLINA: The 1957 legislature amended the statutory qualifications from the rulings of registrars and provided for court review of such appeals. The new law provided that applicants denied registration should file notice of appeal with the registrar on the day following denial. The line of appeal then would be: county board of elections to Superior Court to the North Carolina Supreme Court.

TEXAS: Negro voters were given credit for helping elect Lewis Cutrer as mayor over incumbent Oscar Holcombe, who had charged Cutrer with offering special inducements to Negroes. The Houston Post said that 26 predominantly Negro precincts gave Cutrer 94.7 per cent of their vote. He received 12,864 of the 13,394 votes cast in these precincts. Turnout in the Negro precincts averaged 41 per cent, or two per cent higher than for the city as a whole. Cutrer's majority totaled more than 26,000 votes.

VIRGINIA: The state's "blank paper" registration law went into effect in July, 1958. Under the law, new registrants must write the answers to 10 questions on a blank sheet of paper by memory. The questions deal with age, birth date and place of birth, residence, occupation and previous voting experience. Registrars provide instruction forms listing the questions but the registrant is not to refer to the form while filling out the blank sheet. As the law went into effect, Fairfax County registrars received a ruling from the Commonwealth Attorney that if the applicant failed to answer one of the questions, the registrar could hand back the application and could say it was incomplete but could not specify what was missing. Virginians must continue to pay the annual capitation or poll tax of $1.50 in order to vote.

APPENDIX

(Source of State Registration Totals)

ALABAMA: Estimated. Primary source, The Birmingham News (Hugh Sparrow, News Staff writer, Montgomery, April 20, 1958, reported his figures were compiled after an exhaustive study of the voting lists of Alabama's 67 counties). The News, which reported totals as of April 15, two weeks before the registration books were closed prior to the May 6 primary, estimated that the final total of Negro voters would be between 50,000-60,000. The SRC estimate of Negro registrants in Alabama in 1956 was 53,366. The News reported that Jefferson County had approximately 4,000 more Negroes on the voting rolls than in 1956, Montgomery nearly 1,000 more and Mobile about 2,000 more. On the basis of these increases and the pattern of gains and losses in other counties, which were believed to offset each other, capitol newsmen and other observers estimated the final total at 60,000.

ARKANSAS: Official. Totals prepared by Jimmie Jones, Auditor of State, and received April, 1958. His report contained estimates, rather than official figures, for 17 counties, from which poll tax books had not been received at the time his report was prepared.

FLORIDA: Official. Totals released by the Secretary of State at the time of the 1958 primary.

GEORGIA: Official. Released by Secretary of State. Four counties missing at time of release in September, 1958.

LOUISIANA: Official. Released by office of the Secretary of State. At the time of his release, reports from three parishes were missing; figures for these were interpolated from 1956 official figures and added to final total by a Louisiana consultant.

MISSISSIPPI: Estimated. Made by veteran capitol news correspondent.

NORTH CAROLINA: Estimated. Total registration released by Raymond Maxwell, executive secretary of the State Board of Elections, who gave newsmen as the estimate of the Negro registration the figure he said was agreed upon by most Negro leaders in the state.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Official. Released by the Secretary of State in May, 1958.

TENNESSEE: Estimated. Made by experienced capitol news correspondent after a spot check of representative counties.

TEXAS: Estimated. Made by veteran capitol reporter after consultation with political observers.

VIRGINIA: Official. Secretary of State said figures were based on reports of estimated numbers of voters furnished by clerks of court throughout the state.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE:

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
October 31, 1958
JAckson 2-8764

Sunday, Nov. 2, 1958

Atlanta, Ga. - The number of Negro voters in the South remained constant in the past two years despite increased racial controversy, the Southern Regional Council reported today.

Currently, there are an estimated 1,266,488 Negroes on voting rolls in eleven Southern states, compared to 1,238,000 reported by the SRC in 1956. The latest figures, representing 25 per cent of Negroes of voting age, are contained in a preliminary report of a Council survey following up its study of 1956.

Figures from six states came from official sources; in the others, the totals are estimates of veteran capitol news correspondents, who consulted with state officials and political workers.

The new total, which indicates that Negro voters held their own, and even showed a slight increase, came in the wake of newspaper surveys which show that in the country as a whole the number of eligible voters has dropped in the past two years.

This figure represents "something of an achievement" in the face of the disinterest prevalent nationwide at the time of off-year elections and in view of recent trends in the region, the SRC said.

"The intervening two years since the earlier SRC survey was made have brought increased racial tensions in the South, passage of the first federal civil rights legislation since Reconstruction, a long list of federal court decisions to speed the Negro toward full legal equality and new state laws to delay change in racial patterns."

In some states the number of Negro registrants rose appreciably between 1956 and 1958 but these gains were largely offset by sharp drops in other states due to purges and statewide re-registration.

In Arkansas, Florida, Georgia and South Carolina, where official figures show a decline in Negro registration, the number of qualified white voters also dropped. The lower registration of both races in South Carolina was attributable mainly to the total re-registration this year, as is required every 10 years in the state.

Registration increased among both white and Negro citizens in North Carolina and Virginia.

In Louisiana, the white registration increased while Negro registration fell from 161,410 to 130,000 in the past two years, due in large measure to widespread purges in several parishes. Pro-segregation groups in that state have made a concerted effort to strike Negro voters from the rolls.

"In certain areas," the SRC said, "it undoubtedly has become more difficult for Negroes to register, because of new voting restrictions and stricter applications of the old requirements. In some sections where political leaders have fanned racial prejudices, Negroes are even more hesitant about attempting to register than they were two years ago. But, in many parts of the South, lack of political consciousness remains the greatest barrier.

"Leaders of both races long have contended that if all bars to Negro voting were removed tomorrow, there still would not be a great rush to the polls. This is not expected until Negroes have been able to raise their economic and educational levels, their leadership has been broadened and they have reached a position where their political participation promises more tangible results. Neither the new civil rights legislation nor the federal agencies created by it promise any quick or dramatic improvement in Negro suffrage. Even where registration boards are cooperative, a gradual process of political education obviously will be required."

But, the Council emphasized, "all this should not obscure the fact that the trend is upward and that the long-range prospect in the South is for a Negro registration comparable to the white."

News Release - 4.
October 31, 1958

The Southern Regional Council is an interracial organization of religious, educational, labor, business, and professional leaders in 12 Southern States.

State-by-state totals:

	Negro Registration 1958	Negro Percentage of Total Registration
(1)		
Alabama	60,000	6.9
Arkansas	64,023	11.4
Florida	144,810	9.1
Georgia	158,051	12.4
Louisiana	130,000	13.7
Mississippi	35,000	6.8
North Carolina	150,000	7.5
South Carolina	57,978	10.8
Tennessee	185,000	13.2
Texas	150,000	6.8
Virginia	131,626	14.1
Totals:	1,266,488	10.9

(1) (The totals are official for Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Virginia, although in Louisiana, where reports were missing from three parishes, these were interpolated, on the basis of 1956 figures. Reports from the other states are estimates.)

Atlanta Journal - Constitution Nov. 2, 1958

South's Negro Voters Set at 2-Year Pattern

The number of Negro voters in the South remained constant in the past two years despite increased racial controversy, the Southern Regional Council reported Saturday.

Currently, there are an estimated 1,206,400 Negroes on voting rolls in 11 Southern states, compared to 1,223,000 reported by the SRC in 1956. The latest figures, representing 25 per cent of Negroes of voting age, are contained in a preliminary report of a Council survey following up its study of 1956.

* * *

THE NEW TOTAL, which indicates that Negro voters showed a slight increase, came in the wake of newspaper surveys which show that in the country as a whole the number of eligible voters has dropped in the past two years.

"The intervening two years since the earlier SRC survey was made have brought increased racial tensions in the South, passage of the first federal civil rights legislation since Reconstruction, a long list of federal court decisions to speed the Negro toward full legal equality and new state laws to delay change in racial patterns," the SRC said.

In Arkansas, Florida, Georgia and South Carolina, where official figures show a decline in Negro registration, the number of qualified white voters also dropped. The lower registration of both races in South Carolina was attributable mainly to the total re-registration this year, as is required every 10 years in the state.

* * *

REGISTRATION increased among both white and Negro citizens in North Carolina and Virginia.

In Louisiana, the white registration increased while Negro registration fell from 161,410 to 130,000 in the past two years, due in large measure to widespread purges in several parishes. Pro-segregation groups in that state have made a concerted effort to strike Negro voters from the rolls.

The Southern Regional Council is an interracial organization of 19 Southern states.

State-by-state totals

	Negro Registration	Negro Pct. Total
Alabama	[illegible]	[illegible]
Arkansas	[illegible]	11.6
Florida	144,810	9.1
Georgia	238,051	11.4
Louisiana	130,000	13.7
Mississippi	35,000	6.0
North Carolina	186,000	7.5
South Carolina	57,978	10.8
Tennessee	108,000	11.2
Texas	135,000	6.8
Virginia	79,000	14.1
Totals:	1,206,400	10.9

(The totals are official for Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Virginia, although in Louisiana, where reports were missing from three parishes, these were interpolated, on the basis of 1956 figures. Reports from the other states are estimates.)

LITTLE CHANGE IN NEGRO VOTING

Council Estimates 24.4% of Qualified Electors in Race Registered

By CLAUDE SITTON
of New York Times News Service

ATLANTA — Negro voter registration has held steady in eleven Southern states since 1958 despite rising racial tensions resulting from the desegregation controversy, the Southern Regional Council reported.

Harold C. Fleming, executive director of the council, said a survey just completed showed an estimated total of 1,266,488 qualified Negro voters. This was a gain of only 28,488 from the 1,238,000 of two years ago.

The percentage of those registered out of the total number of Negroes of voting age edged upward from 25 to 25.4.

The council reported an estimated white registration of 11,577,083. No figures were available for the percentage of whites of voting age on the election rolls.

The council, an interracial organization of civic, religious, business and labor leaders in twelve Southern states, conducted the current study as a follow-up to a full-scale survey in 1958.

Called Achievement

"The fact that Negro voters held their own was, in itself, something of an achievement in view of the trends of the past two years," it declared.

It was noted that the two years had brought increased racial tensions, passage of the first federal civil rights legislation since reconstruction, federal court decisions aimed at speeding the Negro toward full, legal equality and new state laws designed to delay change in racial patterns.

"For one thing," the report said, "this period has been marked by disinterest prevalent nationwide at the time of off-year elections, also in certain areas it undoubtedly has become more difficult for Negroes to register because of new voting restrictions and stricter applications of the old requirements." In some sections where political leaders have fanned racial prejudices, Negroes are even more hesitant about attempting to register than they were two years ago."

The report disclosed that Negro registrants had increased appreciably in some states, but these gains were offset by sharp drops in others because of purges and stricter registration.

Drop in Louisiana

Louisiana was singled out as one state where many Negroes had been stricken from the voting lists. White registration there increased while Negro registration "fell sharply from 161,410 to 158,000 in large part due to purges," it said.

However, the council declared that "[illegible]

NEGRO VOTE LIST STEADY IN SOUTH

N.Y. Times 11/3/58

Small Rise Reported Since 1956 Despite Tensions Over Desegregation

By CLAUDE SITTON

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Nov. 1 — Negro voter registration has held steady in eleven Southern states since 1956, the Southern Regional Council reported today.

Harold C. Fleming, executive director of the council, said a just-completed survey showed an estimated total of 1,266,488 qualified Negro voters. This was a gain of 28,488 from the 1,238,000 of two years ago.

The percentage of those registered out of the total number of Negroes of voting age edged upward from 25 to 25.4.

The council estimated white registration at 11,577,083. No figures were available for the percentage of whites of voting age on the election rolls.

The report disclosed that Negro registrants had increased markedly in some states during the two-year period. But these gains were offset by sharp drops in others because of purges and state-wide reregistration.

Louisiana was singled out as one state where many Negroes had been stricken from the voting list. White registration there increased while Negro registration "fell sharply from 161,410 to 130,000 in large part due to purges," the report said.

The council, an interracial organization of civic, religious, business and labor leaders in twelve Southern states, conducted the current study as a follow-up to a full-scale survey in 1956.

"The fact that Negro voters held their own was, in itself, something of an achievement in view of the trends of the past two years," it declared.

It was noted that the period had brought increased racial tension, passage of the first Federal civil rights legislation since Reconstruction, Federal Court decisions aimed at speeding the Negro toward full, legal equality and new state laws designed to delay a change in racial patterns.

"For one thing," the report said, "this period has been marked by disinterest prevalent nation-wide at the time of off-year elections. Also in certain areas it undoubtedly has become more difficult for Negroes to register because of new voting restrictions and stricter applications of the old requirement.

"In some sections where political leaders have fanned racial prejudices, Negroes are even more hesitant about attempting to register than they were two years ago."

However, the council declared that "lack of political consciousness" still remained the greatest barrier to Negro participation in many parts of the eleven-state area.

Rush Doubted

"Leaders of both races long have contended that if all bars to Negro voting were removed tomorrow," the organization said, "there still would not be a great rush to the polls."

"This is not expected until Negroes have been able to raise their economic and educational levels, their leadership has been broadened and they have reached a position where their political participation promises more tangible results."

The council foresaw no dramatic improvement in Negro suffrage as a result of the new civil rights legislation or the Federal agencies created by it.

"Even where registration boards are cooperative," it said, "a gradual process of political education obviously will be required. All this should not obscure the fact that the trend is upward and that the long-range prospect in the South is for a Negro registration comparable to the white."

Official figures disclosed a drop in registration of both races in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia and South Carolina, the decline in South Carolina was attributed to the total reregistration this year, as required by law every ten years.

The two races showed increases in North Carolina and Virginia.

Negro registration in Mississippi rose from 20,000 to 35,000. This reportedly was the result of a more liberal attitude on the part of registration boards in some of the heavily populated counties.

The council said its figures for six states had come from official sources while in the others the totals were estimates obtained from capital news correspondents, who had consulted with state officials and political workers.

State-by-state figures:

	Negro Registration	Negro Percentage of Total Registration	Negro Percentage of Total Voting Age Registered
Alabama	60,000	6.9	11.6
Arkansas	64,023	11.4	27.6
*Florida	144,810	9.1	39.8
*Georgia	156,061	12.4	25.6
*Louisiana	130,000	13.7	27.0
Mississippi	35,000	6.8	7.0
N. Carolina	130,000	7.5	27.3
*S. Carolina	57,978	10.8	14.9
Tennessee	185,000	13.2	28.0
Texas	150,000	6.8	25.8
*Virginia	131,626	14.1	31.1
Total	1,266,488		
Average		10.9	25.4

(*Official totals)

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

JOHN HOPE, II
DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

November 5, 1958

Copy sent to MP for reply

Miss Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. -- Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

This morning's Tennessean carried a report of the additional estimates on Negro voters which your SRC study has provided since its initial attempt two years ago. I am glad that you were able to report something on Tennessee, despite my failure to respond and to be of any help. I put your letter aside, with the intent of giving it detailed attention, but I got involved in meeting the deadline for completing a study on integration within the Congregational Christian Churches, and did not get back to it.

But we were in the same position as two years ago. We did not have any state-wide figures on Negro registrants and voters, and we were unable to get any from the state election commission. I assume that you have used population figures as a means of arriving at estimates, holding in mind such west-state counties as Fayette and Haywood where it is consistently reported that there are no Negro registrants and voters.

On the whole, I have not noticed any great increase in voting activity on the part of Negroes in this state. I would guess that there has been some slight increase in number as the result of registration campaigns by the NAACP and other groups. In Nashville it is estimated that about 2,000 new Negro voters were added during the last year, but even this figure may be a little generous.

The gubernatorial primary campaigns this summer held considerable interest for Negro voters, although the issues and candidates were not clearly enough counter-posed to provide direction for Negro voter interest. Clifford Allen represented a liberal position on the integration question, but he was not a personable candidate and had become a "traditional" candidate for office. Many persons believed that "Clifford Allen just could not be elected," and said they would not "throw away their vote." On the other hand, there were some Negroes who supported Bufford Ellington, the Clement-picked candidate who is a segregationist and who said on several occasions that he would close the public schools to prevent violence.

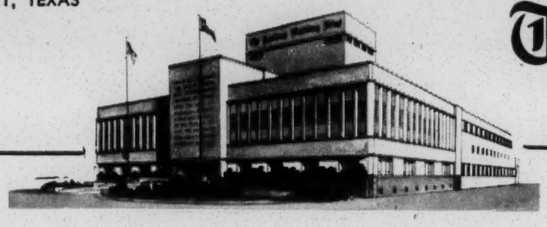
With appreciation for the timely work of the Council in this all-important area, and best of wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

Herman H. Long

AUSTIN BUREAU
Box 2396, Capitol Station
AUSTIN 11, TEXAS



The Dallas Morning News
TEXAS' LEADING NEWSPAPER
RADIO-TELEVISION STATIONS WFAA • TEXAS ALMANAC

Copy sent MP for reply.

Nov. 10, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Price:

Give me a little time and I may be able to work out something on sampling the Negro vote potential in Texas. With the holidays and then a session of the Legislature approaching, I would have to get it in motion in the next three or four weeks or wait until next summer. Right now, I am working on two other surveys connected with educating Negroes in Texas, so the vote proposal would come behind that.

Please let me know when you need these figures. Also, would you please send me a leaflet or something which describes the Southern Regional Council, and its backing. I have in mind taking this up with our managing editor to see if The Dallas News would sponsor the survey and give you the benefit of the results, perhaps with you sharing some of the expense. I am sure he will want to know generally about your operation, and I am hazy about it.

Sincerely yours,
Richard M. Morehead
Richard M. Morehead

TULANE UNIVERSITY

College of Arts and Sciences

NEW ORLEANS 18

Department of Political Science

November 11, 1958

Copy sent MP for reply

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Price:

I wonder if, first of all, you would send me the list of suggested questions which you failed to enclose in your letter of November 5th. I would like to begin thinking about the research problem and it is possible I might have some suggestions.

The parish I would suggest for analysis in Louisiana is Ouachita Parish. There are several reasons for this selection. First, Ouachita Parish has experienced a spectacular decline in Negro registration and is important for that reason. In the second place, it contains a medium size city, Monroe, which should facilitate the gathering of valid information. There is reason to believe also that Ouachita Parish would be typical of those parishes in northern Louisiana where Negro registration has been reduced.

Concerning your request for suggestions on a Mississippi consultant, the problem is, as I am sure you realize, a difficult one. I think the best bet is a private university, one which is not connected with the state. Professor Harry B. Manley of Millsaps College taught summer school at Tulane last year. There is a possibility that he might be available. If you find it convenient you may mention my name in writing him. While on the subject of personnel, I think you should have the name of Dr. John McConaughy of the Department of Political Science, University of South Carolina, who is interested in problems related to Negro voting and politics and who is currently doing some research on the subject. I met Dr. McConaughy at the Southern Political Science convention last week, and would recommend him if you need someone from South Carolina.

Professor Manley's full address is:

Chairman, Department of Political Science
Millsaps College
Jackson 10, Mississippi

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth N. Vines

Kenneth N. Vines

KNV:lh

EST 348
VN6-2741-office
~~TWI-5318 home~~
TWI-4643 home

November 21, 1958

Dr. Kenneth N. Vines
Department of Political Science
Tulane University
New Orleans, 18, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Vines:

First, I apologize for my carelessness in not enclosing the questionnaire in my earlier letter. Also, I must explain my delay in answering your letter of Nov. 11. I may have told you that I work for the SRC only on special projects, which means that I am in Atlanta only intermittently since I now live in Virginia. As I had returned home, this meant some slight delay in receiving your letter. However, it simplifies matters if letters regarding the voting project are addressed to me in Atlanta for in this way Mr. Fleming can see them before forwarding them to me, and thus keep in touch with the progress of the survey. I probably will not be returning to Atlanta until after the first of the year, but meanwhile if I can help in any way and speed is important, please feel free to call me collect in McLean (ELmwood 6-4516).

Your selection of Ouachita Parish for an analysis sounds excellent and I wish you all good luck and smooth sailing.

Thank you for your suggestions on other consultants. Mr. Fleming has been busy with the annual SRC board meeting and out-of-town engagements but I will talk to him soon about the possibility of a Mississippi study and Professor Manley. As for South Carolina, we already have one study underway in Beaufort County and have talked to another consultant about an analysis of one of the hard core western counties. However, the latter depends in part on his being able to establish working contacts. If this is impossible perhaps we can contact Doctor McConaughy and in any event I'm glad to learn of his interest in the problem of Negro voting, because questions may arise on which he can shed light for us.

Incidentally, if you have county-by-county figures for Louisiana from the secretary of state, we would very much like to have them for we are planning tentatively to include figures from the states which have official lists. If you need the list for your files, it could be copied and returned to you.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Briggs

Nov. 21, 1958

Mr. Richard M. Morehead
Austin Bureau
The Dallas Morning News
Box 2396, Capitol Station
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Morehead:

Thank you for your letter regarding the possibility of sampling Negro registration in Texas. I hope that you will be able to work out something. As to the timing, we plan a survey that will be more detailed than the interim report issued the first of this month. This is scheduled for some time after the first of the year--right now I would guess it should be finished in February or March, although we are trying to have all our material in hand by Jan. 1. So, if you can fit the survey into your schedule in the next three or four weeks this would work out very well for us.

I am enclosing an outline of the Southern Regional Council's origins and aims. Since it was released two years ago, James McBride Dabbs of Mayesville, S.C., has become president of the SRC. He is a plantation owner, an elder in the Presbyterian church, a former university teacher and author of a recent book, "The Southern Heritage." Also, during this period Harold Fleming, a native of Georgia and a Harvard graduate, became executive director.

Since I work for the Council only intermittently, on special projects, I think I can view it in a more detached manner than if I were a regular staff member. And so, I'd like to add my own comment. I have found the SRC an excellent, well-balanced, reasonable agency which is doing outstanding work in the field of race relations. I think this is borne out by the reputation it has among reporters and, in fact, our government, which refers so many foreign visiters interested in racial problems to the SRC. You probably know John Popham, now with the Chattanooga Times, and I'm sure he would be glad to add his appraisal of the Council. (I mention him because he traveled so widely in the South and knows so many newspaper men through his work with the New York Times.)

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

November 21, 1958

Dr. Herman H. Long, Director
Race Relations Department
Fisk University Office
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Doctor Long:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 5 and for your comments on voting by Negroes in Tennessee.

The figures to which you reffered were from an interim SRC report released before the Nov. 4 general elections. We hope to have a more detailed report some time after the first of the year. As this is a continuing study, we would be happy to hear from you at any time you learn of anything additional pertinent to the study.

While we are not completely satisfied with the registration figures available to us for Tennessee, they were the best we could obtain, since a central list is unavailable. In fact, Tennessee presents one of the greatest problems in the South in this regard. For this reason, we are particularly interested in any information on Negro voting and registration in this state.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

November 29, 1958

Mr. Stuart Long
Long News Service
Drawer O, Capitol Station
Austin, 11, Texas

Dear Mr. Long:

Thank you for your letter and your offer to conduct a survey of Negro registration in Texas. Your suggestion as to method sounds quite logical, particularly backed as it is with your knowledge of the inherent problems of gathering figures in Texas.

So, this is by way of a go-ahead with the outline you proposed in your letter of November 20. Both the $150 fee you mentioned and the six-week time period also are acceptable.

Again, thank you, and good luck. Please let us know if we can help in any way.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

November 29, 1958

Dear Harold:

I thought the suggestion from Texas sounded good. I asked Bem to inquire at the office about Long. A former Texan knew a little about him, that he's been around quite awhile, writes a weekly political column and is generally okay so far as he knows. This isn't much to go on but his letter sounded as if he knows the score on registration. So, I've written him today and I'm enclosing a copy. (Rest assured, my originals aren't quite so bad as the carbons.)

I've written John Fischer to ask if Harper's would be interested in a piece based on the violence survey. I'll let you know if there's any answer.

Some time before the holidays I'll try to get down to Richmond to copy the county and city voting figures.

Margaret

December 15, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Here is a letter and enclosure from Kenneth Vines. Since he wanted the photostat back, I have delayed forwarding the correspondence to you until we could get the enclosure copied. We have done this and have returned Vines' copy to him with a note saying that he will probably be hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2

file Copy

PARISH	Total Number of Registered Voters as of October 4, 1958	Total Number of White Voters Registered As of October 4, 1958 (Male)	(Female)	Total Number of Colored Voters Registered as of October 4, 1958 (Male)	(Female)	Number of Voters of Native Birth	Number of Voters of Foreign Birth	[redacted]
Acadia	21828	12216	6108	2336	1168	21732	96	
Allen	8816	4043	3010	922	841	8806	10	
Ascension	9406	4105	3277	1116	908	9404	2	
Assumption	6720	2650	2081	1097	892	6712	8	
Avoyelles	15999	8427	5618	1103	851	15960	39	
Beauregard	7787	3401	3346	530	510	7729	58	
Bienville	4787	2437	2322	12	16	4784	3	
Bossier	10455	5093	4890	237	235	10397	58	
Caddo	55688	26098	25124	2205	2261	55060	628	
Calcasieu	41967	19077	16526	3277	3087	41642	325	
Caldwell	2572	1390	1144	15	23	2569	3	
[redacted]	[redacted]	1005	923	53	22	2000	[redacted]	
[redacted]	[redacted]	1227	995	97	90	2409	[redacted]	
[redacted]	[redacted]	2809	2889	13	2	5709	[redacted]	
Concordia	2262	1161	929	104	68	2261	1	
De Soto	6012	2862	2664	233	253	5999	13	
East Baton Rouge	63690	28354	26236	4309	4791	62948	742	
East Carroll	2028	1087	941	-0-	-0-	2024	4	
East Feliciana	2939	1286	1199	196	258	2938	1	
Evangeline	15901	6990	5825	1583	1503	15893	8	
Franklin	6056	3103	2589	170	194	6046	10	
Grant	5277	2536	2216	312	213	5272	5	
Iberia	18602	7592	6898	2203	1909	18493	109	
Iberville	7853	3194	2723	1042	894	7754	99	
Jackson	5316	2567	2389	157	203	5307	9	
Jefferson	66127	31501	27891	3724	3011	65173	954	
Jefferson Davis	10830	4954	4215	872	789	10794	36	
LaFayette	17121	8171	5954	1736	1260	16993	128	
LaFourche	22879	12107	8819	1011	942	22832	47	
La Salle	5058	2647	2254	62	95	5054	4	
Lincoln	5135	2504	2161	227	243	5119	16	
Livingston	7107	3257	3286	284	280	7057	50	
Madison	1316	700	616	-0-	-0-	1306	10	
Morehouse	4849	2524	2123	115	87	4844	5	
Natchitoches	7528	3157	2964	666	741	7507	21	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4631	

East Baton Rouge	63690	28354	26236	4309	4791	62948	742	
East Carroll	2028	1087	941	-0-	-0-	2024	4	
East Feliciana	2939	1286	1199	196	258	2938	1	
Evangeline	15901	6990	5825	1583	1503	15893	8	
Franklin	6056	3103	2589	170	194	6046	10	
Grant	5277	2536	2216	312	213	5272	5	
Iberia	18602	7592	6898	2203	1909	18493	109	
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Lincoln	5135	2504	2161	227	243	5119	16	
Livingston	7107	3257	3286	284	280	7057	50	
Madison	1316	700	616	-0-	-0-	1306	10	
Morehouse	4849	2524	2123	115	87	4844	5	
Natchitoches	7528	3157	2964	666	741	7507	21	
Orleans	194421	83766	79366	16362	14927	189790	4631	
Ouachita	22755	16379	10600	350	426	22578	177	
Plaquemines	5416	2959	2412	38	7	5305	111	
Pointe Coupee	3747	1586	1535	300	326	3744	3	
Rapides	27924	12728	12566	1156	1474	27727	197	
Red River	1973	1095	863	5	10	1972	1	
Richland	4452	2318	1955	92	87	4445	7	
Sabine	9135	4409	3234	933	559	9124	11	
St. Bernard								
St. Charles	6439	2786	2215	790	642	6393	46	
St. Helena	2761	913	789	539	520	2759	2	
St. James	6251	2122	1956	1161	1012	6227	24	
St. John the Baptist								
St. Landry	22512	8419	6948	3919	3226	22446	66	14
St. Martin	9650	3971	3173	1482	1024	9630	20	6
St. Mary	14021	5521	5842	1379	1279	13965	56	11
St. Tammany	16129	7564	6495	1087	983	15895	234	13
Tangipahoa	21031	9094	8460	1603	1874	20716	315	17
Tensas	928	515	413	-0-	-0-	928	-0-	
Terrebonne	12192	6375	4818	628	371	12140	52	10
Union	4303	2006	1929	144	224	4299	4	
Vermilion	18753	10500	6363	1150	740	18741	12	
Vernon	8063	3974	3449	291	349	8041	22	
Washington	12961	6131	5313	750	767	12920	41	11
Webster	8277	4209	3988	51	29	8269	8	
West Baton Rouge	2315	984	716	298	317	2306	9	
West Carroll	3335	1855	1410	25	45	3332	3	
West Feliciana	901	480	421	-0-	-0-	901	-0-	
Winn								
	920675✓	423891✓	370374✓	66552✓	59858✓	911120✓	9555✓	77

✓

Livingston - 1,000 177 in party affiliations

Democratic Total - 177, 2,980 in Total

MENT OF THE REGISTERED VOTERS

October 4, 1958

f Voters Who Write r Name		Number of Voters Who Make Their Mark		Party Affiliations					
	(Colored)	(White)	(Colored)	Democrat	Republican	Socialist	Independent or no party	States' Rights	Dixiecrat
48	2509	2676	995	21796	30	-0-	2	-0-	
30	1479	323	284	8814	2	-0-	-0-	-0-	
61	1744	221	280	9396	10	-0-	-0-	-0-	
81	1569	650	420	6717	2	-0-	1	-0-	
94	1231	851	723	15961	33	-0-	5	-0-	
98	978	49	62	7769	17	-0-	1	-0-	
48	28	11	-0-	4779	7	-0-	1	-0-	
11	472	71	1	10238	116	0	101	-0-	
94	4466	28	-0-	52902	1911	0	556	319	
596	5529	1007	835	41392	450	-0	125	-0-	
22	38	12	-0-	2566	-0-	-0-	-0-	6	
62	71	66	4	2000	3	-0-	-0-	-0-	
81	187	41	-0-	2409	-0	-0-	-0-	-0-	
686	15	12	-0-	5706	5	-0-	2	-0-	
089	173	-0-	-0-	2244	11	-0-	7	-0-	
507	486	19	-0-	5972	23	-0-	17	-0-	
068	9096	522	4	62749	490	-0-	451	-0-	
007	-0-	21	-0-	2024	4	-0-	-0-	-0-	
74	454	9	2	2938	1	-0-	-0-	-0-	
724	1504	2089	1584	15867	32	-0-	2	-0-	
667	356	25	8	6043	10	-0-	-0-	3	
545	451	207	74	5266	10	-0-	1	-0-	
983	2287	1707	1825	18517	81	-0-	4	-0-	
987	1876	130	60	7791	56	-0-	6	-0-	
928	350	28	10	5302	8	-0-	6	-0-	
534	6253	858	482	64755	876	-0-	493	2	
455	1376	714	285	10817	12	-0-	1	-0-	
[redacted]	2370	843	626	16829	246	-0-	46	0	
[redacted]	1428	2344	325	22874	5	-0-	[redacted]	[redacted]	
[redacted]	[redacted]	52	31	6089	(10)78	-0-	-0-	-0-	
275	-0-	41	-0-	1305	10	-0-	1	-0-	
647	202	-0-	-0-	4812	34	-0-	3	-0-	
9.85	1370	136	37	7422	50	-0-	30	26	
832	31170	301	118	190384	3019	-0-	1018	-0-	
936	776	43	-0-	22482	255	-0-	14	4	
240	44	131	1	5350	30	-0-	36	-0-	
097	625	24	1	3738	9	-0-	-0-	-0-	
078	2614	216	16	27571	118	-0-	168	67	
957	15	1	-0-	1965	7	-0-	0	1	
270	179	3	-0-	4426	18	-0-	8	-0-	
370	1369	273	123	9124	11	-0-	-0-	-0-	
[redacted]				6416	13	[redacted]			

962	71	66	4	2000	3	-0-	-0-	-0-
181	187	41	-0-	2409	-0	-0-	-0-	-0-
686	15	12	-0-	5706	5	-0-	2	-0-
089	173	-0-	-0-	2244	11	-0-	7	-0-
507	486	19	-0-	5972	23	-0-	17	-0-
068	9096	522	4	62749	490	-0-	451	-0-
007	-0-	21	-0-	2024	4	-0-	-0-	-0-
474	454	9	2	2938	1	-0-	-0-	-0-
724	1504	2089	1584	15867	32	-0-	2	-0-
667	356	25	8	6043	10	-0-	-0-	3
545	451	207	74	5266	10	-0-	1	-0-
983	2287	1707	1825	18517	81	-0-	4	-0-
987	1876	130	60	7791	56	-0-	6	-0-
928	350	28	10	5302	8	-0-	6	-0-
534	6253	858	482	64755	876	-0-	493	2
455	1376	714	285	10817	12	-0-	1	-0-
[redacted]	[redacted]	843	626	16829	246	-0-	46	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	2344	325	22824	50	-0-	-0-	[redacted]
275	-0-	41	-0-	1305	10	-0-	1	-0-
647	202	-0-	-0-	4812	34	-0-	3	-0-
9.85	1370	136	37	7422	50	-0-	30	26
832	31170	301	118	190384	3019	-0-	1018	-0-
936	776	43	-0-	22482	255	-0-	14	4
240	44	131	1	5350	30	-0-	36	-0-
097	625	24	1	3738	9	-0-	-0-	-0-
078	2614	216	16	27571	118	-0-	168	67
957	15	1	-0-	1965	7	-0-	-0-	1
270	179	3	-0-	4426	18	-0-	8	-0-
370	1369	273	123	9124	11	-0-	-0-	-0-
[redacted]	1281	31	151	6416	13	[redacted]	2	-0-
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	2753	8	[redacted]	-0-	-0-
	1962	77	211	6219	31	-0-	1	-0-
	6301	655	845	22468	34	-0-	10	-0-
	1892	952	614	9560	27	-0-	63	-0-
	2239	346	416	13992	24	-0-	5	-0-
	1916	83	154	15948	127	-0-	54	-0-
	3308	231	172	20957	70	-0-	4	-0-
	-0-	-0-	-0-	923	5	-0-	-0-	-0-
	975	611	24	12154	31	-0-	7	-0-
	364	52	4	4265	19	-0-	18	1
	1378	2721	512	18751	2	-0-	-0-	-0-
	629	74	11	8034	28	-0-	-0-	1
	1514	72	3	12882	40	-0-	39	-0-
	80	2	-0-	8209	55	-0-	13	-0-
	615	16	-0-	2312	3	-0-	-0-	-0-
	70	35	-0-	3305	27	-0-	3	-0-
	-0-	4	-0-	900	-0-	-0-	1	-0-
[redacted]	114028 ✓	22753 ✓	12388 ✓	908289	8613	2 ✓	3340 ✓	430 ✓
				(905309)				
				-2980	(1000)			

January 19, 1959

Dr. Kenneth N. Vines
Department of Political Science
Tulane University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Vines:

In response to your letter to Margaret Price, I am enclosing our check for $348.00 in payment of expenses of $98.00 and fee of $250.00. Your report on Ouachita Parish has been forwarded to Mrs. Price, who will probably write you shortly.

Meanwhile, let me say that we appreciate your interest and cooperation in our voting project and look forward to working with you further.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Check - $348.00)
cc: Mrs. Margaret Price

TULANE UNIVERSITY

College of Arts and Sciences

NEW ORLEANS 18

Department of Political Science

January 13, 1959

+ fee $250.00

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Price:

The following is a statement of expenses incurred during my field trip to Ouachita Parish for the report on the Purge of Negro Voters.

Transportation	-	$36.00
Maintenance	-	48.00
Typing Report	-	9.00
Miscellaneous	-	5.00
		$98.00

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth N. Vines

Kenneth N. Vines
Department of Political Science

KNV:lh

250
98
348

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Mrs. Bem Price

REGARDING:

Transmittal of Vines' and Siceloff's reports on 1958 Voting Survey

DATE MAILED

January 19, 1959

NOTE:

Thermofax copy of Vines' report made and handed to HCF as of this date

Bill paid Mr. Long $150.00
Ck. #5172
Jan. 27, 1958

January 21, 1959

Mrs. Margaret Price
3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

We're really getting the returns this week!

Here's the Long study of Texas registration, which on brief scrutiny strikes me as a careful and thoroughgoing job. However, before paying the $150 bill, which I'm keeping here, I will awaite an OK from you. Also, I'll leave it to you to write Long.

I see no reason why we shouldn't promise him that he can release the figures when we are ready to make them public - though obviously we can't tell him now exactly when that will be.

I'll look forward to your reaction.

Yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2 (Ltr. and Tex. registration figures from Stuart Long)

Saturday, January 24

Dear Harold:

I had hoped to tie up the various SRC things I have here by this week-end. I will try to get them taken care of in the next few days. Bem came home from El Paso Thursday night, after being in bed in a hotel there for two days. His doctor came to see him yesterday and after outlining all the infections and complications he has from a virus, about all he could say hopefully was that he doesn't have pneumonia--yet. He really is pretty sick and I know if the next couple of days are like these last two I won't be able to get the various thingsto you before the middle of next week.

But, I did at least want to write about a few things. The manuscripts from Vines and Siceloff have been received. I think they are both quite good. I thought of only a couple of minor things I'd like to ask. But, I shall read them again more carefully. And, I shall get off a letter to both of them thanking them, etc., by Monday at the latest. I'll send you a copy of the letter to Courtney. And I'll send you the original to Vines, if in this one to him, I go into the matter of a Mississippi study, so you can see if it is what you want.

About Courtney Siceloff's fee. He had written, you remember, that he would submit only expenses. Checking back over my correspondence I find I had written him, "We appreciate, too, your generosity in waiving the fee but I know Harold Fleming would not want you to pay any costs yourself and certainly would want you to submit an expense account, at the very least." That, so far as I know was all that was said. So, I think I'd better leave this to you, since you know Courtney, etc. However, I do think that under the circumstances, if you do offer a fee, the $100 you mentioned would be adequate, and fair.

The Texas figures also have arrived and while I haven't gone into them to the extent of figuring just how he arrived at each total, It looks impressive. Since this apparently is the first time anyone has done anything like this I'm delighted we could get them. I will write to him, also, within the next couple of days, and go into the release date with him in line with what you wrote. Second guessing now, I wish we also had gotten the white registration for each county. But, that's of secondary importance for the survey purposes. I would suggest that you go ahead and pay him the $150. (I've just looked at his report again, and can think of nothing offhand that is missing.)

In a separate envelope I'm sending the Virginia registration figures. I copied them from the list in the office of the secretary of the State Elections Board. A few minor changes have been made, which changed the totals we used last October slightly. (He made the revisions in November. Incidentally, the April, 1958, figures I'm sending are the only ones currently available--another listing won't be made before fall.) To be on the safe side, I have a duplicate copy which I am keeping.

I now have made cards of all the instances of violence, reprisals and intimidation I have on hand for the last six months of 1958. I hope to get them into paragraph form to send you next week for insertion in the survey. At the same time, I will send the cards to put into the card file drawer, which I think the reference section could well keep intact in case later questions arise as to source. I have another 40 or so incidents (about half again as many if you break down some of the bomb threats).

Margaret

January 26, 1959

Mr. Stuart Long
Long News Service
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Long:

Thank you very much for your tabulation of the number of Negroes currently qualified to vote in Texas. We are delighted with the survey in every way.

I know how difficult it is to compile county-by-county figures in states where there is no central, official source and the size of Texas, of course, makes it an even greater problem. The method used in arriving at estimates, where actual counts were unavailable, seems quite logical. Also, your knowledge of the state adds to the validity.

I agree with you that no matter how sure we might feel about any estimates, they should be labeled clearly as such. In fact, all of us at SRC are well aware that questions raised about just one county can cast doubt on an entire effort. And so for this reason we tried to be very careful in a previous registration survey, as we will be in this one, to make clear the source of the various figures, and where an estimate is used to tell how this was reached.

Do you by any chance have an extra copy of the sheets on which you typed the figures. If so, I would appreciate your sending a set--I will fill in the blanks. (I have a horror of losing a tabulation and feel safer if a duplicate can be kept in the SRC reference files.)

I want to ask you, also, if you know the total number of eligible voters in Texas. As I recall, one newsman in the state told us last fall the estimate usually given at that time was 2,055,000 (or, 1,905,000 eligible white voters, using an estimate then of 150,000 eligible Negroes).

In response to your question about using the figures at the time of the SRC release, I can see no reason why this couldn't be worked out. We can't say just when the survey will be completed, due to an unforeseen delay in one of the contributing studies. However, when the survey is wrapped up and a release date set, I will write to you again, and I hope in time for you to make the maximum use of the figures.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

January 28, 1959

Dear Harold:

Attached is a letter to Vines. I thought you'd better take a look at it to see if the matter of the Mississippi report is what you have in mind. If not, perhaps you could just re-word it or eliminate this part, sign it and send along the substitute to Vines.

If the letter does meet with your approval and you send it, do you want to make any mention of expenses in connection with the additional material he said he would send us? He wrote that he had statistics on the rate of Negro registration in the entire group of 13 purge parishes as compared with rates of Negro and white registration in a sample of non-purge parishes. Also, he said he had detailed information concerning the slow down of Negro registration in Caddo Parish (Shreveport) obtained from Dr. Simpkins of the Voters League of Shreveport, including case studies, etc. He said

Vines said it would "take me three or four daysto have thenotes typed up in readable form but you are welcome to them if you can use them." I'm sure there's no question about our wanting them. If you think we should offer to cover any clerical expenses, etc., perhaps you could just append a note to this effect to my letter.

I've now re-read both Vines and Courtney's reports and gone over the Texas figures and I think all three are extremely satisfactory.

Bem is still home recuperating, but except for the almost inevitable sinus troubles which now have developed, is feeling somewhat better.

I missed Paul Rilling when I was in Richmond--he had been delayed in returning there so had sent them a draft of the pamphlet I'd written for them. I sent it with a sigh of relief, thinking I was shrewd getting it off before the then pending court decisions, and suggesting where they could make inserts. But Paul and his group were shrewder, for yesterday back it came, asking if I'd make the inserts. Things have been happening so fast that major revisions are called for and here I am stuck with the damned thing again.

Margard

January 28, 1959

Dr. Kenneth N. Vines
Department of Political Science
Tulane University
New Orleans, 18, La.

Dear Doctor Vines:

Thank you very much for your cooperation in the SRC Negro registration survey. Your report on Ouachita Parish is an invaluable addition to the project. It is exactly what we had hoped for and is both informative and interesting. I found your conjectures on the purges particularly interesting and I hope we will be able to quote them verbatim.

Indeed we are interested in the additional information you outlined in your letter of Jan. 21 and would be extremely grateful to you if you could send us both the statistics on the rate of Negro registration in all the thirteen purge parishes and the detailed information on Caddo.

You may recall that I wrote to you last November about the possibility of a study of a Mississippi county, similar to the oneon Ouachita. To date we have done nothing about this. Now, however, due to an unforeseen delay in one of the reports for the survey, the release date has had to be moved forward and so it seems there may be time to include a Mississippi study after all.

You mentioned the possibility of interesting Prof. Harry B. Manley of Millsaps College in such a report. However, it is sometimes difficult to outline our needs to someone unfamiliar with SRC work, particularly when we are asking for a study to be done in a rather short time. So, we wondered if you would have the time to undertake another report for us, this one on a county in Mississippi. The fee, $250 plus expenses, would be the same. If you are willing, we would leave the method to you--perhaps you could find time to produce the report yourself or if not, supervise the project and find someone, perhaps Professor Manley, to gather the basic information.

If you are interested, it should not be difficult to settle on a particular county in Mississippi. Do you have any suggestions on this?

Meanwhile, our sincere thanks.

Cordially,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

January 28, 1959

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, S.C.

Dear Mr. Siceloff:

I found your excellent report on Beaufort County not only informative but very interesting reading. It gave me a good mental image of the area. I was happy to hear of the cooperation among those interviewed and that you enjoyed the project. Your report certainly will be of great value in the new SRC Negro voting survey.

There may be some questions or request for additional information we'll find would be helpful when the writing of the over-all survey gets under way but right now I can think of nothing that seems to be missing.

We'll keep you posted on the progress of the survey. But meanwhile, I did want to add my warmest thanks to those of all at SRC.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

February 5, 1959

Mrs. Margaret Price
3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Many thanks for the various things you have sent recently. I'm particularly grateful, since I know Bem's rough time must have kept you busy. Glad he's so much better.

The additional items for the violence survey couldn't have been more timely, since we seem to have general agreement at last -- SRC, AFSC, and the National Council of Churches to put it out jointly! I'll keep you posted.

I sent on your letter to Vines without change. Hope he'll do the Mississippi job. I sent a thermofaxed copy of his Ouachita Parish to Harris Wofford of the Civil Rights Commission - at his request. It seems they are planning to take on the Louisiana purges next. Of course, I asked them to treat Vines' report as confidential for the time being.

Les Dunbar isn't on the job yet, but should be in about ten days.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. I'm looking forward to seeing the Virginia pamphlet you've had to labor so hard over.

February 16, 1959

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena's Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

We appreciated your cooperation in the voting survey and the good manuscript you did for Margaret Price.

I understand you undertook this for us as a labor of love. We're grateful, but would like to pay you at least a modest fee, as enclosed.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Check #5286, $100.00)

Courtney Siceloff

Dear Courtney:

We appreciated your cooperation in the voting survey and the good manuscript you ~~sent~~ ~~me~~ did for Margaret Price.

I understand you undertook this for us as a labor of love. We're grateful, but would like to pay you at least a modest fee, as enclosed.

All the best.

Sincerely,

enc

CK for $100, Voting Survey

February 23, 1959

Dr. Kenneth Vines
Department of Political Science
Tulane University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Vines:

The Council has no objection to your sending Dr. William Goodman a copy of your Ouachita Parish report. In fact, SRC has made available its material on registration and voting to the Civil Rights Commission, but with the understanding that, as in the case of your report, no public use or attribution is to be made without checking with us first.

I take it you would have no objection to our using your name as the author of the report in our subsequent publications. If so, please let us know.

Thank you for the notes on Caddo Parish, which arrived today. I am sure they will be quite useful. We also are looking forward to the material on the other purge parishes which you mentioned earlier. If there were any secretarial or other costs for all this, please feel free to bill us.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

MP:ls

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Roberts, Dr. Harry W.
Dept. of Sociology
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Va.

REGARDING:

Ltr. to HCT, answered by LWD, regarding voting behavior of Negroes in Virginia

DATE

March 3, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Montez Albright files.

March 5, 1959

Dr. Kenneth N. Vines
Department of Political Science
Tulane University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Vines:

We are sending you today the publications you requested in your letter to Mrs. Price. We are happy to furnish them gratis.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

TULANE UNIVERSITY

College of Arts and Sciences

NEW ORLEANS 18

Department of Political Science

February 3, 1959

Mrs. Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Price:

Sent 3/5/59 See Ltr.

So many persons have been interested in the work of the Council that I have given away all my Council publications and need replacements for my personal use. Would you kindly send me five copies of The Negro Voter in the South and one copy of the interim report I received several weeks back. Please let me know what charges are necessary.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth N. Vines

Kenneth N. Vines

LNV:lh

March 19, 1959

Professor Harry W. Roberts, Head
Department of Sociology
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Professor Roberts:

First of all, apologies for the delay in answering your letter of March 3rd. It somehow got sidetracked in the office mail.

I have pulled out the computations which were done for Virginia after the 1956 survey. I believe the following are the data that you want:

Non-white population (Counties above population median correlated with counties above median Negro registration)	-.42
County population change (Counties gaining correlated, etc.)	.18
Non-white population change (Counties gaining correlated, etc.)	.06
Urbanization (Counties above 50% correlated etc.)	.43
Industrialization (Counties above 25% correlated etc.)	.04

Tenancy (Counties with over 50% tenancy correlated, etc.)	- .77
Median school years completed (Counties above median correlated etc.)	.48
Median school years completed, non-white (Counties above median correlated etc.)	.60
Median family income (Counties above median correlated etc.)	.45
Median family income, non-white (Counties above median correlated etc.)	.41

I am not, myself, in a position to attest to the accuracy of these figures, though I have no reason to doubt that they were properly and carefully obtained. Please let me know if you need any of the figures upon which the correlation is based. You may recall that the median Negro voting registration for Virginia, which is the constant factor in all our correlations, was 19.78.

You asked about further studies in this field. A new survey was done for 1958 and the results are now being written up. The report will be, we think, somewhat more detailed than The Negro Voter in the South. Margaret Price is again the penman, or rather pen-woman. A preliminary statement, put out largely as a matter of public information tactics, was issued last November and I am enclosing a copy of it and also a copy of an earlier Special Report summarizing official comments about Negro voting. You will certainly get a copy of the new survey report when it is issued.

Please let me know if we can help you in any other way.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Blind Copy: Professor Donald Matthews, Dept. Political Science
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

It occurs to me that you may be interested to know that such correlationsas the above have been done here, although I gather that no one has evidenced pride in them - they never got out of our files.

Rec'd from Ken. Vines
3/2/59 + sent on to Margaret Price

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE 12 PURGE PARISHES AS COMPARED TO 10 REPRESENTATIVE NON-PURGE PARISHES, MARCH 1956 TO OCTOBER 1958

Purge Parishes Parish	Percentage Change Negro	Percentage Change White	Non-Purge Parishes Parish	Percentage Change Negro	Percentage Change White
Bienville	-95	-11	Beauregard	-7	-9
Concordia	-71	-42	Bossier	-5	+16
DeSoto	-36	-1	Caddo	-19	+5
Franklin	-51	-31	East Baton Rouge	+4	+6
Grant	-39	-18	Evangeline	-6	-3
Jackson	-68	-9	Jefferson	+11	+13
Natchitoches	-52	-36	Orleans	-2	-10
Ouachita	-87	-9	St. James	+3	0
Red River	-99	-45	St. Martin	-3	-16
Richland	-76	-40	Tangipahoa	-7	-3
Union	-77	-43			
Webster	-95	-36			

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE 12 PURGE PARISHES
AS COMPARED TO 10 REPRESENTATIVE NON-PURGE PARISHES,
MARCH 1956 TO OCTOBER 1958

Purge Parishes Parish	Percentage Change Negro	Percentage Change White
Bienville	-95	-11
Concordia	-71	-42
DeSoto	-36	-1
Franklin	-51	-31
Grant	-39	-18
Jackson	-68	-9
Natchitoches	-52	-36
Ouachita	-87	-9
Red River	-99	-45
Richland	-76	-40
Union	-77	-43
Webster	-95	-36

Non-Purge Parishes Parish	Percentage Change Negro	Percentage Change White
Beauregard	-7	-9
Bossier	-5	+16
Caddo	-19	+5
East Baton Rouge	+4	+6
Evangeline	-6	-3
Jefferson	+11	+13
Orleans	-2	-10
St. James	+3	0
St. Martin	-3	-16
Tangipahoa	-7	-3

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

April 6, 1959

Professor Henry Roberts, Head
Department of Sociology
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Professor Roberts:

After some thought is seems to me that the most convenient way of furnishing you the raw figures on the Virginia correlations is to send you the data cards and the compilation sheets that were compiled. We would of course like to have these returned when you are through with them. They are the only copies we have, and although we have no present need for them, and you may, therefore use them unhurriedly, I would like to have them back for our files. The statistical method employed for the correlations is the Yule's-Q device. I had not myself been previously acquainted with it but the procedure is fairly simple, and seems plainly revealed from the computations.

I am especially willing to send these along to you because you have indicated that you will rerun the correlations and check on their accuracy. I think this would be a wholesome thing and I would be most interested to know the results.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

KEY TO COUNTY CARDS

A. Negro Registration

B. White Registration

C. % Potential Negroes Registered

D. % Potential Whites Registered

E. -

F. % Population Non-white

G. % Population change

H. % Population Change (Non-white)

I. Urbanization

J. Industrialization

K. Negro Farm Tenancy

L. Median School Year Completed

M. Median School Year Completed (Non-white)

N. Median Family Income

O. Median Family Income (Non-white)

June 23, 1959

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena's Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney Siceloff:

We're hoping the SRC voting survey is nearing the final stages.

As planned now, there will be a general introductory section, followed by three county studies--one on Ouachita Parish, Louisiana, by Kenneth Vines of Tulane University; one on Baker County, Georgia, by Dean Brazeal of Morehouse College; and yours on Beaufort County.

At the time I first wrote to you the final form wasn't clear and it probably appeared that we would incorporate the county surveys into the body of the general report. However, all turned out to be such interesting reports it seemed they should be carried as separate sections. Consequently, I have now put your report into narrative form. I'm enclosing this effort and I hope you can find time to make any necessary corrections and changes.

If this meets with your approval, may we carry it with your byline? (We are using the bylines of both Brazeal and Vines.) We would prefer doing this. However, if this is not

agreeable, an alternative would be to use no byline but simply to say it was based on a field study made by you.

I hope we will hear from you soon, for by that time, I think we should be ready to send the material to a printer.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

MP/mf

Suggest as title:

RACE AND POLITICS IN A COASTAL COUNTY:
BEAUFORT COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

Suggest as introductory paragraph:

Race relations in Beaufort County are characterized by white permissiveness and Negro apathy. In these respects, the county is illustrativ e of racial practices often seen to prevail in coastal sections. The easier, more relaxed relationships may form a base for progressive improvement of the Negroes' status; on the other hand, they may represent simply a different technique for managing affairs in the interest of continued white dominance.

Beaufort County once was an area of very large, successful plantations growing sea-island or long staple cotton, rice and indigo. Today there are a number of plantations still in existence but most are occupied by winter residents and used as resorts.

Farms in this coastal county are decreasing in number but growing in size. In 1930 there were,2,021 farms with an average of 62.5 acreas; in 1955 there were 1,210 farms with an average of 110½ acres. In 1950, 87.1 per cent of the rural farm population was Negro; 12 per cent of the rural Negroes were tenants and only one-tenth of one per cent sharecroppers.

About 60 per cent of the population is Negro. In 1957 estimated population showed a total of 12,257 white persons and 18,209 Negroes.

The Negroes of Beaufort County maintained political influence for a number of years after Reconstruction. In the period from 1878 to 1900 some 75 Negroes were elected to the state legislature; of these, 26 came from Beaufort. There were three Negro Congressmen from South Carolina in that period; two of these were from Beaufort. Until 1888 all elective offices in Beaufort County were held by Negroes and in fact some Negroes held elective offices there until 1896. At that time, white South Carolinians barred Negroes from the Democratic primaries. However, even in the years

between this move and the outlawing of the white primaries in the 1940's, some Negroes voted in general elections in Beaufort County.

REGISTRATION

After the 1958 re-registration -- required every 10 years in South Carolina -- Beaufort County had 4,141 whites and 1,286 Negroes registered to vote. Approximately 31 per cent of the registrants then were Negroes, although they comprised 60 per cent of the population.

For the most part, both white and Negro persons interviewed felt that at present there is no effort to limit the number of Negroes registered.[1]

Except for an occasional complaint that white applicants seem to be favored slightly, the general feeling among Negroes interviewed was that registrars are cooperative. They said Negro registration is limited primarily by apathy, a failure to realize the importance of voting, or, in some cases, a fear of not being able to pass registration tests.

If one word could describe the prevailing attitude of the white community toward Negroes in Beaufort County it would be paternalistic. In general, this is true of county officials. Political candidates are not particularly racists;

---

[1](While Beaufort County as a whole is referred to throughout, the interviews for this survey were conducted around the town of Beaufort and St. Helena Island, which are somewhat more advanced politically and economically than the other sections of the county. Consequently, while interviews with officials deal with the county as a whole, those with private citizens may apply to a more limited section of the county.)

in fact, they seem to avoid the subject of race altogether. True, there are not many outspoken "moderate" candidates in the community, if this word is interpreted as describing those who favor upholding law and order, and consequently, making an effort to obey Supreme Court decisions on desegregation. In another meaning of the word, they could be termed moderate in their racial views, since their attitudes are generally friendly. White candidates now are occasionally seeking permission to speak before Negro groups during their campaigns.

There are a number of Negro organizations working to increase registration. There is a Citizens Committee in Beaufort, a Voters Association on St. Helena, and the NAACP in both, which have active programs in the field of registration and voting.

Within the churches, it is primarily the lay members rather than the ministers who take the lead, although one Negro minister is establishing a social action committee primarily concerned with registration and voting and is trying to get a similar committee in all churches. The Negro teachers do not generally participate in registration movements. One remarked they feel closely watched and so do not feel free to speak out.

Lines of communication remain open between the white and Negro community, although primarily on an unofficial

level. There are four or five self-reliant Negro leaders who serve as spokesmen for particular requests. One of these is vice president of the United Fund and has attended state meetings in that capacity. The local Negro Democratic Club, which is non-partisan, goes to see the city council and mayor but when appearing before any officials speaks of itself as a Citizens Committee. Its spokesmen are cordially received but have not been impressed by the degree of action that has followed. One recent achievement mentioned was that whereas in past parades Negroes always brought up the rear, the 1958 Christmas parade was "integrated," with scouts and other marchers together.

FACILITIES AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

There have been Negro elementary and high schools under private auspices for a long period. At the beginning of the Civil War a number of northern abolitionists came to the freed areas of Beaufort County to set up schools for Negroes. One of these became Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School, which continued as an elementary and high school until 1948 when the formal school program was turned over to the county. Two other schools were started in that period, one by the American Baptists which still operates as a high school and junior college called Mather School and Junior College. The Port Royal Training School, established in 1903 as an elementary and high school for Negroes, was operated until

1926 when it was turned over to the county. These schools had boarding departments, and thus pupils came from over the county as well as the locality.

In 1951, South Carolina passed a three per cent sales tax to aid in construction of schools and the operation of school buses; the following year, school districts were consolidated. Since then transportation and school facilities have been improved for Negroes in Beaufort County. Four new Negro schools have been constructed in the county north of Broad River, in School District #1. In 1951-52 the expenditure per Negro child was approximately 55 to 60 per cent of that for the white children. In 1956-57, when the expenditure was 70 per cent that of the white child, the comparative average costs in Beaufort County were:

	Elementary	High School
Negro	$136	$171
White	$199	$237

In the five year period between 1951-52 and 1956-57, the cost per white pupil went down $3 and increased per Negro pupil by $60. During the 1951-52 school year the total library fund for Negro schools of the county was $35; in 1956-57, it was $7,000. Both white and Negro teachers receive the same salary for equal qualification levels. The salary in Beaufort

County for the grade A certificate beginning teacher is the highest in the state. The salary in Beaufort County for the grade A certificate, 14 years experience, is the second highest in the state. Of the white teachers, 92.4 per cent have grade A certificates, the highest percentage in South Carolina; and 37.9 per cent of the Negro teachers, the next highest in the state, have grade A certificates. The annual report of the State Superintendent of Education for 1956-57 lists the average salary for classroom teachers in the county as:

	Elementary		High School	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Men	$4,250	$3,641	$3,543	$3,101
Women	2,977	2,716	3,054	2,992

The Parris Island Marine Corps Recruit Depot has its own elementary school, which is desegregated, having four Negro pupils at present.

A white doctor interviewed said Beaufort County Memorial Hospital had the same facilities in some cases for both races. For example, the same delivery and operating rooms were used; there were equal facilities for private rooms and lying-in privileges. Negro physicians have been courtesy (not voting) members of the hospital staff, although there are none on the staff now, apparently for reasons unconnected with race.

Among the white persons interviewed, including a minister, in the Beaufort-St. Helena area, none had heard of any of the white ministers speaking out pro or con on segregation-integration questions. A white layman prominent in the community indicated that the attitudes vary considerably. He spoke, for instance, of a Presbyterian minister who feels that it is not a basic issue, that other questions are of more importance; of a Baptist minister who is an avowed segregationist; a Methodist minister who approaches the problem as a psychologist and is apparently liberal in his attitude. The Episcopal church in Beaufort has had Negro communicants, primarily students at the Mather School, who presumably have now finished school. As far as is known, there currently are no Negro Episcopalians in Beaufort. About a year ago, there was a Negro applicant from the Mather School who wanted to join the church. The vestry voted unanimously for acceptance but reserved a section in the front of the church for her. It also was suggested to the Negro communicant that she come to the last serving of the communion to which she agreed; she was joined usually by at least one white person. A Negro Marine participated in one service, not sitting in the "reserved section" and while there was some adverse comment, it was not known if anything was said directly to the Marine, although he attended only the one time.

The Catholic priest said in an interview a year ago that he had Negro communicants, that in certain situations their participation had to be sought, whereas in others they were not encouraged to participate, as in certain social events.

Since Beaufort County is not industrial, labor unions have not been a major issue. However, there are unions, one with the reactivated state port at Port Royal. The state senator for the area has urged Beaufort Negroes to organize a union so as to obtain work, since union members have been coming in from Charleston to service the ships. This senator said in an interview that most of the skilled construction workers of Parris Island are union members.

The daily newspaper read most widely in Beaufort is the News and Courier of Charleston, one of the South's strongest advocates of racial segregation. The weekly Beaufort Gazette also is segregationist in tone although editorials dealing with racial problems do not appear frequently, whereas with the News and Courier almost every issue deals with the question.

A State Park located on the Atlantic Beach has a segregated section for Negroes which is inferior in both facilities and layout to that for whites.

There are two drive-in movies in Beaufort, both of which are desegregated, so that Negroes can park anywhere, which is rare in the South.

Negro Marines from Parris Island have access to the USO located in Beaufort, but only on certain occasions and for use of only certain facilities.

As far as public accommodations are concerned there seems to be no desegregation whatsoever. However, three important military installations in the county are completely desegregated: the Parris Island Marine Corps Recruit Dept, the U.S. Naval Hospital and the Marine Corps Air Station. Not only is the military personnel integrated, but also the large civilian personnel.

POLICE AND COMMUNITY ATTITUDES.

There was unanimity among both the white and Negro persons interviewed that the attitudes and actions of the sheriff, deputies and local police were good toward the Negro community. None knew of police brutality.

However, there were comments by some Negroes about the one full-time Negro policeman on the Beaufort staff. One said the Negro community referred to him more as a night watchman than a policeman; the Negroes do not believe he could arrest white persons. Another felt the sheriff was lax with Negro prisoners, for some apparently were allowed to go home at night.

The sheriff said he would like to be quoted on the following: "If I had to be tried in my own court, I would

like to change the color of my skin." He felt that the judge made it much easier for Negroes. He indicated that he, himself, feels towards Negroes as if they were his children.

The sheriff's attitude toward the Negro community is important in all rural counties in the South, but this is particularly true in Beaufort County, where the sheriff holds a more important position politically than probably any counterpart in South Carolina. He has been in office more than 25 years. He is a close friend of the district's congressman.

There was an article in a state paper recently about the Beaufort County sheriff who does not wear a gun. This fact may be due to his poor eyesight. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the sheriff does not take a hostile, aggressive attitude in dealing with Negroes in the matter of law enforcement. He said there had been Negro deputies in the county since 1900. He said he has three Negro deputies on full-time during the summer, stationed particularly around the Negro beach, and on part-time the rest of the year. One has held the job for 33 years. He indicated there was no limit to the authority of the Negro policeman or deputies in arresting white violators.

The county seems to have had less racial violence over the years than many other rural Deep South counties. The sheriff said the county never has had a lynching. Both white and Negro interviewees could recall only three or four incidents in the past 30 years which led to heightened racial

tensions.

There has been no known Ku Klux Klan active in the county since about 1930 and even then, the sheriff said, it only collected dues and never did anything. There is a Citizens Council, but it apparently is weak. The Council itself lists 50 members and just about that number turned up at a well-publicized meeting in Beaufort three years ago. Despite the strong support given the Citizens Council by the News and Courier, which serves the county, the local group appears to have failed to interest community leaders. One prominent white person warned, though, that he thought the potential for a stronger CC existed.

Some of those of both races interviewed feel there has been no change in Negro-white relations since the Supreme Court school decisions or events in Little Rock. Others think that while the white community is still accessible as before to Negro spokesmen, yet as far as individual relations are concerned there is a change consisting of a definite "standing-off" by white people. However, a white minister said he had heard discussions in favor of preserving public schools, regardless of whether or not they were de-segregated. He said this was a change from the absolute defiance predominant soon after the Little Rock crisis.

Negroes were unanimous in feeling they now have a greater determination about extending their civil liberties.

LEGAL ACTION

There have been only two legal efforts to break the segregation pattern in the county, one handled through the courts and the other in the form of a petition. In July, 1948 David Brown, Negro of Beaufort, brought suit successfully against the State Democratic Committee to open primary elections to Negroes. The case came before Federal Judge Waites Waring on the eve of an election, after the registration books were closed. Judge Waring ruled in favor of Brown and also ruled that the registration rolls be opened again. He said he would remain in court during election day so that if any Negro were refused his voting rights the election official would be brought immediately into court.[2] Negroes voted without incident in that election and have continued to do so. Brown, a garage owner, said the suit neither led to any threats against him nor to any discernible hard feelings from white members of the community.

About two years ago some 75 Negroes signed a petition and presented it to the Beaufort County Board of Education for the assigning of pupils without regard to race. The Board did not respond.

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[2]Brown v. Baskin, 78 F. Supp. 933; Baskin v. Brown, 174 F. 2d 391.

POLITICAL FUTURE

In 1948 four Negro candidates ran for the Board of Education but none was elected, in part befause the Negro vote was split. One Negro has been a member of the Trustee Board, appointed by the Board of Education, since 1952. In St. Helena Island precinct, since Negroes began voting in 1948, several of them have met with white leaders to work out a slate of precinct candidates. The chairman of the precinct has always been white but the other officers have been about equally divided. A number of Beaufort Negroes have served as delegates to county political conventions. The Beaufort delegation to the State Democratic Convention included a Negro in 1956, and two in 1958. (There was only one other Negro delegate at this 1958 convention.) Negroes serve as poll officials both in Beaufort and St. Helena in township elections.

At the central polling place in Beaufort, there are two ballot boxes, one manned by whites and one by Negroes, but when the line of white voters is long a number usually drop their ballots in the Negro box. The ballots from both boxes are mingled before being counted, a Negro poll watcher said. Prior to the last election this same Negro had the voting lists and the boxes in his custody.

Five white and three Negro leaders were asked about the future of Negro voting in the county. All the white persons indicated support of the right of all citizens to vote.

Although none professed any personal concern about increased voting by Negroes, a few thought there was a certain anxiety among some white men and women who feared the election of Negro candidates. One foresaw "some different reaction if more Negroes register, but I don't know what type reaction it will be."

The Negroes all felt there was a growing interest in voting among their people. They pointed to larger attendance at political meetings. They also believed that before long Negroes would be elected to certain offices. On this subject, a Negro businessman commented:

"If elected, some white people may be shocked but I do not expect any severe reaction."

via airmail special

August 14, 1959

Mrs. Bem Price
3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Thanks for your good suggestion about an advance release on the voting study. This is obviously what we should do. (Bem must be living right.)

You are by all odds the logical person to draft the release, so I accept your offer with joy and thanksgiving. Assuming you have a carbon of your last draft of the report, the only thing you haven't seen is my brief foreword, the only copy of which is at the printer. Tentative title: "The Negro and the Ballot," subtitle "in the South," byline (I trust) Margaret Price.

If we can move fast enough, perhaps we could make the release date Sunday, August 23. Monday is ordinarily better, but we're subject to some criticism for giving all our stuff to morning papers; I just can't see a weekday afternoon release, but I do think we should compromise occasionally on a Sunday story.

I'm not at all confident of the press we will get, since we've put out so many releases lately and since the schools are in the limelight just now. Incidentally, after giving the violence report and waiting room survey very good treatment,

the AP here backslid on the private school study. One of the boys decided it wasn't newsworthy and threw it in the back of a drawer. Then at 10:30 the night before the AM release, the New York Times (which ran a column on it by Sitton) messaged AP about it. Of course, nobody on deck had even seen the release, and after much telephoning and confusion John Constable took them a copy. Result: a hasty, inadequate story went out at 11:45 PM -- too little and too late to make much difference. Let's just hope the voting report doesn't suffer the same fate.

Overall, I really can't complain. We've had more than our share of good play in the press lately, despite the almost embarrassing frequency of our releases. By the way, the story on the violence report that made front page in the NYT was done by Perry Mullen. A good story, too.

Enough of this chit-chat.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. Yes, do give Long the go-ahead once our release date is certain.

H.C.F.

August 13, 1959

Dear Harold:

RECEIVED AUG 14 1959

It was good to hear that the push is being made to get the voting survey out by the end of the month. I know it's going to be quite a task--the setting and proof reading of all those figures alone would be enough to ruin anyone's eyes and patience.

Since the report will be ready so uncomfortably close to the realease of the Commission's, I was wondering about the possibility of SRC putting out a news release in a week or two in advance of the actual report. Bem tossed out this suggestion the other day. I know we discussed doing this on another survey but agreed it's better to put out the news release and complete report simultaneously. However, the circumstances in this case are somewhat different. If a rather full news release were prepared, mentioning something to the effect it was preliminary to a report to be published on such and such a date, it would put it just that much ahead of the Commission's Sept. 9 date.

If it could be put out around the week-end of Aug. 22, that would be about two and a half weeks ahead of the Commission. If you think this is a good idea and if all of you are snowed under, let me know and I can do one promptly. At least it would be something to work from and then you could make whatever changes and addition you think necessary. I would gather from all the material you've been sending out, you all have been even busier than usual. The waiting room survey certainly had good play. I think the special reports have been most interesting and the latest, on the cost of private schools should be an eye opener to a lot of school boards.

Incidentally, I enjoyed the Stokeley's piece in the NY Times Magazine Sunday and was glad to see that the integration survey of a couple of years ago was helpful.

We enjoyed Jane's letter.

Margaret

You may remember we promised Long in Texas he could use the figures for that state simultaneously with the SRC release. When I know what the release date is, do you want me to give him a go-ahead?

acknowledged 8/20/59

Monday August 17

RECEIVED AUG 18 1959

Dear Harold:

Your airmail special arrived yesterday afternoon and I started work on a release last night and finished it this morning. It's rather long, but if it goes out in advance of the report, it's probably better, so reporters can select their own angle.

You'll note I made only parenthetical mention of the three county studies. I thought if I went into any detail, the release would be too long. But perhaps you can think of another way of handling this. It also occurred to me that perhaps someone like Sitton could get another piece out of the report by dealing with the county studies, particularly Brazeal's.

Simply to save time, I did not copy the registration table, but indicated where it might be inserted.

You may want to tack on a paragraph explaining SRC--I don't know whether you still consider this essential or not.

Also, if you arrived at a good, jazzy conslusion in your foreword I hope you'll add that.

I put my name in the third graf but I leave it to you whether or not it should remain. The only reason I put it in is that I thought I might as well get in on any attacks--and such are inevitable, I suppose.

It should go without saying that I hope you'll do with the release whatever you like--I admit it's a hasty job.

Incidentally, I have assumed--and hoped--that someone rechecked my addition on the 1958 registration totals, and also on the eight counties mentioned in the text as having reliable figures. (I always feel a lot safer if my arithmetic is gone over carefully.)

Best,

Margaret

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE:

Sunday, August 30, 1959

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 2-8764

Atlanta, Ga. -- The strained atmosphere created by resistance to school desegregation has slowed the pace of Negro voter registration in the South, the Southern Regional Council said today.

Negroes in parts of the South now feel they run a greater risk in trying to register than at any time since the outlawing of the white primary in 1944.

However, the Council added, the long run prospect is for "a steady, if gradual, increase in Negro political participation -- along with rising economic and social status."

These are conclusions drawn from the Council's latest survey of Negro suffrage. A full report on the survey entitled "The Negro and the Ballot in the South," by Margaret Price, will be published next week.

The Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners working for improved race relations.

The report contains county-by-county registration figures for seven states: Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia.

Since the Council last surveyed Negro voting in 1956, none of the 11 Southern states has eased its registration laws. Two states -- Virginia and Georgia -- tightened voting requirements. Five states retained the poll tax.

Literacy tests which could be used to limit Negro registration remained in effect in seven.

During this period, purges of Negroes from voting rolls have been widespread in Louisiana. In some areas of the South Negroes trying to register were confronted with threats, slowdowns, evasions and outright refusals.

"The disturbed atmosphere in much of the South, created by resistance to school desegregation, clearly has retarded the normal growth of Negro suffrage. The fear and hostility generated by demagogues has dampened both Negro initiative and white acceptance of Negro political participation," the report says.

The Council found that many Negroes already registered have seen their vote shrink in importance as racists sought to make support by Negro citizens a liability rather than an asset.

In normal times, no serious office-seeker will deliberately antagonize a sizeable segment of voters. This has applied in the South in campaigns of recent years, particularly in cities, when an appeal was made to all voters, Negro as well as white.

However, the report continues: "In many parts of the region, emotionalism surrounding the segregation issue has led to a sharper division of voters along racial lines. Extremists in and out of public office have based their political appeals on racial fears and antagonisms. By accusing their opponents of 'wooing the Negro vote' or

'catering to the NAACP,' they have sought -- with considerable success -- to make support by Negro citizens a liability rather than an asset, because Negro support has proved in a number of instances insufficient to compensate for the resulting loss of white voters. Wherever this process has been effective, every Negro voter has seen his ballot artificially devalued.

"This unhappy state of affairs is not likely to be permanent. If prior experience is any guide, no Southern electorate will remain indefinitely preoccupied with fear of change as the overriding issue in every political conflict. Whenever, soon or late, the segregation-desegregation controversy abates, other more vital issues will come to the fore, and the votes of Negro Southerners will weigh no less heavily than others in the political scales."

Meanwhile, Negroes of voting age in the South are being influenced by two distinct forces. On one side, said the report, are national trends. Congress has passed the first Civil Rights legislation since Reconstruction, setting up a Civil Rights Commission and creating a new Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department. Federal courts "have spoken with increasing frequency and clarity on the right of every American to legal equality and justice."

"On the other side," it continued, "stand local custom and resistance to change. In this camp is a vocal, sometimes violent and threatening group of whites. There are also many political candidates who use racism as a

stepping-stone to public office. What these elements lack in national support is offset, at least temporarily, by the fact that they are on the scene. The threat of Main Street often can be more real than the hope of Washington."

Despite the barriers, the number of Negro registrants remained fairly constant in the South as a whole. In mid-1956, at the time of the earlier SRC survey, an estimated 1,238,038 Negroes were registered in the 11 Southern states. At the close of 1958, an estimated 1,303,827 were registered, a gain of 65,789. This apparent gain is somewhat misleading, however, largely because the 1956 estimate of Negro registrants in Tennessee proved low in light of later available information.

In the eight states where SRC was able to obtain reliable figures, the number of Negroes registered in 1958 totaled 1,028,827, as compared to 1,074,672 in 1956, a drop of 45,845.

These eight included Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia, where registration figures all came from official sources. In North Carolina, a statewide estimate was made by the executive secretary of the State Election Board. In Texas, SRC sponsored a county-by-county check, the first of its kind in recent memory.

Of the remaining three states, the latest estimate for Tennessee came from a veteran capitol reporter; for Mississippi, from observers in the state interested in Negro suffrage, and for Alabama, from an estimate made by the Attorney General of the state.

NEGRO REGISTRATION

	1956	1958
Alabama	53,366	70,000
Arkansas	69,677	64,023
Florida	148,703	144,810
Georgia	163,389	161,958
Louisiana	161,410	131,068
Mississippi	20,000	20,000
North Carolina	135,000	150,000
South Carolina	99,890	57,978
Tennessee	90,000	185,000
Texas	214,000	226,818
Virginia	82,603	92,172
	1,238,038	1,303,827

An estimated 25 per cent of the eligible Negroes were registered in the South as a whole in 1956, as compared to 60 per cent of the white citizens of voting age. The 1958 total represented about the same percentage, a little over 25 per cent of the Negroes of voting age.

However, the report pointed out, many areas of the South have a long way to go to achieve even a 25 per cent

registration of Negroes. With some exceptions, Negroes generally continued to have the greatest difficulty in registering in the rural Black Belt counties where the ratio of Negroes to whites is highest.

SRC listed 29 counties in the South where no Negroes are registered. These include one county in Virginia; one in South Carolina; two in Georgia; three in Florida; two in Alabama; one in Tennessee; an estimated 15 in Mississippi; and four in Louisiana. The majority have populations over 50 per cent Negro.

But there are other counties in the South, the report said, where Negroes could register and vote in greater numbers. These are, for the most part, in urban areas -- and there has been a continuing trend toward urbanization of the Negro population.

As for the future, the report said:

"In the long perspective, there is every reason to expect steady, if gradual, increase in Negro political participation -- along with rising economic and social status. However, no abrupt or dramatic rise in the number of Negro registrants seems likely in the foreseeable future. It probably would be unrealistic to expect this in a time of widespread racial tension. Instead, the next big breakthrough in the field of suffrage may well be the revitalization of the existing Negro vote in the South."

The report will also include case studies of three Southern counties -- one in the rural "black belt" of the

Deep South where no Negroes are registered; a northern Louisiana parish, Ouachita, which experienced a wholesale purge of Negroes from voting lists; and a South Carolina coastal county, Beaufort.

:

August 25, 1959

RECEIVED 1 1959 August 31, 1959

Dear Harold:

I thought the contrast between the stories on the voting report by the NY Times yesterday and the AP, as carried in the Post, was interesting--the difference between a competent, pro job by Sitton and a hack rewrite by the AP. Amazing, what two reporters can do--or fail to do--with the same release.

Since I don't know just what day the report will be released this week, could you write to Long in Texas? He said he'd like to know as far in advance as possible so he could prepare his story. By the time I could hear from you and then write to him the release date might be passed. His address:

Stuart Long
Long News Service
Drawer O, Capitol Station
Austin, 11, Texas

(If this reaches you about the time the report is ready, and you want to wire the release, the telegram could be sent to Capitol Pressroom, Austin.)

Incidentally, Marge wrote to me last week to ask if I had anything that should go in the voting files, which she was working on. I'm sending her the Long correspondence and two or three other things. For the most part, the material I have is a duplicate or copy of SRC file material. I have a fat correspondence folder, which I'll mail tomorrow so it can be kept, if you want, with the earlier voting correspondence.

I'm enclosing a list of some of the persons who either helped or at least answered letters asking for information. If they are not already on the list of those to receive the report, could they be sent a copy? (I seem to recall that V.O. Key wrote ages ago to ask SRC for info. Is he being sent a copy?)

I hope the Times piece was indicative of other fair play the report will receive.

Margaret

September 2, 1959

Mr. Stuart Long
Long News Service
Drawer O, Capitol Station
Austin 11, Texas

Dear Mr. Long:

Mrs. Margaret Price, who directed our survey of Negro registration and voting, has asked me to send you the enclosed copy of the resulting publication, which has just come out.

She also said that you had raised the question of your making some special distribution of the Texas county-by-county figures that you developed for us.

Now that the booklet is published, we shall be glad to have you make any use you wish of these figures. We continue to feel that the job you did for us was a very useful contribution to public information in this field.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

Wednesday, Sept. 9

Dear Harold:

RECEIVED SEP 11 1959

Called Howard K. Smith after I talked to you yesterday. He said a copy of the report was then enroute by cab, from Helen Fuller at the New Republic. He sounded very pleasant, thanked me for calling, etc. A little later someone from his office called back to say that since they were only being loaned the copy of the report, could they have one for their reference files. So, if you haven't already mailed him one, could you sendone to Smith? I guess SRC was the "impartial" and non-partisan or independent agency--or whatever it was he called it--Smith mentioned on the Doug Edwards show last night. It went so fast, I wasn't sure. Listened to the 11 p.m. half hour CBS radio roundup last night but Smith wasn't on. But, maybe like the NY Times, CBS will use the material some time in the future.

Done

Incidentally, could you send me a couple of extra copies of the voting survey?

Done

Good to talk to you yesterday.

—Margaret Price

LWD, FYI
Please return to Ref.

MF

via air mail September 23, 1959

Mr. Warren H. Pierce
Chief Editorial Writer
St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Mr. Pierce:

I am sorry our table on Negro registration misled you.

The last column shows Negro registration as a percentage of total registration -- not as a percentage of Negro population. In other words, though Negroes make up 10.6 per cent of the Pinellas County population, they comprise only 3.3 per cent of the county's voter registration. If the Negro performance were equal to white, of course, the two figures would be the same.

Admittedly the brief heading is too easily misunderstood. However, this was the clearest designation we could devise for the limited space. As you will see, the heading "Registration: %Negro" parallels that of the adjoining column, "Population: % Negro." Since reliable figures on voting-age population are virtually impossible to obtain between censuses, we thought this comparison would be the most meaningful one.

The fact that you misinterpreted the heading is evidence enough that we should have made the meaning clearer. Thanks for writing.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

St. Petersburg Times
Florida

RECEIVED SEP 22 1959

Sept. 21, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have just discovered a rather serious error in the table on Page 64 of "The Negro and the Ballot in the South."

Pinellas County, Fla., is shown with 3.3 per cent registration of its Negro population. Actually, with 4,610 registrants out of 31,500 Negro population, this is 14.6 per cent.

We're not too proud of this figure--especially since Negroes are encouraged to register, not hindered in any way. But it is certainly better than 3.3 per cent.

Yours very truly,
Warren H. Pierce
Warren H. Pierce
Chief Editorial Writer

Will you please enclose copies of the voting survey questionnaire with the letters to Strong, Vanzo & Sicoloff?

(over)

John Ross copies of
the questions.

TO: HCF

FROM: FBI

SEND VOTING REPORT TO FOLLOWING:

Mr. William B. Welsh
Director of Research
Democratic National Committee
1001 Connecticut Ave., N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Mr. Donald S. Strong
Professor of Political Science
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Mr. Charles A. Goodrum
Librarian
Legislative Reference Service
The Library of Congress
Washington 25, D. C.

See folder "Congress, Library of."

Mr. V. O. Key, Jr.
Professor of Government
Harvard University
Littauer Center M-5
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Mr. Samuel Lubell
845 West End Avenue
New York 25, N. Y.

Sunday, July 26

Dear Harold:

If agreeable with you, I'll come down next Sunday, Aug. 3, and be ready to go the next morning. If you want to get started on the voting survey sooner, just give me a call and I'll try to get there sooner. Otherwise, I'll see you Monday morning. I've already called the Pershing, but I won't try to call you from there Sunday night because I probably won't be checking in until 10 or 11 that night, unless I can get an earlier flight.

Complications in having a leak in the skylight repaired and a few other domestic details made me move the date back a few days. This living alone does present problems. I just finished cleaning the spark plug on the power mower and consequently felt terribly efficient. The mower, however, still does not work.

Margaret

Dear Harold:

Help ! Will you ask Mildred or someone with a little extra time to type and send the enclosed four letters? I would suggest whoever has the most un-neat handwriting to sign them. I'm sorry these have been held up so long but I've been waiting to receive SRC letterheads and envelopes but they haven't arrived. I didn't want to delay any longer. Perhaps it's just as well that you look at them and revise, anyhow--for example, I'm not quite sure you said $250 and expenses.

(Incidentally, I'm sending the carbons for re-typing--until I get a new typewriter ribbon you really need ultra-violet light or something to read what comes out of this machine now.)

I hope the letter to Dugger is okay--you didn't send me his letter and so I couldn't dwell on his suggestions. If you want me to write Guy Johnson a routine thank-you will you send me his letter, please? If I don't hear from Florence in a day or two I will write her.

I'll try this week to see if I can dig up anything extra on Virginia.

Bem is still in Huntsville but should be back by the end of the week. With yesterday's bombing, plus the earlier trouble, I feel even more strongly there's an interesting case-study in Atlanta.

—Margaret

Mr. Ronnie Dugger
The Texas Observer
504 West 24th Street
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Dugger:

Thank you for your suggestions for the gathering of voting totals in Texas. I appreciate the time and thought you've given the subject and can understand, alas, your reasons for thinking someone else should do the polling.

We'll try to work out the polling along the lines you suggested and right now are casting about for the most likely person and method of getting the information needed.

I'll keep you posted on our progress, so you will be hearing from me again soon.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

Mr. John Vaughn
Department of Political Science
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Mr. Vaughn:

Donald Strong has written that he has discussed with you my letter regarding the Southern Regional Council's planned follow-up to an earlier study of Negro voting in the eleven Southern states.

He perhaps told you that we hope to present several studies-in-depth of selected counties in the South. We thought one of the Black Belt counties in Alabama would be an interesting subject and selected Dallas County. Then when Mr. Strong wrote, recommending you for the Dallas project, saying you already had written an excellent term paper on this area, it seemed like a stroke of good fortune for us.

SRC can offer a fee of $250, plus expenses. As for a deadline, in case you are interested in the project, does January 1 sound feasible? Tentatively, a preliminary report is planned for around November 1, giving current voting totals, changes in registration laws in the past two years, pending suits, etc. Then, later, when the various county studies are in, a somewhat more extensive report is planned. The latter would be based in large part on the county reports. As to how these would be used, I can best illustrate by referring you to the earlier SRC "Negro Voting in the South" ~~printed in 1956. (Please let me know if you would like a copy of this.)~~ WHICH I AM SENDING SEPARATELY.

I drew up a rather sketchy list of questions to give an idea of the kind of information sought. Quite obviously, some of these will have little bearing in Dallas County and I'm sure you can think of other things that would be [redacted]~~ngful.~~ MEANINGFUL.

I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience. Please feel free to call on us for any additional information, ~~or help.~~

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director, Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmelana Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Siceloff:

Your letter of October 2 contained good news indeed. We're delighted that you are willing to undertake the report on Beaufort County, with the understanding that you will fit it in with your work at Penn. We appreciate, too, your generosity in waiving the fee but I know Harold Fleming would not want you to pay any costs yourself and certainly would want you to submit an expense account, at the very least.

As to the time element, I feel sure this can be worked out. Perhaps you could give us an idea of a deadline that would be acceptable to you. We have been thinking in terms of two categories. A preliminary report on which a news release could be based just before the Nov. 4 general election is planned first. In this, we hope to present current voting totals, summarize changes in registration laws, pending suits, etc., and perhaps include a report on one or two counties which we might have in hand then. Later, when the various county reports are in, a somewhat more extensive report could be drawn up. For the latter, we have been thinking of a January 1 deadline for the county studies. Does this sound feasible to you?

I am enclosing a rather hastily drawn up list of questions, which might be of some help in getting the county report underway. At least, it may give you an idea of the sort of thing we have in mind. As to the advisibility of asking elected officials for information, my feeling would be that this should be left to your discretion; you know the area and can tell better than we can here how it would be easiest for you to work.

The possible contrast you mentioned between the upper and lower sections in Beaufort sound intriguing but in any event I think Beaufort will provide an interesting study. If there is anything I can do to help in any way, please let me know.

Thank you, too, for your suggestions as to the other counties. I want to go into this matter again soon with Harold and discuss with him the men you mentioned for the other South Carolina counties.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

Prof. Donald S. Strong
Department of Political Science
University, Alabama → UNIVERSITY of ALABAMA

Dear Mr. Strong:

Thank you for your letter of Oct. 2 concerning the study of Negro voting about which I wrote earlier.

I appreciate your suggesting John R. Vaughn for the Dallas County project and I am writing to him today to ask if he would be willing to undertake the study there.

Until we know definitely whether or not you would be interest~~ing~~ed in the Birmingham project I have not mentioned this area to Mr. Vaughn.

We would be pleased, of course, if you do feel you can find time for the Birmingham study. SRC can offer a fee of $250, plus expenses. So far as the time element is concerned, we have been thinking in terms of a two-phase report. A preliminary report on which a news release could be based before the November general election is planned first. In this, we hope to present current voting totals, summarize changes in registration laws, pending suits, etc., and perhaps include portions of reports on one or two counties which might be in hand then. Later, when the various ~~county reports~~ are in, a somewhat more extensive report could be drawn up. For the latter, we have been thinking of a January 1 deadline for the county reports. Does this sound feasible to you?

To give some idea of the kind of information we are seeking, I drew up rather hastily a list of questions which I thought might be of some help to those who, unlike you, have not worked in this field previously. Your suggestions as to other information we might seek would be welcome.

Again, thank you for your help. I hope that your other commitments will leave you enough time to undertake the Birmingham report.

Sincerely,

(Mrs) Margaret Price

HCF
this was mailed
to Mr. S. 6-23-59 with
Mr. Price's comments
Ptr.
WF

Suggest as title:

RACE AND POLITICS IN A COASTAL COUNTY:
BEAUFORT COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

Suggest as introductory paragraph:

Race relations in Beaufort County are characterized by white permissiveness and Negro apathy. In these respects, the cuunty is illustrativ e of racial practices often seen to prevail in coastal sections. The easier, more relaxed relationships may form a base for progressive improvement of the Negroes' status; on the other hand, they may represent simply a different technique for managing affairs in the interest of continued white dominance.

Beaufort County once was an area of very large, successful plantations growing sea-island or long staple cotton, rice and indigo. Today there are a number of plantations still in existence but most are occupied by winter residents and used as resorts.

Farms in this coastal county are decreasing in number but growing in size. In 1930 there were,2,021 farms with an average of 62.5 acreas; in 1955 there were 1,210 farms with an average of 110½ acres. In 1950, 87.1 per cent of the rural farm population was Negro; 12 per cent of the rural Negroes were tenants and only one-tenth of one per cent sharecroppers.

About 60 per cent of the population is Negro. In 1957 estimated population showed a total of 12,257 white persons and 18,209 Negroes.

The Negroes of Beaufort County maintained political influence for a number of years after Reconstruction. In the period from 1878 to 1900 some 75 Negroes were elected to the state legislature; of these, 26 came from Beaufort. There were three Negro Congressmen from South Carolina in that period; two of these were from Beaufort. Until 1888 all elective offices in Beaufort County were held by Negroes and in fact some Negroes held elective offices there until 1896. At that time, white South Carolinians barred Negroes from the Democratic primaries. However, even in the years

between this move and the outlawing of the white primaries in the 1940's, some Negroes voted in general elections in Beaufort County.

REGISTRATION

After the 1958 re-registration -- required every 10 years in South Carolina -- Beaufort County had 4,141 whites and 1,286 Negroes registered to vote. Approximately 31 per cent of the registrants then were Negroes, although they comprised 60 per cent of the population.

For the most part, both white and Negro persons interviewed felt that at present there is no effort to limit the number of Negroes registered.[1]

Except for an occasional complaint that white applicants seem to be favored slightly, the general feeling among Negroes interviewed was that registrars are cooperative. They said Negro registration is limited primarily by apathy, a failure to realize the importance of voting, or, in some cases, a fear of not being able to pass registration tests.

If one word could describe the prevailing attitude of the white community toward Negroes in Beaufort County it would be paternalistic. In general, this is true of county officials. Political candidates are not particularly racists;

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[1](While Beaufort County as a whole is referred to throughout, the interviews for this survey were conducted around the town of Beaufort and St. Helena Island, which are somewhat more advanced politically and economically than the other sections of the county. Sonsequently, while interviews with officials deal with the county as a whole, those with private citizens may apply to a more limited section of the county.)

in fact, they seem to avoid the subject of race altogether. True, there are not many outspoken "moderate" candidates in the community, if this word is interpreted as describing those who favor upholding law and order, and consequently, making an effort to obey Supreme Court decisions on desegregation. In another meaning of the word, they could be termed moderate in their racial views, since their attitudes are generally friendly. White candidates now are occasionally seeking permission to speak before Negro groups during their campaigns.

There are a number of Negro organizations working to increase registration. There is a Citizens Committee in Beaufort, a Voters Association on St. Helena, and the NAACP in both, which have active programs in the field of registration and voting.

Within the churches, it is primarily the lay members rather than the ministers who take the lead, although one Negro minister is establishing a social action committee primarily concerned with registration and voting and is trying to get a similar committee in all churches. The Negro teachers do not generally participate in registration movements. One remarked they feel closely watched and so do not feel free to speak out.

Lines of communication remain open between the white and Negro community, although primarily on an unofficial

level. There are four or five self-reliant Negro leaders who serve as spokesmen for particular requests. One of these is vice president of the United Fund and has attended state meetings in that capacity. The local Negro Democratic Club, which is non-partisan, goes to see the city council and mayor but when appearing before any officials speaks of itself as a Citizens Committee. Its spokesmen are cordially received but have not been impressed by the degree of action that has followed. One recent achievement mentioned was that whereas in past parades Negroes always brought up the rear, the 1958 Christmas parade was "integrated," with scouts and other marchers together.

FACILITIES AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

There have been Negro elementary and high schools under private auspices for a long period. At the beginning of the Civil War a number of northern abolitionists came to the freed areas of Beaufort County to set up schools for Negroes. One of these became Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School, which continued as an elementary and high school until 1948 when the formal school program was turned over to the county. Two other schools were started in that period, one by the American Baptists which still operates as a high school and junior college called Mather School and Junior College. The Port Royal Training School, established in 1903 as an elementary and high school for Negroes, was operated until

1926 when it was turned over to the county. These schools had boarding departments, and thus pupils came from over the county as well as the locality.

In 1951, South Carolina passed a three per cent sales tax to aid in construction of schools and the operation of school buses; the following year, school districts were consolidated. Since then transportation and school facilities have been improved for Negroes in Beaufort County. Four new Negro schools have been constructed in the county north of Broad River, in School District #1. In 1951-52 the expenditure per Negro child was approximately 55 to 60 per cent of that for the white children. In 1956-57, when the expenditure was 70 per cent that of the white child, the comparative average costs in Beaufort County were:

	Elementary	High School
Negro	$136	$171
White	$199	$237

In the five year period between 1951-52 and 1956-57, the cost per white pupil went down $3 and increased per Negro pupil by $60. During the 1951-52 school year the total library fund for Negro schools of the county was $35; in 1956-57, it was $7,000. Both white and Negro teachers receive the same salary for equal qualification levels. The salary in Beaufort

County for the grade A certificate beginning teacher is the highest in the state. The salary in Beaufort County for the grade A certificate, 14 years experience, is the second highest in the state. Of the white teachers, 92.4 per cent have grade A certificates, the highest percentage in South Carolina; and 37.9 per cent of the Negro teachers, the next highest in the state, have grade A certificates. The annual report of the State Superintendent of Education for 1956-57 lists the average salary for classroom teachers in the county as:

	Elementary		High School	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Men	$4,250	$3,641	$3,543	$3,101
Women	2,977	2,716	3,054	2,992

The Parris Island Marine Corps Recruit Depot has its own elementary school, which is desegregated, having four Negro pupils at present.

A white doctor interviewed said Beaufort County Memorial Hospital had the same facilities in some cases for both races. For example, the same delivery and operating rooms were used; there were equal facilities for private rooms and lying-in privileges. Negro physicians have been courtesy (not voting) members of the hospital staff, although there are none on the staff now, apparently for reasons unconnected with race.

Among the white persons interviewed, including a minister, in the Beaufort-St. Helena area, none had heard of any of the white ministers speaking out pro or con on segregation-integration questions. A white layman prominent in the community indicated that the attitudes vary considerably. He spoke, for instance, of a Presbyterian minister who feels that it is not a basic issue, that other questions are of more importance; of a Baptist minister who is an avowed segregationist; a Methodist minister who approaches the problem as a psychologist and is apparently liberal in his attitude. The Episcopal church in Beaufort has had Negro communicants, primarily students at the Mather School, who presumably have now finished school. As far as is known, there currently are no Negro Episcopalians in Beaufort. About a year ago, there was a Negro applicant from the Mather School who wanted to join the church. The vestry voted unanimously for acceptance but reserved a section in the front of the church for her. It also was suggested to the Negro communicant that she come to the last serving of the communion to which she agreed; she was joined usually by at least one white person. A Negro Marine participated in one service, not sitting in the "reserved section" and while there was some adverse comment, it was not known if anything was said directly to the Marine, although he attended only the one time.

The Catholic priest said in an interview a year ago that he had Negro communicants, that in certain situations their participation had to be sought, whereas in others they were not encouraged to participate, as in certain social events.

Since Beaufort County is not industrial, labor unions have not been a major issue. However, there are unions, one with the reactivated state port at Port Royal. The state senator for the area has urged Beaufort Negroes to organize a union so as to obtain work, since union members have been coming in from Charleston to service the ships. This senator said in an interview that most of the skilled construction workers of Parris Island are union members.

The daily newspaper read most widely in Beaufort is the News and Courier of Charleston, one of the South's strongest advocates of racial segregation. The weekly Beaufort Gazette also is segregationist in tone although editorials dealing with racial problems do not appear frequently, whereas with the News and Courier almost every issue deals with the question.

A State Park located on the Atlantic Beach has a segregated section for Negroes which is inferior in both facilities and layout to that for whites.

There are two drive-in movies in Beaufort, both of which are desegregated, so that Negroes can park anywhere, which is rare in the South.

Negro Marines from Parris Island have access to the USO located in Beaufort, but only on certain occasions and for use of only certain facilities.

As far as public accommodations are concerned there seems to be no desegregation whatsoever. However, three important military installations in the county are completely desegregated: the Parris Island Marine Corps Recruit Dept, the U.S. Naval Hospital and the Marine Corps Air Station. Not only is the military personnel integrated, but also the large civilian personnel.

POLICE AND COMMUNITY ATTITUDES.

There was unanimity among both the white and Negro persons interviewed that the attitudes and actions of the sheriff, deputies and local police were good toward the Negro community. None knew of police brutality.

However, there were comments by some Negroes about the one full-time Negro policeman on the Beaufort staff. One said the Negro community referred to him more as a night watchman than a policeman; the Negroes do not believe he could arrest white persons. Another felt the sheriff was lax with Negro prisoners, for some apparently were allowed to go home at night.

The sheriff said he would like to be quoted on the following: "If I had to be tried in my own court, I would

like to change the color of my skin." He felt that the judge made it much easier for Negroes. He indicated that he, himself, feels towards Negroes as if they were his children.

The sheriff's attitude toward the Negro community is important in all rural counties in the South, but this is particularly true in Beaufort County, where the sheriff holds a more important position politically than probably any counterpart in South Carolina. He has been in office more than 25 years. He is a close friend of the district's congressman.

There was an article in a state paper recently about the Beaufort County sheriff who does not wear a gun. This fact may be due to his poor eyesight. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the sheriff does not take a hostile, aggressive attitude in dealing with Negroes in the matter of law enforcement. He said there had been Negro deputies in the county since 1900. He said he has three Negro deputies on full-time during the summer, stationed particularly around the Negro beach, and on part-time the rest of the year. One has held the job for 33 years. He indicated there was no limit to the authority of the Negro policeman or deputies in arresting white violators.

The county seems to have had less racial violence over the years than many other rural Deep South counties. The sheriff said the county never has had a lynching. Both white and Negro interviewees could recall only three or four incidents in the past 30 years which led to heightened racial

tensions.

There has been no known Ku Klux Klan active in the county since about 1930 and even then, the sheriff said, it only collected dues and never did anything. There is a Citizens Council, but it apparently is weak. The Council itself lists 50 members and just about that number turned up at a well-publicized meeting in Beaufort three years ago. Despite the strong support given the Citizens Council by the News and Courier, which serves the county, the local group appears to have failed to interest community leaders. One prominent white person warned, though, that he thought the potential for a stronger CC existed.

Some of those of both races interviewed feel there has been no change in Negro-white relations since the Supreme Court school decisions or events in Little Rock. Others think that while the white community is still accessible as before to Negro spokesmen, yet as far as individual relations are concerned there is a change consisting of a definite "standing-off" by white people. However, a white minister said he had heard discussions in favor of preserving public schools, regardless of whether or not they were de-segregated. He said this was a change from the absolute defiance predominant soon after the Little Rock crisis.

Negroes were unanimous in feeling they now have a greater determination about extending their civil liberties.

LEGAL ACTION

There have been only two legal efforts to break the segregation pattern in the county, one handled through the courts and the other in the form of a petition. In July, 1948 David Brown, Negro of Beaufort, brought suit successfully against the State Democratic Committee to open primary elections to Negroes. The case came before Federal Judge Waites Waring on the eve of an election, after the registration books were closed. Judge Waring ruled in favor of Brown and also ruled that the registration rolls be opened again. He said he would remain in court during election day so that if any Negro were refused his voting rights the election official would be brought immediately into court.[2] Negroes voted without incident in that election and have continued to do so. Brown, a garage owner, said the suit neither led to any threats against him nor to any discernible hard feelings from white members of the community.

About two years ago some 75 Negroes signed a petition and presented it to the Beaufort County Board of Education for the assigning of pupils without regard to race. The Board did not respond.

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[2]Brown v. Baskin, 78 F. Supp. 933; Baskin v. Brown, 174 F. 2d 391.

POLITICAL FUTURE

In 1948 four Negro candidates ran for the Board of Education but none was elected, in part befause the Negro vote was split. One Negro has been a member of the Trustee Board, appointed by the Board of Education, since 1952. In St. Helena Island precinct, since Negroes began voting in 1948, several of them have met with white leaders to work out a slate of precinct candidates. The chairman of the precinct has always been white but the other officers have been about equally divided. A number of Beaufort Negroes have served as delegates to county political conventions. The Baaufort delegation to the State Democratic Convention included a Negro in 1956, and two in 1958. (There was only one other Negro delegate at this 1958 convention.) Negroes serve as poll officials both in Beaufort and St. Helena in township elections.

At the central polling place in Beaufort, there are two ballot boxes, one manned by whites and one by Negroes, but when the line of white voters is long a number usually drop their ballots in the Negro box. The ballots from both boxes are mingled before being counted, a Negro poll watcher said. Prior to the last election this same Negro had the voting lists and the boxes in his custody.

Five white and three Negro leaders were asked about the future of Negro voting in the county. All the white persons indicated support of the right of all citizens to vote.

Although none professed any personal concern about increased voting by Negroes, a few thought there was a certain anxiety among some white men and women who feared the election of Negro candidates. One foresaw "some different reaction if more Negroes register, but I don't know what type reaction it will be."

The Negroes all felt there was a growing interest in voting among their people. They pointed to larger attendance at political meetings. They also believed that before long Negroes would be elected to certain offices. On this subject, a Negro businessman commented:

"If elected, some white people may be shocked but I do not expect any severe reaction."

Dr. Elston Roady
1916 West Indian Head Drive
Tallahassee, Fla.

Miss Florence Irving
615 S.E. St.
Raleigh, N.C.

William Mitchell
P.O. Box 467
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dr. Herman Long
Race Relations Dept.
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Ronnie Dugger
The Texas Observer
504 W. 245h St.
Austin, Texas

Richard N. Morehead
Dallas News Bureau
Austin, Texas

Dr. Lewis Killian
Dept. of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Fla.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Dr. J.E. Pierce
830 Carter Hill Road
Montgomery, Ala.

Brazeal
Sickoff
Vines

VOTING SURVEY: Suggested questions for county studies

1. Population of county, white and Negro; percentage of Negro.

2. Median income, white and Negro, per capita and/or family.

3. Median education, white and Negro.

4. School facilities for children of both races. For how many years has there been a Negro high school or schools? What is the per pupil expenditure for education of children of each race? How does this compare with state-wide pupil expenditure--perhaps a comparison with average and a county at the top of the list in money spent per pupil. Teachers--comparison white and Negro salaries and educational level. Any one-room schools? Split sessions? Colleges?

5. Voter registration--any effort to limit number of Negroes enrolled? If so, how? Attitude of registrars? More or fewer Negroes registered in 1958 than in 1956 and reasons. If there are few of the eligible Negroes registered, but no apparent discrimination, what are some of the causes?

6. County history--agricultural or plantation and/or industrial. Changes in past decade or two? Labor unions and, if so, community attitudes toward them? Degree of farm tenancy. Principal occupation of Negroes?

7. Religion. Attitude of white ministers toward current racial problems--any statements, etc.? Any work done in this field by women's groups?

8. White leadership. Any old families which traditionally offer leadership? Political candidates--are they particularly racist? Any outspoken "moderate" leaders in community?

9. Police--attitudes and actions toward Negro community of sheriff and deputies and local police.

10. Negro leadership, individual and group. What organizations are working to increase registration? Is there any line of communication open between Negro leaders and white community? Role of ministers, teachers, professional men and women.

11. Ku Klux Klan and/or Citizens Council? If so, estimate of size and effectiveness.

12. History of violence in county--specific instances. Assessment of the influence the violence has had on current attitudes. Does the violence seem to be increasing or decreasing? Has there been any noticeable change since the Supreme Court decisions of recent years and since Little Rock? Do Negroes seem more afraid or do they seem to have a greater determination? What of the white community--greater defiance, any change in police attitudes, more racial talk from candidates?

13. Newspapers--their attitudes on racial problems as expressed editorially and in the manner in which they present news.

14. Legal action--any suits filed challenging racial patterns? If so, what was the outcome (note where pending)?

15. Any desegregation in county--of transportation facilities, bus and train waiting rooms, parks, professional, ministerial groups, etc.

16. Recreational facilities?

17. Courts--do Negroes serve on juries?

18. Health and hospital facilities?

19. Any Negro candidates in recent years? Any elected? Any appointed to boards, etc.? Negroes included in the function of the political parties?

20. Interviews--names used where possible--reflecting some community attitudes, particularly on voting by Negroes. Where possible, interviews of both white and Negro leaders, and also man-in-the-street type comments.

-:-

(A: Answers to points 1-3 available in Southern Regional Council files)

(B: This rough draft of suggested questions is meant to cover both rural and metropolitan areas and those of high and low Negro registration. Consequently, some questions will be more pertinent in some areas, less so in others.)

38-W-Misc.
Walsh, Rev. J.M., S.J.

February 24, 1949

Rev. J. M. Walsh, S. J.
St. Joseph's Church
3889 Huego Street
El Paso, Texas

Dear Father Walsh:

Thank you for your letter of February 17.

Council dues are three dollars a year. But as your dues have already been paid for the year 1949, we shan't bill you until 1950.

We appreciate clippings as to important events affecting race relations or general progress or retrogression in your area.

Our Texas state organization is the Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which has a formal affiliation agreement with the Council. The chairman of the Texas Commission is: Mrs. James S. Crate, 2410 Inwood Drive, Houston 6, Texas.

We will write Mrs. Crate that you are a member of the Council and she will doubtless be in touch with you from time to time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Mrs. James S. Crate

Previous correspondence

ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH

3889 HUECO ST. PHONE EAST 2739
EL PASO, TEXAS

February 17, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E., Room 432
Atlanta (3) GEORGIA

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It is with pleasure that I learn from yours of January 27th that I am accepted as a member of the Southern Regional Council. I shall be glad to be helpful in any way that I am able, as I am in fullest sympathy with your aims and endeavors.

Some literature on the Regional Council has just come to hand. As yet I have not been able to read it.

Please inform me regarding dues and what cooperation in your programs you would desire of me.

With kindest wishes,

Sincerely yours,

J.M. Walsh, S.J.

J.M. Walsh, S.J.

RECEIVED
FEB 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

38-10-Misc. -
Waring, J. Waties

RECEIVED
MAR 14 1949
Southern Regional Council

JUDGE'S CHAMBERS
UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
CHARLESTON (A), S. C.

J. WATIES WARING
DISTRICT JUDGE

New York City.
March 12/49

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of the 3rd has been forwarded to me here in New York where I am temporarily holding a term of Court. I have read with great interest the Council's Magazine and the fine summary of the voting situation. I believe we are on the road to freedom but there will be many more obstructions. Already in South Carolina they are taking counsel to devise some other way to deprive the Negro of citizenship. But with the determined work of the

right thinking people the American Creed will yet be established also in this South of ours.

Your organization is doing a fine work and I wish it every success.

And I am deeply appreciative of your very kind personal references.

Again thanking you

Sincerely

[illegible]

38-W. Misc -
Waring, Judge Waties

(See corresp. under:
5-C-misc - Childs, Mrs St Julian
and
SRC - Bd of Dirs. - Membership

January 19, 1949

Mrs. St. Julien Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

Thank you a lot for the advice and permission from Judge Waring. We will probably run long excerpts from the two decisions.

I will do nothing more about the possibility of Judge Waring's being on the Board until I hear from you and your friends. We have not asked Judge Waring to be on the Board, and would only do so with the approval of South Carolina members.

You suggested that I should send Judge Waring some information about the Council. As there is no present plan to approach him with a view to getting him to come on the Board, I don't see any point in just generally bringing up his knowledge about the Council. But if, from your conversation with him, you are convinced that would be a good thing to do, let me know, and I will be glad to write him and send him various of our printed things.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

73 King St.
Charleston

RECEIVED
JAN 5 1949
Southern Regional Council

My dear Dr. Mitchell,

When I saw Judge Waring last week, he said he was too busy to write something specially for New South. He is perfectly willing to have the newspaper account of his N.Y. speech used. I think the News & Courier had fuller coverage than the Anderson paper. Judge Waring ~~suggest~~ seemed to think his ideas & point of view were

well. Set out in two cases Elmore vs. Rice, & Brown vs. Baskin, I said that the SRC was welcome to reprint these or sections of them. I am enclosing the references which he said would be available in Atlanta in the judicial library.

(Elmore vs Rice 72 Fed. Supp. 516
Brown vs. Baskin 78 Fed. Supp. 933.)

Judge W. asked me several questions about the SRC. That I could not answer. If you have any history or description in convenient form, I think it would do well to send it to him.

I am still of the opinion that

it would be a mistake in policy & strategy to have him on the board, but can see no reason why my opinion should not be checked with others in the community. I wonder whether Harriet Simons or Josephine Pinckney might not think differently, and if & when I have an opportunity, shall ask them. But perhaps you will have a chance to communicate with them or others before I do.

Hopeful dead wishes for 1949

Marguerite P. Childs

P.S. I forgot to say that the speech before the lawyers guild in N.Y. was extemporaneous. Judge W. did not even know it was being taken down for the press, nor did he see an account of it. So there is no draft to be copied.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
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CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 8, 1948

Mrs. St. Julien Childs
73 King Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

I hasten to send fifty more copies of the October, 1947 issue of New South, which you so kindly sent $2.00 for.

I will need to ponder a day or two for an answer about the Charleston Committee and so on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

CHAMBERS OF
J. WATIES WARING
DISTRICT JUDGE

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

EASTERN DISTRICT OF SOUTH CAROLINA

CHARLESTON A, S. C.

Florence, S. C.
December 8, 1948

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs,
73 King Street,
Charleston, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Childs:

Your letter of the 7th inst. was forwarded to me here where, as you know, I am holding court. I do not know how long I shall be engaged, but probably most of the week and have to be here again practically all of next week trying civil cases. When I return to Charleston I shall be delighted to see you and talk over with you more fully the matters you suggest in your letter. You know of my great interest in the problems which the Southern Regional Council is studying and I should like to talk with you about some of these matters. I thank you for your letter and for the enclosure, which I shall read with great interest.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

J. Waties Waring,
U. S. District Judge.

From THE INDEPENDENT, Anderson, S. C., October 16, 1948

JUDGE WARING SAYS OUTSIDE AIR NEEDED FOR DIXIE NEGRO

NEW YORK, Oct. 15 -- The South should not be "let alone" to deal with its racial problems in its own way, Federal Judge J. Waites Waring, of Charleston, S. C., said.

Judge Waring, who wrote the ruling that gave Negroes the right to vote in his state's primaries this year, asserted that outside assistance was necessary.

Speaking at a luncheon in his honor, given by the New York Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, in the Midston House, the jurist said:

"To me, the racial atmosphere of my part of the South is at present pretty dim. I believe it's going to improve -- that the sunlight is going to come in. But I don't believe that the windows are going to be opened voluntarily."

The most discouraging aspect, Judge Waring said, is the attitude of the majority of white Southerners.

"The problem," he declared, "is to change the feeling, the sentiment, the creed, of the great body of white people of the South that a Negro is not an American citizen."

Judge Waring, who noted that his family had lived in South Carolina since the Sixteen Forties, added:

"Now, I believe that the Negro is an American citizen. And I don't think that there's any place in American democracy for putting any citizen in a compartment according to his race or religion."

Referring to his decisions in the United States District Court in Charleston, which outlawed bans on Negro Primary voting -- decisions that have been upheld by higher courts -- Judge Waring said:

(more)

"Not one man in public life has dared to support these decisions based on the fact that a Negro is entitled to vote as an American citizen. The few people in public life who have communicated with me have done so in letters marked "strictly confidential". That's pretty bad."

Although Southern Negroes have scored some gains in recent years, the jurist asserted, these were either forced by outside agencies or given as a favor, not a right.

This is true despite the efforts of liberal Southerners, such as former Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia, Judge Waring declared.

Turning to Thurgood Marshall, attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a member of the Lawyers Guild executive board who was seated near him, the judge said:

"The danger of Arnall and others is that they say: 'Let us alone, and we'll do it ourselves.' Well, no Negro would have voted in South Carolina if you hadn't brought a case."

To the group as a whole, Judge Waring added:

"I say to you, go forward with your work, but you must be careful of your methods. A reformer who comes to the South and says the whole civilization there is wrong is making a mistake. On the other hand, don't stay away.

"We have got to teach many people to want to improve. The situation has got to be handled gently but firmly.

"My people have one outstanding fault -- the terrible fault of prejudice. They have been born and educated to feel that a Negro is some kind of an animal that ought to be well-treated and given kindness, but as a matter of favor, not right. That's not the kind of a conception that we should show to the world." -- New York Times.

38- Misc - Ward, Anne

June 1, 1949

Miss Anne Ward
226 Seaman Street
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Dear Miss Ward:

Nice to have your letter, and nice to have your ten dollars, but I am sorry that circumstances won't let you go ahead with the very good scheme you have. Do keep after it, and you may yet get some way to work it out.

I must have told you that my brother teaches at Rutgers. He is named Broadus Mitchell. I do hope youall will get acquainted, if you are not so already.

Call on us, from Mobile or New Brunswick, if we can help you in any way.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

MC's
on Board

10 cc cf
McK
cac - has this

226 Seaman St.
New Brunswick, New Jersey
May 26, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

It looks as if I won't be able to go through with the project (persuading women's groups to read Southern literature) which I had hoped to do this summer under your guidance. I have put the plan up to my parents in four letters--discreetly spaced through the spring months--, and they are unwilling to consent to it. They don't absolutely forbid it, but they are strongly opposed. And since my mother has developed stomach ulcers--at this most inappropriate time (they were diagnosed about five or six weeks ago)--, I don't think I should irritate her unduly this summer.

I do plan, this summer, to spend about four hours a day reading Southern literature on my own. And perhaps I will be able to make a start on the contact work by writing members of my Agnes Scott class. Some of them might be induced to get their study clubs or alumnae clubs to read fiction and poetry of the South. If by the end of the summer I have any ideas about a reading-list-for-Southern-womanhood, I'll write them up for you. Or if you could get someone else to do the travelling part of the project this summer, I'll be glad to help by doing whatever I can do with typewriter and books in the privacy of our Mobile apartment.

I am disappointed not to be able to do the running around, myself. It is this public part of the work which is particularly repugnant to my mother. She thinks that by engaging in such activities I alienate myself from people. I hope that it is my concern about her stomach ulcers--not my unconscious acquiescence in her fear--which makes me give

up working for you this summer

Thank you again for seeing me at Christmas. I hope that I'll at least be able to make my summer reading of some use to you, as well as to the Urban League here in New Brunswick. My aggressiveness has finally won me an active committee position for next year in the League's newly-formed Women's Guild.

Best wishes to the Council in all its work. I intend to make a larger contribution in the future.

Sincerely,

Anne Ward

Anne Ward

P.S. My summer address is 217 Summerville Court, Mobile 17. I'll get to Alabama about June 17.

Enc: check

38- W, Misc
Way, Connie

Hq & Hq Co
3d Armd Gp
Fort Knox, Ky.
June 10, 1949

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

I am more than glad to have heard from you a few days ago.

Thank you very much for sending me the letters of recommendations. They have already been put to use in their proper places.

Recently, I have read several good books (in snatches) and am taking advantage of the material in the library when I'm not too busy passing out books there.

If you are one of those people who enjoy snatching fish from water, may I suggest that you start making plans to go fishing on the 4th of July?

Good luck to you and SRC.

Sincerely,
Connie Way

RECEIVED
JUN 13 1949
Southern Regional Council

38- H Fine
Hay, Connie

June 3, 1949

Private Connie Way
Hq & Hq Co.
3rd Armd Gp.
Fort Knox, Kentucky

Dear Connie:

Very nice to hear from you. How encouraging that you are getting up to what you want!

Here are some more copies of the letter.

We are bumping along, trying to do a Major General's job on a Private's pay. Hard to do.

Everybody sends their best.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

RECEIVED
MAY 23 1949
Southern Regional Council

My apologies! I'm so sorry for

Hq & Hq Co.
3rd Armd Gp.
Fort Knox, Ky.
May 18, 1949

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

I am glad to write you today and let you hear from me. Believe it or not, Connie is still living. There is no doubt that the laws of Mother Nature are liberal with people like me! Without joking, though, I am doing nicely and am enjoying my work. I have somewhat adjusted myself to the Army now and know all about this place and have traveled in other cities in Kentucky. (Girls will make a fellow do this, you know.)

Three weeks ago, I finished school with a certificate of "Excellent" and my MOS (Military Occupation Specialty) is 213, which classifies me as a stenographer. I have been assigned to Headquarters here and like my work. Today I received my first promotion, to private. As I am the assistant librarian after duty hours, I meet many interesting people and keep up with important activities. Several things I made at the hobby shop are being displayed in the Craft Show during this week.

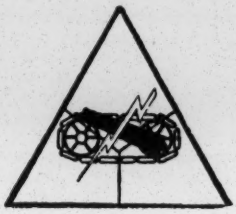
Have you been forced to think of going in swimming, by the heat, yet? I can hardly wait for the pool to open this evening. We have a nice pool. It looks like a huge bath tub with diving boards in it. Something new is being added,too. An indoor swimming gymnasium is being constructed and will be complete within a few weeks.

While I think of it, I should like very much to have a copy of the recommendation you gave me on November 26, 1948 as soon as possible. Captain Batts sent the other copy to Division Headquarters. I would like to send copies to Personnel Section where my service record is being kept.

May I hear from you soon? I am always glad to know how you and the Council are going along.

Very sincerely,
Connie Way

Misc - W - 38
Way, Connie



THE ARMORED SCHOOL
FORT KNOX, KENTUCKY

RECEIVED
MAR 24 1949
Southern Regional Council

Co. B. 122
Armd. Ord. Maint. Bn.
March 21, 1949

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

I have just finished playing Grieg's Piano Concerto with two large powder cans which I ran into while running across a dark field (my idea of a short cut) while coming here to write you. Having gotten off the ground, straightened up the powder cans and found my books, I am now in a much better condition to let you know that your enjoyable letter, which came to me a few days ago, has been received with all the joy that some people think they will get out of marriage!

Today has really been the first day of spring in Kentucky. Having had plenty of rain, sleet and our thirteenth snow, which fell heavily last Friday, we, here in Kentucky, are rejoicing over this Heavenly day— just right for the big parade which was had in honor of a British General who is on a tour of the Unites States Army. (Personally, I think it would have been a better trip had he gone in another direction and looked in on the Atlantic and Security Pact!) Anyway, the parade was nice. There were twenty-eight thousand soldiers participating in the pardade, guns, tanks, flags, colors, "big hats" and the army band, led by a proudly-waltzing fat sergeant.

This is all for now. I promised to be at the bowling alley at seven o'clock and beat one of my unbelieving pals bowling.

Yours sincerely,
Connie Way

38-H-Misc
Waddell, Chauncey L.

July 15, 1949

Mrs. Chauncey L. Waddell
4940 Goodridge Ave.
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Waddell:

We would like to be sure that you know of the good article in the recent issue of Collier's, written by Hodding Carter, which on page sixty-four goes into some praise of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

38-N-Inc

Warren, Fuller

August 26, 1949

The Honorable Fuller Warren
Governor of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

My dear Governor Warren:

I have the honor to send you the Southern Regional Council's just-completed analysis of the outburst of mob violence in Lake County.

Our whole effort in this account was to enable the rest of the South to draw from the unfortunate events there, lessons that would assist in forestalling similar occurrences elsewhere.

We were impressed with the promptness and vigor with which you yourself acted in the matter.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

38-H-Misc
Washington Post

September 9, 1949

Mr. Eugene Meyer
The Washington Post
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Meyer:

The Southern Regional Council, of which I am President, has been a good deal in the news of late. In the hope of interesting you in the Council I should be grateful for an opportunity to talk with you briefly during my stay in Washington next week.

I will call your office when I reach the city, and ask for the favor of a few minutes of your time.

Sincerely,

Paul D. Williams
President

PDW:wgd

38 - W. Press
Waters, Rev Vincent

September 16, 1949

Most Reverend Vincent S. Waters
15 North McDowell Street
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Bishop Waters:

Here is our latest pamphlet just back from the printer. I do hope you can find a moment to go through it. It can do a lot of good.

The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association has agreed to send it out to all its members.

Now my problem is to get it into the hands of local people who will, in a friendly way, steer their newspapers toward observing the simple rules laid out in the little green book.

If you can help me get it known and used, we would be most grateful.

The price on it is fifteen cents a copy.

I look forward to our Thanksgiving occasion.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

38 - H - Misc
Waters, Bishop Vincent S.

August 29, 1949

Bishop Vincent S. Waters
15 North McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Bishop Waters:

I am much pleased by your kind invitation to talk in Raleigh on November 24 and 25, with the suggestion of turkey on the side. You may count on my being present. Let me know later on just when I should show up.

I took the liberty the other day of giving your name to a representative of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith who has just lately been sent to Raleigh to spread the work of his agency into North Carolina and Virginia. He is Mr. Theodore Friedman, 226 South Salisbury Street, Raleigh, N. C. Their effort as you know is to prevent the spread of intolerance of any kind. He will be in need of friends in Raleigh, and I wanted him to have the favor of your acquaintance. I daresay he will call on you before so long.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

BISHOP'S RESIDENCE
15 NORTH McDOWELL STREET
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

August 24,1949

Mr.George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council,Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue,N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am having an Institute for the teaching Sisters of the Diocese of Raleigh on Thanksgiving Day and if you have not already planned to have turkey somewhere else, I would be happy to have you give the Sisters a talk on the Regional Orientation of the South. The following day,Friday, we are having a priests' conference and I would also like you to give them a talk.

If this, of course, cuts into a program of yours for vacation on Thanksgiving, forget it and we will get you another time. If you are not especially occupied we will be glad to have you.

With best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

+Vincent S. Waters
Vincent S. Waters
Bishop of Raleigh

RECEIVED
AUG 26 1949
Southern Regional Counc

38- W- Misc
Washington, Forrester

September 26, 1949

Dr. Forrester B. Washington
School of Social Work
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Forrester:

After my 'phone call this morning, I send you for pure friendship a copy of our latest pamphlet, not yet mailed out generally. I think you will like it. It is already popular with the press. The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association has mailed a copy to each of its members.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm;t

38-W-Misc.
Ward, A. Dudley

September 27, 1949

Mr. A. Dudley Ward
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Ward:

I was glad to have your letter of September 6.

I enclose several things which will give you a "quickie" of what the Southern Regional Council is.

The Council and the Commission on Interracial Cooperation which proceeded it have grown up with the expanding conscience of church people in the South. We have done all we could to organize state, southwide, and local action programs which would implement that conscience.

The green pamphlet Race in the News (brand new) is a case in point. We are working to get local church groups to visit newspaper officials and urge as much compliance as possible with the rules laid down in the pamphlet.

In another sphere, we are pushing local self surveys. This is most promising.

On still another hand, Mrs. M. E. Tilly is just organizing the follow-up on a southwide meeting of church women here in Atlanta. They came together to plan a program of improvement in law enforcement and for equal justice throughout the South. The women

will undertake to visit the courts and make themselves known locally as persons watching our law enforcement processes.

We have a wide spread organization throughout the South.

If we can be of assistance to you in any way, we would like to.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosures

June 23, 1953

Mr. William O. Walker, Editor
CLEVELAND CALL AND POST
Box 6237
Cleveland 1, Ohio

Dear Mr. Walker:

How extremely kind that was of you to carry the grand story June 13 about my friend Houston Johnson's effort to find his sister.

I do appreciate it greatly. I have sent the story on to Houston. Saw him yesterday, by the way, when I came through there. Doing fine, but we are having a hard time convincing the Social Security people that he's 65. They've got five different dates in the documents, besides what the neighbors say. And the government people take the oldest document instead of the word of the people that know!

I do hope that Houston's sister sees the story. Certainly, you have enabled us to take the last possible step toward finding her.

As a most minor return of your kindness, I send you a copy of our leaflet of three years or so ago. It had a remarkable effect in improving the conduct of the Southern white newspapers.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

CLEVELAND Call and Post
OHIO'S FASTEST GROWING WEEKLY
PUBLISHED BY THE P. & W. PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

2319 E. 55TH STREET
P.O. BOX 6237
CLEVELAND 1, OHIO
PHONE EXPRESS 1-4141

June 17, 1953

RECEIVED
JUN 19
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George P. Mitchell
Rm. 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 5.

We are enclosing herewith a clipping of an article that appeared in our paper last week. We carried this as a news story thereby obligating the necessity of an ad.

If we can be of any further service , let us know.

Respectfully,

CLEVELAND CALL & POST

William O. Walker
Editor

WOW/dm

Enclosure

September 21, 1953

Dr. Clayton B. Waddell
1220 Washington Avenue
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Dr. Waddell:

Here is a pamphlet we have just got out on the issues coming up in the court. Obvious advantage in getting widespread Educational use made of it in the remaining months before the Supreme Court rules.

We want it to be used by local discussion groups. In many instances they could be bi-racial.

Object: to bring the matter down from closed-door offices of state school officials and get it into the homes of everyday citizens.

I have sent copies to Professor Ralph A. Phelps at Fort Worth and to Barnett and Brimm at Louisville, and to Dr. McDowell at Wake Forest.

I would be grateful if you would do what you can to get the availability of the pamphlet known within your circles.

Sincerely,

GSM/allo
enclosure

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

January 7, '54

Dear Dr. Wassef,

Here's some dope about SRC. You should join it, or at least subscribe to New South.

Nice to meet you. You are our friend at Chapel Hill, in Egypt, or in Atlanta!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Phyllis Wheatley Branch
Young Women's Christian Association
599 TATNALL STREET, S.W. — TELEPHONE CY 0543
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
MAY 16 1954
Southern Regional Council

May 14, 1954

Please Post

Dear Club Member:

The Adult Education Department of the Phyllis Wheatley Branch Y.W.C.A. is sponsoring a free Club Workshop on Thursday evenings, May 20th and May 27th beginning promptly at seven o'clock and lasting until 8:30 p. m.

The theme of this Workshop, which is unique to Atlanta, is "PLANNING THE CLUB PROGRAM FOR DYNAMIC LIVING." Individual and group participation in areas such as Art, Citizenship, Community Health, Community Resources, Language and Public Speaking, Parliamentary Procedure, Psychology and Personality Adjustment, Public Affairs, Public Relations and Religion will be offered in small working groups so that persons attending may discuss the subject of their choice with others having the same interest with the guidance of a qualified workshop consultant. Many interesting methods will be demonstrated such as the use of films, dramatics, buzz sessions, etc.

Dr. N. P. Tillman, of the Atlanta University faculty, will be co-ordinator for the Workshop. This is an opportunity for you to share your experiences with other club people and leaders, and gain much helpful information as a club member, club officer, or as a person interested in the improvement of the democratic group processes.

We are cordially inviting you, your club members and friends to attend.

Cordially yours,

Alice Washington

Alice Washington (Mrs. James C.)
Director of Adult Education,
Phyllis Wheatley, Y.W.C.A.

June 11, 1954

Gentlemen:

In preparing a new book on a community survey by citizens' groups, I am compiling a list of national agencies and their addresses to be included in the appendix. I should like to include your organization, and would appreciate your checking the title and address listed on the return postcard, correcting it if necessary, and returning it to me. Thank you very much for this courtesy.

Sincerely,

Roland L. Warren
Professor of Sociology
Alfred University

Card returned
6/15/54
K.S.

June 30, 1954

Mr. Dick Wallace
The Office of Senator Kefauver
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Wallace:

Please accept my long over-due expression of appreciation for the opportunity to talk with you on May 11th.

A copy of The Negro and The Schools is being sent to you under separate cover.

As consideration is given to the advantage to the South itself -- as well as to the nation -- inherent in the Supreme Court's Decision of May 17th, we believe the region will accept and use the opportunities before it.

We are grateful for your interest in these matters.

Sincerely,

Grace T. Hamilton
Associate Director

GTH/

European Travel Commission

295 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

UNDERSTANDING...THROUGH TRAVEL...IS THE PASSPORT TO PEACE

MUrray Hill 3-0131

MEMBER NATIONS

AUSTRIA
BELGIUM
DENMARK
FINLAND
FRANCE
GERMANY
GREAT BRITAIN
GREECE
ICELAND
IRELAND
ITALY
LUXEMBOURG
MONACO
NETHERLANDS
NORWAY
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
SWEDEN
SWITZERLAND
TURKEY
YUGOSLAVIA

September 15, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

A very good friend of mine, Cary Grayson, is due to visit Atlanta in the next few months, on a most unusual and interesting business trip. He is working for the Carnegie Corporation, which is considering publishing a "shelf" of books on the United States. The "shelf" would be distributed to schools and libraries throughout the English-speaking world gratis, in order to promote better understanding of this country.

Cary is picking the best brains of the country for ideas as to what books should be included. I hope you can take the time to see him, as I know you would enjoy meeting him.

The news in the papers these last few days has been reasonably encouraging. I hope that your efforts are meeting with some success, too.

Looking forward to seeing you if you get to New York,

Cordially yours,

Don

Donald Watt, Jr.

DW/nf
CC: Mr. Cary Grayson

ack 9/21/54

October 1, 1954

Mrs. Theodore Waller
Herald-Tribune Forum
New York Herald-Tribune
230 West Forty-First Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mrs. Waller:

Mr. Fleming has been out of the office for several days because of illness. He has asked that I send you the enclosed biographical information on Dr. George S. Mitchell.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Brantley
Secretary

eab/

October [illegible], 1954

Mrs. Theodore Waller
Herald-Tribune Forum
New York Herald-Tribune
230 West Forty-First Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mrs. Waller:

Here's my speech for the Forum the night of October 18.

I didn't know about the hold-over session Tuesday morning, May 19, and it is going to be difficult for me to get there, but I suppose I can work it for some of it anyway.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

September 27, 1954

Mrs. Theodore Waller
Herald-Tribune Forum
New York Herald-Tribune
230 West Forty-First Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mrs. Waller:

Second confirmation. In reply to your letter of September 21, it is all right. I am coming. I am dictating a speech. It is long, but I will cut it down.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
A European Edition is Published Daily in Paris

PEnnsylvania 6-4000 September 21, 1954 230 West 41st Street, New York 36

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing a tentative program outline so that you can see the outcome of my discussions in Atlanta and Nashville. Please confirm the fact that George Mitchell will speak just as soon as you can. It would be helpful if I could have a manuscript from him by October 10 -- five typewritten pages, double spaced.

I would be grateful, too, if you would send me a brief biography -- not the official kind of thing, but something with all of the warm human interest details of his career which you know so well. I will draw on it for my introduction of him.

The program is still not completely filled, so if you have had any further thoughts on people who should be included, let me know.

I felt it would be wise if Mr. Mitchell could cover the churches if he can -- otherwise we would have to have three spokesmen (Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish) and there wouldn't be time for the grass-roots community spokesmen who would give the program the authenticity we want it to have.

As I mentioned to you, we will be responsible for Mr. Mitchell's travel expenses, and will arrange accommodations at whatever hotel he wants to stay in in New York.

With renewed thanks,

Yours sincerely,

Helen Waller

Mrs. Theodore Waller
Forum Director

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

P.S. Heartfelt thanks once again for your help in Atlanta.

September 23, 1954

Mrs. Helen Hiett Waller
The Herald-Tribune Forum
New York Herald-Tribune
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Waller:

Sorry I wasn't here when you were in Atlanta, but I have your kind invitation via Harold Fleming. All straight, I hope. I take it that I am to speak at the Forum on "The South's Resources in Meeting the Supreme Court Decision," Monday, October 18, at 8:00 p.m.

I am to present a manuscript of about six double-spaced pages, which should reach you by October 10. The Forum is to pay my expenses.

I expect to arrive in New York by train in the early afternoon of October 18, and will stay at the New Yorker Hotel. Let me know later on exactly when and where you want me to show up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

9/17/54

GSM--

Mrs. Helen Hiett Waller, who runs the Herald Tribune Forum, was in town Wednesday and asked me to pass along this invitation to you. She would like you to speak at the Forum on "The South's Resources in Meeting the Supreme Court Decision," Monday, October 18, at 8:00 P. M.*

Various of our friends are to participate. Everybody speaks from manuscript. Should be about six double-spaced pages, and an advance copy of the MS should reach Mrs. Waller by October 10. Expenses are paid, of course.

I told her your calendar was clear on that date, but if there was a conflict we didn't know of we would let her know promptly on your return.

HCF

Dr. Mitchell:

You promised Myles Horton that you would come to Monteagle on October 16 and 17 for informal discussion of Highlander's school integration program, also about reactivating the Executive Council. However, you could fly to New York.

EB

File

Herald Tribune NEW YORK

September 27, 1954

RECEIVED 10/1/54
Southern Regional Council

To: Harry Ashmore
George Mitchell ✓
Phil Hammer
C.A.McKnight
Herman Long
Mrs. Dyson
Margaret Butcher
Jeanne Rogers
Kenneth Clark
Charles Johnson

From: Helen Waller, Forum Director

The attached letter has been sent to representatives of the leadership of major national civic organizations who will be in New York for the Forum October 18-19.

I do hope you will plan to stay over for this closed, off-the-record meeting, so that members of your audience the previous night will have an opportunity for informal discussion with you.

September 28, 1954

Dear :

For your confidential information I am enclosing a tentative program of the opening Herald Tribune Forum session. As you will see, it treats the challenge of the Supreme Court decision of May 17 not just as a Southern regional problem, but in national terms.

It is our good fortune that many of the country's most effective workers in the field of race relations will be here for this program. In order to provide an opportunity for more intensive discussion at the leadership level with them, we have arranged for a limited number of key organizational people to meet privately with first session speakers on Tuesday morning, October 19, at ten a.m. in the Reference Library, Room 1007, at Hunter College.

This is in line with the Forum's constant attempt over the past twenty-three years to render specific and practical service to organizations such as yours working in community situations.

I hope you will be able to come to this closed, off-the-record meeting, and shall look forward to seeing you. A small number of resource persons will also be present to help you as they can with suggestions for implementing the spirit of the Court's decision in your community.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Theodore Waller
Forum Director

September 21, 1954

PROGRAM - NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM - OCTOBER 18, 1954

INTEGRATION

8:00 - 8:15 Opening - Background of the Supreme Court Opinion of May 17

Child from Prince Edward County: JOAN MARIE JOHNS or JOY ANNETTE CARBARRUS

8:15 - 8:30 Court Opinion's Meaning for the South

HARRY ASHMORE **

8:30 - 9:00 What are the South's overall resources for meeting the challenge of the Supreme Court's opinion?

8:30-40 Organisational Resources - GEORGE MITCHELL ** Southern Regional Council

Churches (Catholic, Protestant, Jewish); farm cooperatives; labor unions.

8:40-50 Education and the South's changing economy - PHIL HAMMER **

Economics of the region; the South is educating a labor force that increasingly moves north; new industries coming south need educated laborers (also public schools for their staff's children); upgrading of Negro workers in South Carolina textile mills -- beginning of a trend?; changing base of political power: Negro vote, new urban/suburban vote, young liberals; potential $20 million purchasing power of Southerners.

8:50-9:00 Latent leadership in the South - C. A. McKNIGHT ** Director, Southern Education Reporting Service

9:00 - 9:15 Music

INTERRACIAL CHORUS or Dramatization of Nashville Youth Orchestra story with JOHN McCALL

9:15 - 10:00 Case studies -- some community solutions

1. HERMAN LONG ** Director, Fisk University community self-surveys;
2. HARVEY E. STAHL, Superintendent of Schools, Claymont, Delaware; or MRS. DYSON, Negro teacher at Claymont Negro elementary school;
3. Superintendent of Schools, Baltimore, Maryland;
4. Washington, D.C. -- JEANNE ROGERS
   MARGARET BUTCHER **
   ROBERT FAULKNER
5. GEN. LANHAM -- Integration in practice in the Armed Forces

** Asked and accepted

10:00 - 10:15 Is there segregation in some New York City schools?

DR. KENNETH CLARK and COL. ARTHUR LEVITT, President, New York Board of Education

10:15 - 10:30 How soon will southern schools be integrated?

DR. CHARLES JOHNSON, President of Fisk University **

A realistic look at some of the strategists — some stands taken at public and private levels by both Negro and white groups;
Fears — justified and unjustified;
Guideposts in the evolution of a plan -- study what is taking place outside planning to see what the plan can and should be.

10:30 Closing - Living within the law

JOHN W. DAVIS
or
FRED HANSEN, Assistant Attorney-General of Oklahoma. (Argued the Sipuel and McLaurin cases. Attitude changed in interim from being a vicious racist to wanting to abide in both letter and spirit by the Court's decision.)

** Asked and accepted

October 25, 1954

Mrs. Helen Hiett Waller
The Herald-Tribune Forum
New York Herald-Tribune
230 West Forty-First Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Waller:

Back now at the desk in Atlanta with the most pleasant recollections of the Forum, the many new friends it gave me, the the Reids' hospilatity, and your own careful and friendly arrangements.

The travel expenses broke down as follows: Automobile from Atlanta to Chattanooga at 4¢ a mile = $6.00; Day coach plane from Chattanooga to New York = $37.73; New York to Washington, D. C., in sleeper = $15.24; Washington to Richmond by coach $3.53; Richmond to Atlanta in sleeper = $28.48. Total transportation $90.98. Meals $7.10. Airport bus $1.75. Taxis $3.30. Hotel $26.27. Subway and bus 45¢. Tips $1.20. Telephone 75¢. Total Expenses = $131.80.

Both my wife and the staff of the Southern Regional Council professed to be much pleased with the photograph that your photographer took and used on page 52 of the Trib's account of the proceedings for the October 21st issue. Somebody here will write you and ask to get a glossy or a mat.

Warm thanks again for a most constructive and broadening visit.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

EXCHANGE TELETYPEWRITER
NY 1-1384

TELEPHONE
LONGACRE 3-1000

HOTEL NEW YORKER

THIRTY-FOURTH STREET AT EIGHTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

FRANK L. ANDREWS, PRESIDENT
GENE VOIT, GENERAL MANAGER

October 4, 1954

RECEIVED
10/6/54
Southern Regional Council

Miss Elizabeth Brantley
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3,
Geofgia

Dear Miss Brantley:

It is a privilege to confirm the reservation as requested recently.

Accordingly, desirable single room with private bath has been reserved for the arrival of Mr. George S. Mitchell on October 18th. Our check out time is 6:00 p.m.

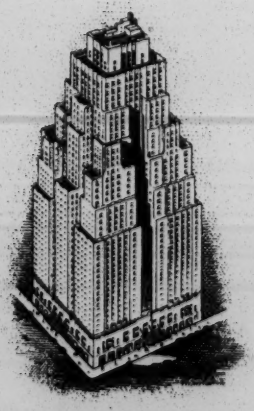
We look forward to the pleasure of welcoming him to The New Yorker.

Cordially yours,

John W. Grundhofer

John W. Grundhofer
Front Office Manager.

jwg.at.



NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
A European Edition is Published Daily in Paris

PEnnsylvania 6-4000 230 West 41st Street, New York 36

October 1, 1954

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Yours sincerely,

Mrs. Theodore Waller
Forum Director

HHW:dw

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
A European Edition is Published Daily in Paris

clip to A.H.

RECEIVED 10/28/54
Southern Regional Council

PEnnsylvania 6-4000

230 West 41st Street, New York 36

October 26, 1954

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

It is hard to put into words the full measure of our gratefulness to you for your contribution to the Forum. We deem it a great privilege to have been able to give our audience an opportunity to know such an American as you. And I cannot resist adding that for me, personally, meeting you was the high point of the Forum experience.

I know you will be interested in the attached editorial, which you may not have seen. We flew mats of the Forum section to Paris, where several thousand were re-printed for European distribution at the request of the U.S.I.A. Our press run here for the Forum section was well over half a million, and comment has been most gratifying from all sides. Even the press associations carried much more Forum material than usual. I'd be interested to know whether Georgia papers used any of it.

Dan Dodson phoned yesterday to discuss plans for implementing some of the ideas that grew out of the Tuesday morning session. I want to help in any way I can. And I especially look forward to any opportunities that may come in the future for seeing YOU again.

Please let me have a note on your expenses in connection with the Forum.

With renewed thanks,

Yours sincerely,

Helen Hiett Waller

Mrs. Theodore Waller
Forum Director

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dec 1, 1954

~~Dear~~ Mr. McKil:

I am a Senior in high School. I am writing a term paper on Race Relations in the United States. I would appreciate any information you can send to me in regards to this subject.

Sincerely

Miss Marylynn Wassman
4914 Tennessee Ave.
Chattanooga 9, Tenn

December 21, 1954

Miss Marylym Wassman
4914 Tennessee Avenue
Chattanooga 9, Tenn.

Dear Miss Wassman,

Mr. Ralph McGill has asked us to answer your request for information on race relations.

We have no single publication covering the whole field of race relations, but we do have various publications covering many aspects of the question. These are itemized on the enclosed publications list, and we will be glad to have your order for those which will be particularly helpful to you.

Meanwhile I am sending you separately a copy of our recent pamphlet which summarizes the issues raised by the Supreme Court decision on public school segregation.

Answers for Action →

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf
encl. SRC Publications List

March 7, 1955

Mr. William Warren
Office for University Development
New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Warren:

I deeply appreciate your letter of February 28th. Your kind words are more than I or the booklet deserve, but that only makes them all the more welcome.

I am looking looking forward to seeing you when you come to Atlanta next summer. Don't fail to call me.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON SQUARE
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

OFFICE FOR UNIVERSITY DEVELOPMENT

28 February 1955

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I wanted to write this note and thank you so much for the literature you sent me on the Council, and especially for that article of yours on the police meeting. Of all the articles in the booklet that affected me---and many of them did---none affected me quite as much as that one. What with all the varying types of angry protests making the rounds these days I have, I'm ashamed to say, grown almost immune to many of them. Or rather until I got your booklet I thought I had. I felt as though such things as the McCarthy investigations, the Hiss business, and just plain everyday contact with things that made me mad had spent my sense of social righteousness to a point of near apathy, the way you sometimes get in the Army. Your booklet, and particularly your article, showed me that, like Mehitabel said, "there's a dance in the old dame yet." I thought it was very fine, and the friends I've asked to read it have thought so, too.

Helen Bullard is in New York now for a few days, and we had a pleasant afternoon and evening together yesterday. For some reason I'm always reassured about people in general when I get through seeing Helen. I told her how much I liked your things and asked her to please pass on my best regards when she returns South.

It seems likely I'll be in Atlanta sometime this coming July or August, on my vacation, so I will certainly call you when I do. In the meantime, if you have any more publications you think I might enjoy, I'd appreciate your sending them. Thanks again for what you did send.

Sincerely,

Bill Warren

40 East 52nd Street
New York 22, N.Y.

RECEIVED APR 20 1956

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
SAINT LOUIS

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

April 18, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I certainly appreciate your taking the trouble of writing and sending me the materials. I know that you could make a really significant contribution to our Washington University Association lectures next year, but careful consideration by members of the Advisory Committee has lead to the decision not to have a talk during the 1956-57 series on "The South."

This takes care of the letter you write Dean Brandenburg.

Best personal wishes. I will look forward to the opportunity of getting to meet and to hear you.

Attached is a copy of your ltr.

Yours sincerely,

Earnest Brandenburg

Earnest Brandenburg, Dean

EB:fn

cc: Mrs. Margaret Dagen

Enc.

April 19, 1956

(Dictated April 18)

Dean Earnest Brandenburg
University College
Washington University
St. Louis 5, Missouri

Dear Dean Brandenburg:

I wrote you April 6th because Margaret Dagen said I should. Now I find out that I am to be in St. Louis on Friday, May 18th, to address at lunchtime a meeting of the National Federation of Settlement Houses people. I think I come on for them about 12:30 or 1:00 p.m.

I shall be getting into St. Louis the evening before and ought to have some good stretch of the morning of the 18th free. If I can be helpful at your college, I will be glad to be.

But please make any arrangements through and with Mrs. Margaret Dagen at 114 S. Bemiston Street, Clayton, Missouri, because she has some other possible morning engagement for me to unravel.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mrs. Margaret Dagen

April 19, 1956

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University College
Washington University
St. Louis 5, Missouri

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mrs. Margaret Dagen

April 6, 1956

Mrs. Margaret Dagan
114 S. Bemiston Street
Clayton, Missouri

Dear Margaret Degan:

I wrote the man Brandenburg less than beggingly. He is a man of courage if he up and invites me.

Yes, praise goodness, Charlotte got accepted at Oberlin early in the game. Beginning of March. I already have an Oberlin sticker on the car along with the William and Mary one. The Mitchells stagger under their support to two colleges. But we are glad that they took her and are satisfied she will get the beginnings of an education. Warmest thanks to you for your letter which I would think turned the trick.

Jimmy Wolf says I may come back to the Labor School this year. I was much complimented by a statement in his letter that he had attributed the reasonable attitude of the Labor movement in Kentucky in some part to my preachments at them. I think it's just Kentucky decency.

You will be pleased to hear that the Kentucky Council has employed one Galen A. Martin as its full-time, full-salaried Executive Director. The man has his office at 208 West Main Street, Frankfort. Was an ADA guy in Washington or somewhere. Pro public power. We had him down here the other day and pumped into him. We are giving Kentucky Council some fresh money and are hoping they will belatedly start down the correct track.

I hope this news is pleasing.

Of course, if I do get out to St. Louis I will try my best to see Mr. Gibbons.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Copy: Mrs. Degan

April 6, 1956

Dean Earnest Brandenburg
University College
Washington University
St. Louis 5, Missouri

Dear Mr. Brandenburg:

My good friend Mrs. Margaret Degan says she has been after you to get after me to make my speech at the College. Said I should send you something about the speech and a little about me.

The speech is a good one and is self-promoting. It teaches hard and fast and it's amusing and it's got a lot of history and geography and race relations and economics and politics packed into thirty-eight minutes.

I am not particularly anxious to be hauled around to make the speech but I do try to do what Mrs. Degan says. And I have business reasons for getting to St. Louis and too little travel budget to make it on my own steam.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encls.

P.S. Out of pictures; here's a mat! Maybe if you look at it slantwise you can tell what kind of mug it is.

December 20, 1956

Mr. Val J. Washington
Republican National Committee
1625 I Street, Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Washington:

You were high on our list to receive a copy of the integration report, with an expression of thanks for your assistance. I am sorry that the mailing evidently miscarried.

I am sending a copy separately with my best wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director

HCF:fc

Republican national committee
1625 I Street, Northwest, Washington 6, D. C.
NATIONAL 8-6800
10

LEONARD W. HALL
CHAIRMAN

VAL J. WASHINGTON
DIRECTOR OF MINORITIES

December 13, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

A few days ago you were kind enough to send me copy of a letter you had written to Mr. William Henry Huff in Chicago, Illinois.

I note in the last paragraph that you mention a survey that has been published by the Fund for the Republic. I would appreciate very much receiving a copy of this.

Kind personal regards.

Sincerely,

Val J. Washington

Sent booklet
12-17-56

AIR MAIL

Mr. Nicholas J. Demerath
Director
The Social Science Institute
Washington University
St. Louis 5, Missouri

Dear Nick:

Mighty good to hear from you, and of course I greatly appreciate your kind words about the new job. It is demanding, even beyond my expectations, but all of us feel that our new orientation is starting off pretty promisingly.

I hope you are finding your own new work satisfying and that we will find some opportunity to renew our cooperative relationship. When I see a chance, I will be writing you. Meanwhile if you are to be in these parts at any time, don't fail to let me know.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
St. Louis 5, Missouri

January 30, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold

Congratulations on your appointment as successor to George Mitchell. I heard about this in New York last week and, though I was surprised at George's resignation, I was also pleased that you were given the job. You have just the talents for a hard-hitting, effective program. All best wishes in your new responsibilities.

Cordially yours

Nick

N. J. Demerath
Director

mm

26 July '57

Mr. John Ward
Dept. of Govt.
Indiana Univ.
Bloomington, Ind.

Dear John:

It was good to get your letter with the clipping from the "Indiana Daily Student." Thank you for the kind words about my participation in the Intergroup Relations Workshop. I was impressed with the alertness of the group.

Thanks, too, for the check for a subscription to our magazine NEW SOUTH; your name is now on the rolls. I will send you the back issues you requested and some other material which I believe you will find interesting.

We feel that the decision of the Clinton jury will have far reaching effects in the South; it will give pause to some of my local compatriots who have felt that they could flout the law with no worry over conviction by a local jury.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/s
Encl.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
College of Arts and Sciences
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT

To Kennedy

22 July 1957

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
73 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 23, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Let me say again how delightful our evening was with you. The response to your presentation has been uniform in that it indicated a job well done. I think that your optimism proved contagious.

I am enclosing my check in the amount of $2.00 in order that I may become a subscriber to "The New South". I will appreciate your efforts in making available to me all of the issues comprising the current volume.

I still haven't had a chance to get to a copy of "The Reporter" in order to read the article to which you referred but will be doing sowithin the week. If there are other publications in which you think I would be interested, I would appreciate your calling them to my attention.

I am enclosing a clipping from the University's newspaper "The Indiana Daily Student" in order that you may see the kind of coverage which was given to your speech.

Hoping that our paths will cross again soon, I remain

Your friend,

John

JPW/lr

Enclosures

ward

November 20, 1957

Reverend Claude W. Warren
822 Grand Avenue
Schofield, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Warren:

In answer to your letter concerning information on Oklahoma, the governor's name is Raymond Gary. We do not have specific information on Mr. Gary but I presume he is a liberal governor as his state is very rapidly with integration.

Your change of address for New South has been noted.

If we can be of additional help, please do not hesitate to write.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Raymond Gary

RECEIVED OCT 31 1957

822 Grand Ave
Schofield Wis.
Oct 27,1957

Editor NEW SOUTH
63 Auburn Ave N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

I wouldlike information about the governor of Oklahoma, please. What is hisnaname and what is his stand on integration? I am told he is oneof the more liberal of the Southern governors.

If ypu have not aready chaged my address as a subscriber to NEW SOUTH please note change as below.

Thank you

Claude W. Warren

Rev. Claude W.Warren
822 Grand Ave
Schofield, Wisconsin.

former addresses
Indian Sorings School
Helena Alabama

and 131 South Evanslawn
Aurora, Illinois.

February 19, 1958

Mr. Donald B. Watt, Jr.
45 Oval Avenue
Riverside, Connecticutt

Dear Don:

I was very glad to have your letter and the news of your new and admirable berth with my favorite magazine. I'm only sorry you were on sick list when I tried to reach you in New York last week. Maybe we'll have better luck next time.

I have written your friend's brother and sister as enclosed. There's really little we can suggest in the way of organized activity for people in small Deep South towns, but they might feel that receiving our publications would give them a sense of identity with like-minded Southerners elsewhere.

All the best to you and your family.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (copy of ltr. to Mrs. Wm. M. Green)

DONALD B. WATT, JR.
45 OVAL AVENUE
RIVERSIDE, CONN.

Feb. 8, 1958

Dear Harold -

My good friend, Peggy Ellis, who hails from Louisiana and is a social worker in New York, has asked me to write to you about her sister & brother. She feels that they would be interested in the work of the S.R.C. and might prove helpful to you in their neck of the woods. Both are young marrieds, with families, in their late thirties. The brother ran unsuccessfully for the State legislature a couple years ago & is a lawyer. The sister housewives for four children, but is active in organizations and is a correspondent for the local paper.

The family lives in Rayville where I visited them not long before

my visit to you in 1952. Father is or was the town judge & I am sure he's a, if not the, distinguished citizen -; he, of course, is not of the same liberal stripe as his children.

Peggy has not suggested any specific role they might play, as neither of us know just what avenues there might be for their interest to take. But do let them know what you're doing:

C. J. Ellis, Jr. - Rayville, La.

Mrs. Wm M. Green - 900 Smith St. Rayville

It was good to hear from you at Christmas, & I'm still hoping to see you on a trip to N.Y.

I've had a great break this last year. In Sept. went to work for The New Yorker Magazine as a space salesman. You can imagine what a superb organization it is to work for - it has all the integrity which the mag. publishing & advertising trades as a whole generally lack. And fun!

Best wishes to you & yours.

Don

Same ltr. to Mrs. William M. Green
900 Smith Street,
Rayville, Louisiana

bc to: Mr. Donald Watt

February 19, 1958

Mr. C. J. Ellis, Jr.
Rayville,
Louisiana

Dear Mr. Ellis:

Through my good friend Don Watt of New York, your sister has suggested that I write you about the work of the Southern Regional Council.

As you may know, the Council is an interracial organization of some years' standing which works for better race relations through its staff, headquartered in Atlanta, and associated state and local groups. Unfortunately, the Louisiana human relations effort is, for the time being, pretty well limited to the New Orleans area. But I thought you might be interested in the enclosed material describing the Council's program and publications.

If there is any way the Council can assist you in any of your community efforts, please call on me.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/s mf
Enclosures: Congressional Record Reprint
New York Times Reprint
New South, January/1958

February 19, 1958

Mrs. William M. Green
900 Smith Street
Rayville,
Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Green:

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Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: Congressional Record Reprint
New York Times Reprint
New South, January/1958

VIA AIR MAIL April 3, 1958

Mr. Arthur W. Wang
Hill and Wang, Inc., Publishers
104 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

Dear Mr. Wang:

My apologies for not answering sooner. I had delayed in the hope of talking with you when I was last in New York, but my limited time there got away from me.

We should be glad to give such modest help as we can to the promotion of Tender Warriors in the South. I don't think it would be either feasible or rewarding for us to attempt to handle the books ourselves. However, distribution by us of the circular might yield some results. We will be glad to distribute any quantity you have available, up to several thousand.

I will look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

HILL AND WANG, INC., PUBLISHERS

104 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • CHELSEA 2-0143

March 20, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We had hoped to hear from you by this time as to your opinion of Tender Warriors, by Dorothy Sterling, a copy of which we sent you several weeks ago. We are looking desparately for groups in the South who will help distribute this book: almost none of the regular book stores are willing to handle it. We can allow your organization a discount of 40% from the $1.50 price of the paper edition, and will supply copies on consignment. I am enclosing a copy of a circular which we can supply you with in limited quantities, and a copy of a letter from Roy Wilkins.

Very cordially yours,

Arthur W. Wang

Tender Warriors

by DOROTHY STERLING

with Donald Gross

Photographs by Myron Ehrenberg

The Tender Warriors of this book are the school children, Negro and white, who are in the forefront of America's efforts to achieve integration.

The interviews and photographs were obtained by Mrs. Sterling and Mr. Ehrenberg on a recent trip to Clinton, Tennessee, to Clay, Kentucky, to Louisville, and elsewhere in the South. There are revealing photographs of the recent events in Little Rock and a transcript of the historic panel discussion of Negro and white students of Little Rock High School.

> "Many excellent books dealing with desegregation have been published, but none of these has brought the issue as poignantly to the heart as *Tender Warriors*. It speaks through the mouths of the children who are affected by the Great Change. It reveals their faith, their courage, their uncertainty, and, above all their courage. The humanity of white and Negro parents is here bridging the bigotry and threats of violence."
>
> —ROY WILKINS, *Executive Secretary*
> National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

> "A short but effective report on reactions of Negro and white children and their parents to school desegregration in the mid-South."
>
> —*Publishers' Weekly*

HILL AND WANG, INC.
104 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, N. Y.

Please send me ___copies of *Tender Warriors,* Paper ed. @ $1.50 each
___copies of *Tender Warriors,* Cloth ed. @ $2.50 each

Enclosed is $_____

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

In New York City, please add 3% sales tax.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LOngacre 3-6890

February 7, 1958

Mr. Arthur Wang
Hill and Wang
104 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

Dear Mr. Wang:

Many excellent books dealing with desegregation in the public schools have been published since May 17, 1954, when the United States Supreme Court handed down its memorable decision, but none of these has brought the issue as poignantly to the heart as does "Tender Warriors."

The book reminds us of what some students have tended to forget, namely, that the training of our children--black and white--for their futures in a new age is involved. In our debates over law and politics we have forgotten the children.

"Tender Warriors" speaks through the mouths of the children who are affected by the Great Change. It reveals their faith, their courage, their uncertainty and, above all, their honesty. The humanity of white and Negro parents is here, bridging the bigotry and threats of violence.

This is a book of compelling human interest and should be read by every person of both races who wishes to aid in a peaceful and just solution of the difficulties in the desegregation program.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins

Roy Wilkins,
Executive Secretary

RW:jl

JC - Please Return
mf

April 10, 1958

Mr. Arthur W. Wang
Hill and Wang, Inc., Publishers
104 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

Dear Mr. Wang:

We should prefer the circulars for Tender Warriors to be imprinted with your address. I am assuming that it will be possible for you to identify any orders resulting from our distribution.

We shall be expecting 1500 copies of the circular.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

HILL AND WANG, INC., PUBLISHERS

104 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • CHELSEA 2-0143

April 8, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We can supply you with circulars for Tender Warriors imprinted with the name of the Southern Regional Council, or with our own address: which do you prefer? My thought is to send you 1500 to start, and if it goes well we can follow up with more.

Sincerely,

Arthur W. Wang

Arthur W. Wang

April 8, 1959

Rev. Claude W. Warren
2408 Thomas Avenue
Redondo Beach, California

Dear Mr. Warren:

The minister of Christ Episcopal Church in Alexandria, Virginia is the Rev. B. B. C. Lile. A letter addressed to the Rev. Lile at his church in Alexandria would reach him.

We have searched our files looking for a statement from Rev. Lile but have not turned it up. I am certain Rev. Lile would be happy to send you a copy of any statement he may have made.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Rev. B.B.C.
File

April 4, 1959

Editor New South,
63 Auburn Ave N.E.
Atlanta, 3 Georgia

Dear Si r:

I enjoy the New South more than ever.

write today to ask if you can give me the name and address of the Rector of Christ Episcopal Church, Alexandria Virginia.

Can you tell me of the stand he took on the question of integration a few months ago. If possible would like a quotation from his serm n on that occasion. or any newspaper account of his stand on the race situation.

Thank you,

Claude W. Warren

REV. CLAUDE W. WARREN
2408 Thomas Avenue
Redondo Beach, California

[illegible] ministry of Christ [illegible]

[illegible] Rev. B. B. C. ~~Lyle~~ file [illegible]

[illegible] Ch [illegible]

[illegible]

Also [illegible]

Rev. Lyle [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] D.C.

HCF/mf

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Copy of this corresp
Sent to SREB.
10/19/59

October 19, 1959

Mr. Milton N. Ward, Jr.
Livingstone College
Salisbury, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Ward:

Your letter dated October 17 was evidently intended for the Southern Regional Education Board, 130 Sixth Street, N. W., Atlanta.

We have forwarded your letter to that agency and trust they will advise you regarding the opportunities in which you are interested.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Livingstone College
Salisbury, North Carolina
October 17, 1959

Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am a student a Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina. At The advice of my instructors, I am writing for information concerning grants for undergruates who wish to enter a professional school (law, medicine, etc.).

I understand that the Southern Regional Council has a program wherein the student in exchange for financing of his education serves a given period in the South in that profession. Please forward to me any information concerning same in detail.

Yours truly,

Milton N. Ward Jr.

Milton N. Ward Jr.

October 21, 1959

The Honorable J. Waties Waring
Hyde Park Hotel
25 East 77th Street
New York 21, New York

My dear Judge Waring:

Thank you for your letter advising us of your new address. We have made the appropriate changes in our mailing lists.

It would be a great pleasure to see you and Mrs. Waring again, and I will hope to do so on my next trip to New York. Meanwhile, my warm regards to you both.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

10/21/59

TO: JC
BC

FROM: MFlowers

Please change Hon. J. Waties Waring's address to the following:

Hyde Park Hotel
25 East 77th Street
New York 21, New York

Return to HCT

RECEIVED OCT 15 1959

J. WATIES WARING
U. S. DISTRICT JUDGE (RETIRED)
~~952 FIFTH AVENUE~~
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
HYDE PARK HOTEL
25 EAST 77TH ST.

Oct 13/59

Sent 10/15

Dear Mr Fleming:

Please have your office send me a copy each of "The Negro & the Ballot in the South" and "If the schools are closed, etc"

Also have mailing list from your office (including new South) changed to my new address which is:

Hyde Park Hotel
25 East 77th St,
New York 21, N.Y.

This is just around the corner from our old address. Next time you are in N.Y. you'll come to see us. Mrs Waring joins in regards.

Sincerely
J Waties Waring

Enclose check for cost & mailing of pamphlets. to HHH

March 2, 1960

Mr. Ralph DiGia
Administrative Secretary
War Registers League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. DiGia:

Thank you for including us in your plans for the 1961 calendar of the War Registers League. Enclosed are two brochures with material on the Southern Regional Council.

The first one from the Congressional Record includes several important dates as you requested. It begins with the asterisk on page one and continues through the asterisk on page three. The other one is briefer.

Please feel free to print either one which meets your needs best.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf
Enclosures - 2.
Congressional Record Reprint
"The Changing South"

WHAT is the

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE ?

War will grow more and more recurr
regard it as a personal matter.

Strongest Opposition to War

To speak against war, to join organizations against war, to hope and pray that wars will cease, is not enough. To oppose war in the strongest possible way it is necessary *personally* to refuse to take part in or support war. The heart of an anti-war point of view is an *individual refusal* to join the Army, Navy, Air Force or other war-making organization.

This is the conviction of the members of the War Resisters League, an organization of men and women who have pledged themselves not to support any war whatsoever, whether civil or international, and who have banded together to make known their stand to other people and to invite others to join with them.

These members of the War Resisters League represent many political, social and religious points of view. Some base their objections to war on religious grounds, others on ethical or philosophical ones. They are Jews, Catholics, Protestants, atheists, Democrats, Republicans, Socialists and Anarchists.

What they all have in common is that each one is committed to the personal refusal to take part in war.

Story of the League

The War Resisters League, American section, is part of a world-wide union of objectors to war, known as the War Resisters International, which has members in 86 countries. The American section was founded in 1923, largely through the initiative of Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan. A slow but steady growth in membership has marked its history since.

During the 20's and 30's the League worked with other peace groups in educating the public against war. It sponsored meetings, parades, publications and demonstrations of every kind, aimed at showing the futility and moral viciousness of war. As the League grew into a national organization, it sponsored local groups in different parts of the country and contributed increasingly to work abroad. But always it kept its emphasis on the individual refusal to participate in war embodied in its pledge—the only requirement for membership.

World War II, Korea and Since

In the Second World War and the Korean War the League found many of its members among the approximately 100,000 draft age men who refused to serve in the armed forces. Many were sent to alternative service camps (provided by the government for conscientious objectors). Others who were not classified as objectors or who refused any conscript service were sent to prison.

Work was undertaken to provide legal, moral and financial support for all these men—both League members and non-League members. The League was instrumental in setting up advisory services (which sometimes proved to be the only support the objector had in facing the draft). It sent representatives to Washington to appear before congressional committees. It supported a monthly paper *The Conscientious Objector*. It took the lead in standing up against the regimentation and injustices which many found themselves subjected to.

Wherever an individual made his stand for conscience against the war-time state the League was ready with its help.

In the period of the Cold War when two giants began arming for another showdown the League put its special efforts into the fight for disarmament and against permanent peace-time military conscription. With other peace, labor and educational groups it played a part in preventing passage of Universal Military Training legislation. New members were found among World War II and Korean War veterans who had served in the armed forces but had come to reject war completely.

The Present and Future

The development of non-violent alternatives to war, following the lead of Gandhi, has been one of the War Resisters League's major concerns. The application of these techniques to local war-like situations such as the race conflict in the South is one of its activities. League staff have contributed pacifist knowledge and experience to applying non-violent philosophy and methods in places like Alabama and Mississippi.

Other recent League work has been done in helping to organize protests against Civil Defense mock air raid drills

and against hydrogen bomb experiments to dramatize the fact that the only real civil defense is to end war.

The need for developing theory and knowledge about non-violence and the practical alternatives to war has led the League to help in the publication and dissemination of the independent monthly magazine *Liberation* (with offices at 110 Christopher Street, New York 14). This magazine features articles on constructive movements towards peace and towards removing the causes of war in all parts of the world.

A field speaker program taking War Resisters League speakers to college campuses and communities throughout the country is also carried on. Pamphlets, new writings on peace and anti-war classics are distributed. Annual events include a New York Dinner and a Weekend Conference at Butler, New Jersey. These occasions are open to all interested in peace.

Members of the League are urged to help form vital and articulate groups in their own localities to study and carry out League projects. In addition members are encouraged to participate in labor unions, civic, trade and political organizations whose aims are compatible with war resistance and where they may

make their anti-war stand felt. The League asks each member to contribute regularly in accordance with his or her means.

Inquiries are invited and literature on any aspect of the League's work will be sent on request. Or you may wish now to take the War Resisters League pledge which is printed below.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
ENROLLMENT BLANK

Anyone 16 *or over may join.*

"War is a crime against humanity. I therefore am determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive for the removal of all the causes of war."

Signature .....

Mr. Mrs. Miss .....

Address .....

City ..... State .....

Occupation ..... Age.....

Date .....

Send to WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE,
5 Beekman Street, N.Y. 38, N.Y.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

Five Beekman Street, New York 38, N. Y., BEekman 3-0462-3

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IGAL ROODENKO, Vice-Chairman
WILLIAM S. SHIRLEY, Vice-Chairman
ORLIE A. H. PELL, Treasurer

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Mulford Sibley
Oliver Stone
William Sutherland
Arlo Tatum
Lyle Tatum
Denny Wilcher
George Willoughby
Frances Witherspoon

March 1960

Dear Sirs,

The 1961 calendar to be published by the War Resisters League will have as its theme the progress that has been made in the United States through non-violent means for protection and expansion of civil rights and liberties of groups which have faced discrimination.

We would like to include your organization among those which have contributed to this progress. As the calendar includes significant dates and quotations, we would appreciate receiving as soon as possible a brochure or letter which gives a full statement of your purposes and principles, date of the group's founding, and perhaps a half dozen other dates of significance in the development of your organization and its purposes.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Ralph Di Gia

Ralph DiGia

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

MF--

Please send a sit-in report and a copy of Ben Segal's pamphlet ~~xx~~ with my card to

Mr. Dan Wakefield
The Nation
333 Sixth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Sent 4/20/60 mf.

May 18, 1960

Dr. J. Allen Easley
Chairman
Department of Religion
Wake Forest College
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Easley:

We are not only willing to send you some sample copies of New South for distribution to prospective subscribers, but we are grateful to you for helping us to make the publication known in this way. Under separate cover I am sending you fifteen (15) copies of the March issue. If you find later that you can use more copies in this way, feel free to write me.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

WAKE FOREST COLLEGE
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION

May 14, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am wondering if your policy allows for the distribution of sample copies of New South to prospective subscribers. I am constantly filled with the desire for friends of mine to read your publication, but not wishing to surrender my own copy I find that I am not as effective in enlisting new subscribers as I might be. If it is your policy to distribute sample copies I would be glad to have a dozen or so back numbers to use in encouraging my friends to subscribe.

I am deeply grateful for the work of the Council and wish you every success.

Sincerely yours,

J. Allen Easley

J. Allen Easley
Chairman

JAE:vr

February 10, 1961

Mr. Donald Watt
27 East 13th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Don:

Thanks for your very welcome note. I am glad to send you a copy of our opus on the President and civil rights, enclosed.

Mrs. Brian sounds like a real resource, and we will certainly be in touch with her. Unhappily, there is no state or local group directly connected with us in Louisiana. But we can be greatly benefited by the local intelligence and suggestions for program that a person like Mrs. Brian can give us.

I very much hope to see you during some early trip to New York. Meanwhile, all the best.

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

December 22, 1961

Mr. Lee W. Wagner
2 Hedwig Court
Houston 24, Texas

Dear Lee:

Welcome to the South. It is a little hard for me to visualize you outside Green Village, which I never saw but which I had come to regard as part of you. I hope you have got halfway adjusted to the move, and though Houston is farther from us than New Jersey I probably will have a better chance of seeing you occasionally. I expect to be in Dallas next April and I may change planes in Houston.

I sent you a card to Green Valley but you'll probably never get it - so Merry Christmas.

In case your change of address has fouled up our mailing list I am enclosing one of our publications which came out recently and may be of special interest to you now.

My best to the whole family.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. Houston Employment
Study

October 25, 1962

Mr. Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York 24, New York

Dear Mr. Walker:

Leslie Dunbar thought you would like the enclosed copies of newsclips from our files.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs)

Baldwin Prison stories
+ other ga. prison clips

September 13, 1962

Mr. Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York 24, New York

Dear Gerry:

You must think that Maggie has taught me how to procrastinate in answering my mail. But as she finally did write to you, I slowed up a bit. Things are sort of rough and rapid here lately.

We shall all be eager to hear what Readers Digest may have to say.

I like very much your idea about an article on parole practices. Frankly, I am not well up on this subject myself and I am not sure how much could be got out of our files. There are, however, lawyers here and elsewhere whom I think we could help put you in touch with who ought to know a good bit. I asked Wiley Branton about the subject the other day and discovered, as I expected, that he can recount a lot of detail about Arkansas and some other places too. According to Wiley, in Arkansas there is no longer the kind of "slave-block" practice which you describe in your letter. The situation is, however, that no man gets parolled unless he has some promise of a job. What this means in practice is fairly obvious. Another person to whom you might write is Dr. Elmer H. Johnson, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina. Before returning to the campus, Johnson was Assistant Director of Prisons for the State of North Carolina in charge of rehabilitation; good man.

About the flight of southern urban whites, I would like to see this done also in a tighter focus than anyone has yet attempted. Enclosed are some figures which we worked up here. This is strictly an office document and the accuracy of figures has not been fully verified. The figures are all percentages and they seek to show something about population movements in the principal cities throughout the country. The census keeps changing its definitions, so the figures are not authenic comparisons. But for laymen such as you and I "city" and "u.p." (urban place) are synonymous and "m.d." (metropolitan district) and "s.m.a." (state metropolitan area) are synonymous.

We have so many wires in the fire right now that Blackford (our new research director) and I are not sure we should attempt another. Besides, we have a very tight budget. I would, however, like to talk with you more. How would it be if I gave you a call week after next when I am in New York?

I don't know why Claude said that we had "released" a voter estimate. We haven't. We have some figures which we have been working up and which we have shown Claude and a couple of other reporters, and which we shall release when we work them over some more. Copy enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

P.S. You are on the mailing list. I don't know what Maggie may have given you in the past, but I am sending you under separate cover a package of back publications. If you already have them, dispose of them as you will.

I am enclosing also a New South and an L-Report which relate to the population question.

Enclosures:
- Population % change, 1950-60
- Voting figures
- New South, Nov. 1959, "Migration and Segregation"
- L-25, Washington Post reprint, "New Census Look at Cities and Race," by Jack Eisen

August 28, 1962

Mr. Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York 24, New York

Dear Gerry,

I just talked to John Pennington, our ATLANTA JOURNAL prison muck-raker, about your parole story. John is quite interested in your possible story, and hopes you can find something. (He or Jack Nelson, by the way, could be very helpful to you as they have been trying to crack this parole thing for a long time. Both are excellent and dedicated reporters, and Nelson won a Pulitzer Prize last year.) John says among other things the cost of a parole in Georgia is $2000, which, of course, is not a peonage deal. He doesn't know about this concubinage or farm hand paroles; but thinks it's not unlikely with the parole abuses which are possible here. The prisoner does indeed have a choice as to his parole. In most cases he furnishes his employer who will parole him and vouch for him,-theoretically, anyway. In any event, he can turn down the parole. The paroling employer also must pay "a living wage" and list this wage and work conditions with the parole board. Also, the paroled prisoner can't change his job without approval of the parole supervisor.

The rub, however, which makes possible the abuses you've heard about, is that the legislature several years ago made parole board records classified--that is, nobody could see them. (This, John thinks, is to protect lawyers of the legislature who get parolees for a price. The law is that two of the three parole board members must sign a waiver to open these records to anybody. So you can see that this is a mess which can facilitate all sorts of hardships for prisoners and profit

for crooked lawyers.

Prisoners are paroled only from state institutions in Georgia.

There's no telling how widespread this practice is in Georgia, or if it exists at all, with closed parole board records.

I don't know how many paroles are granted per year; John says we have 10,000 state prisoners, all of whom can come up for parole during the year. This includes lifers, and any sort of felons, all prisoners. You can see that a man with a life sentence could be paroled for a lifetime to some fellow with friends on the parole board or a parole supervisor who is a friend. Of course we don't know just what does happen in all cases.

I think, as far as I know, the parole set-up is pretty much the same all over the South; the justice of the operation depends, of course, on honesty and open records.

About your white flight from desegregated cities, I haven't got anything on that for you yet. Two of our research people are out, and I'm pretty pushed too. I'll see what we have on it next week and write you. That's a nice tip for ourBBlackford, but should it be our story or yours?

I don't know what to do about my Albany piece until something drastic happens there, but I'm still waiting and tapping my foot. I'm delighted to hear that your Little Roack story is foing to RED BOOK, and I hope it's not too much altered because I liked what I saw. We hope you womp up some great piece to bring you back soon. Bob just called up, very pleased and comforted over your "beautiful" letter to him. Love to all three of you.

Sincerely,

Maggie

ML:ld

P.S., John Pennington says there are two ways to crack this parole horror; to get the parole prisoner to testify to his peonage or to find the "crookedness" on the record. He says he'd be delighted if you or anybody could crack it. Please, though, don't quote him on any of this and muddy his waters.

Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York 24, New York

August 30, 1962

Dear Maggie,

Thanks for all that information on the parole system. I'm going to see if Jimmy Gibson can come up with some sworn affidavits (he said he could) from Negro prisoners who've been subjected to that system. Since, as you say, the records are closed, that's the only approach left.

As to the flight of Southern urban whites, I'd like it to be my story since it's a phenomenon I'm much interested in: the irony of the North re-making the South in its own image, right down to hypocritically segregated residential patterns. I'd like to do it for one of the more thoughtful magazines. I've already spoken to Jack Fischer of Harper's, who liked it but said he's full up right now with racial stuff (including one assignment to me on the Negro press; any Negro papers you'd recommend I examine?). So now I'm thinking of the Atlantic or the Reporter. Since neither of these pays very much (certainly nowhere near enough to finance my visiting even a handful of Southern cities to see things first-hand, I'm thinking now of trying for some supplementary enabling money & backing. In this connection, would SRC be interested in my taking this on as a special assignment? Out of it could come a special report, such George McMilllan's on Southern law enforcement, plus an article in a major magazine. Could you discuss this with Leslie and let me know what the probabilities are?

Les

I'm glad to hear my letter to Bob helped some. I know how important his friends are to him.

The three of us (thanks to hospitable friends) just spent 5 days soaking up sun at Fire Island and it was most welcome after a chunk of work. Now here I sit at the typewriter, watching my tan fade palpably minute by minute, mumbling once more, "Necessity is the mother of invention," or words to that effect.

By the way, when I hadn't heard from you in some weeks, I kind of figured you might be swamped so I addressed a similar query on the two article ideas to Leslie at the beginning of this week; I see now the letters crossed and you were thinking of the ideas at the same time I was. This psychic rapport of ours will explain the duplication of inquiries.

I, too, hope I get back down your way soon.

Regards,

Gerry

P. S. Did the city of Birmingham ever carry out its threat and actually cut off relief food supplies, or is that still hanging?

Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York 24, New York

August 27, 1962

Dear Leslie,

I've just sent an outline for a proposed article on the Southern Regional Council to the Reader's Digest and hope they act on it before the millennium (they are not noted for their speed).

While casting about for other ideas that will bring me back down South to a region which fascinates me endlessly, it occurred to me that you and SRC might help provdie me with enough information on two of them for me to put queries to editors here.

One has to do with measuring whether and/or how fast Southern urban whites are fleeing to the suburbs or putting their children into private schools in the face of imminent or actual school desegregation. Do you have figures on public school enrollment for both the beginning and the end of each school year since 1950, broken down into the number of white students and Negro students, for the following cities: Little Rock, Atlanta, Dallas, Memphis, Louisville, St. Louis, Nashville, Charlotte, Durham, Houston, New Orleans, Norfolk, Richmond, Baltimore, Washington?

I'd also like to know whether you have figures on Southern urban whites who have either migrated to the suburbs or placed their children in private schools during the past 12 years. I'm interested in this phenomenon because it would appear that the North, ironically, is remaking the South in its own image in both positive and negative ways. The South may ultimately see the break-up of traditionally spotty residential patterns (whites & Negroes in the same city block in many sections) in faovr of the Northern developing pattern of black cities ringed with white suburbs. It's an irony I want to explore further.

The second article idea I have involves a Georgia parole practice I was told about on my trip to Atlanta last month. Apparently, a white farmer in need of cheap, docile labor can go to certain custodial institutions and jails, look over the male prisoners, pick himself a husky one (or several), then ask the Parole Board that the prisoner be paroled in his custody for the remainder of his term; needless to say, these are Negro prisoners. Similarly, Negro women prisoners are, I'm told, paroled into a flagrant form of concubinage.

Do you know anything about this? Does the prisoner have some choice as tow whether he/she is to be paroled in this way? Or is it mandatory? Are they paid anything at all while so paroled? For how a long a time do such parole periods last? What sort of jails are the prisoners paroled from - state, county, municipal? How widespread is the practice in Georgia? How many such paroles per year? Do any other states in the South - or North - use the same system?

One more question: Who said slavery was abolished?

(more)

O're answered the most - Mrs

In Claude Sitton's Sunday piece, I read yesterday that you had just released an estimate on the percentage increase in Negro voter registration. May I please obtain a copy of this?

And may I repeat my request to be placed on your list to receive all SRC press releases and studies? A year ago, I discovered the South and what is going on in it, and I feel that I will keep coming back as a journalist for a long time. In fact, I have been doing a bit of missionary work in the field of race relations with some of the big magazines: a piece in May Good Housekeeping on the Atlanta school desegregation, an upcoming one in November Redbook on "Little Rock Revisited," and another coming this fall in Ladies' Home Journal on what sort of year 1961-62 was for Martha Ann Holmes at Murphy High School.

So I/m very much interested in doing still more in this general field and I would appreciate any help you can give me, either in suggesting article subjects or in providing me with information (such as requested above) on ideas of my own.

Cordially,

Gerald Walker

File "W" for Corresp

permission

December 2, 1963

Mr. Jack L. Walker - cr. ref
Department of Government
Boston University — file
725 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Jack:

I have now read your article on Atlanta leadership, and found it very interesting. I think sometimes you scientists pin people down a little tight, but that does give us another view.

If you are home during Christmas drop by, and I hope you will remember to send others of your writings.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Boston University

CHARLES RIVER CAMPUS • 725 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE • BOSTON 15, MASSACHUSETTS

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

Sept. 23, 1963

Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I thought you might like to see a result of the anxious "research" I did now almost two years ago. I'm sorry I didn't send one earlier--I'm becoming rather forgetful it seems.

If you have any comments to make about this (either sympathetic or otherwise), I'd like to hear them.

Sincerely,

Jack

Jack L. Walker
Department of Government

VJ thank

please return LD

22 Butler Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
October 10, 1963

Rec'd 10/14/63

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regginnal Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 03, Georgia

My Dear Mr. Dunbar;

I am sure you have read in your local newspaper that the Negro leadership of Atlanta recognizes the importance of trying to come to some common agreement on a program that will help to move Atlanta forward. Some of us believe that the time is here when the image of the City of Atlanta, which is generally considered to be good, still needs improvement. We further believe that Atlanta is ready or should be made ready to remove all vestiges of discrimination and segregation, and with the proper communications and negotiations this can be speedily effected.

Toward these ends a group representing most of the organizations that have been primarily active in our achievements to date have decided to pool their resources in an exploratory conference to be held Saturday, October 19, 1963, at the Interdenominational Theological Center (Gammon Theological Seminary) 671 Beckwith Street, S. W., in the rear of Morris Brown College.

This meeting of necessity will have to be an all-day conference, beginning at 9:30 in the morning and lasting until approximately 4:30 in the afternoon. A free dinner will be served at 1:30 p.m.

Because of your proven interest in the welfare of the City of Atlanta and your participation and support in one or more of the organizations sponsoring the conference, and your demonstrated interest in the improvement of the welfare of Negroes in Atlanta, we need your further thinking and guidance. You are, therefore invited, as a leader of this community, to attend this closed Leadership Conference. We request that everything be put aside so that your attendance will be possible. Please come with an open mind and remember that this conference is exploratory only and whatever comes out of the conference will represent the collective thinking of the total group.

Cordially yours,

A. T. Walden
Civic Counselor
Co-Chairman, Leadership Conference

C. D. Coleman, Chairman
Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action
Co-Chairman, Leadership Conference

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Atlanta Negro Voters League
Committee on Appeal for Human Rights
Students Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action
All Citizens Registration Committee
Operation Bread Basket
Ghandi Youth Society

April 3, 1963

Mr. Stan Raymond
President
W.A.O.K. Radio Station
110 Edgewood Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Raymond:

I wish that I could attend the WAOK dinner on April 10. Unfortunately, I cannot make it that evening.

With all best wishes, and your continued success.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

The Capitol Stations

WAOK

5000 WATTS

110 EDGEWOOD AVENUE, N. E. • MURRAY 8-3773

Atlanta 3, Georgia

1380 KC

March 26, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

You are invited to meet with other persons of leadership status in our community along with Stan Raymond, President; Zenas Sears, Vice-President; Jim Wood, Public Relations Director; Ken Goldblatt, Sales Manager; and Janice Johnson, Women's Program Director...all officials of WAOK, to view a presentation of color slides and narration which portray the "image" of WAOK and describe its operational format.

The meeting will take place Wednesday evening, April 10, 1963, in the private dining room of Beamon's Restaurant, 235 Auburn Avenue, N. E. The time is 6:30 PM. Dinner will be served.

All of us at WAOK are anxious to know your critical opinion of the job the station is doing, and to receive any suggestions that you may have as to how we can better reach our goals of entertainment, community service and merchandising. The meeting will be brief with about twenty minutes for the "showing" and a equal amount of time for discussion.

We hope you will come with the knowledge that your most frank comments will be greatly appreciated. Please call Mrs. Gerri Julian at MU 8-3773, if we may expect you.

Sincerely,

Stan Raymond

Stan Raymond
President

SR/br

cr. ref.
"W"

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Walker, Mr. Jack L.

REGARDING

Article on Atlanta leadership

DATE

December 2, 1963

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Universities - Boston

Sue's reading 8/12/64

SR ✓
LD ✓

Rec'd 8/12/64

IRVING WALLACE
308 SOUTH BRISTOL AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 49, CALIFORNIA

August 12, 1964

file → "WA" gen. corresp

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

At my personal request, my publishers are sending you an advance copy of my new novel, The Man, which you will find enclosed.

Inasmuch as this work of fiction, factually researched by me, deals with a primary issue of our democracy that concerns all of us who are American citizens, I feel that its contents might be of special interest to you.

In the fight for equality in our democratic society, I possess but two weapons - my vote and my pen. I have put my vote to use, and now at last I have found the means by which to employ my pen. I am not a polemicist - there are better pens for that - but a storyteller, and only through the medium of the story did I feel I could reach numerous hearts and minds.

If you have any comments to make on this book, I should very much enjoy hearing from you. However, such response is not necessary - for this is simply a personal presentation to you, as personal as a handshake.

As I have one character in The Man remark: "The American people have finally learned what a great Kansas editor tried to teach them years ago, that liberty is the only thing you cannot have -- unless you are willing to give it to others." That, I suppose, is what this book is about. I hope you find merit in it.

With every good wish, I remain --

Most sincerely yours,

Irving Wallace

Irving Wallace

File "WA" general

2706 Collier Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
July 23, 1968

Mr. Mike Fields
Producer
"Themes and Variations"
WAGA-TV
1551 Briarcliff Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30306

Dear Mr. Fields:

I, along with many other Atlantans, witnessed a progressive "first" in Atlanta television programming Sunday evening -- "Themes and Variations." I wish to commend WAGA-TV for this "first." I consider Mrs. Clayton to be a compliment not only to Atlanta's black community, but to the general public as well.

While the program focuses primarily on black contemporary life in Atlanta, it is bound to have a far reaching effect in bringing to public view what life is for all Atlantans. This kind of programming is one small step in helping to bridge a gap that has obviously been too long ignored.

I trust that WAGA-TV shares my feeling that "Themes and Variations" is not only a pleasant beginning, but an absolute necessity which must be continued. I trust also that the station realizes the potential for the program and, therefore, will allot more time for it. An additional half hour would permit Mrs. Clayton to bring to her Atlanta audience a deeper insight into how Atlantans are attempting to live up to the city's slogan, "FORWARD ATLANTA."

Again, my thanks for providing "Themes and Variations."

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson

M E M O R A N D U M

FROM: Moreland Griffith Smith

DATE: July 22, 1968

SUBJECT: July 21st -- T. V. Program

You no doubt know about Mrs. Xernona Clayton's T. V. Show which had its "Premiere" last Sunday (see attached).

Because this is the first T. V. show in the Southeast for an individual Negro to be the lead figure, I believe it is most important for the station to be flooded with comments and suggestions!

May I suggest that you personally write a letter to:

Mr. Mike Fields, Producer
"Themes and Variations"
1551 Briarcliff Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30306

Your expressions of congratulation to WAGA on their progressive move, plus suggestions for future programs, should be very valuable.

MGS/vmb

★ As I See It

Negro to Start TV Series Here

By PAUL JONES

Mrs. Xernona Clayton, active in civic, cultural and social life in Atlanta for several years, soon will become the first Negro in the Southeast to have a regularly scheduled prime-time television show.

(Morehouse College in Atlanta has presented for six years a half-hour program entitled "Colloquium" on WAGA - TV. The program is seen daily, Monday - Friday, commencing at 6:30 a.m.)

Paul Jones

Mrs. Clayton, personable former Chicago and Los Angeles schoolteacher and presently community affairs coordinator for Atlanta Model Cities program, will offer a series of monthly, 30-minute programs entitled "Themes and Variations" starting at 6:30 p.m., Sunday, July 21, on WAGA-TV, Channel 5.

Any subject that pertains to Negro life in Atlanta or the nation will be considered on the program, said Mrs. Clayton, a member of the Uptown Business and Professional Women's Club and the Women's Chamber of Commerce, the NAACP, National Urban League and other organizations.

Guests already signed to appear on the series include some of the big names from the world of entertainment. Eartha Kitt, Duke Ellington, Mahalia Jackson, Barbara McNair, Lionel Hampton, all entertainers, have, according to Mrs. Clayton agreed to appear on early programs.

Whitney Young, of the National Urban League; former world heavyweight boxing champion Joe Louis and his wife, who, incidentally, is an outstanding criminal lawyer, also have agreed to appear.

Mrs. Clayton promises to get the series off to an intriguing beginning on Sunday, July 21, when she presents three guests. Calvin Craig, former grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, will appear. So will Dr. Benjamin Mays, president emeritus of Atlanta University and a nationally prominent Negro educator, and Cecil Alexander, chairman of the Committee. Two children from the new "Rent-A-Kid" program will, likewise, appear.

* * *

MRS. CLAYTON is a former fashion model and teacher, is the widow of Ed Clayton, who was public relations director for the late Dr. Martin Luther King. She was on the staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Her late husband, a journalist and author, was founder-publisher of the weekly Negro newspaper, The Atlanta Voice. Mrs. Clayton writes a regular feature column for The Atlanta Voice entitled "Themes and Variations."

She has a bachelor of arts degree in music from Tennessee State University and was the recipient of several scholarships, one of which was to the University of Chicago. She was listed in "Who's Who In American Colleges" for two consecutive years. She and her identical twin, Xenobia (The Brewster Twins) were the subject for numerous newspaper and magazine articles in addition to film strips and newsreel features.

Mrs. Clayton is a product of the Ru-Jac School of Modeling in Chicago and has done extensive photographic and fashion modeling.

She is a member of the Atlanta Press Club, Atlanta Branch of NAACP, Ebenezer Baptist Church, the Uptown Business and Professional Women's Club, the Women's Chamber of Commerce, the Alpha Kappa Alpha Society and the National Association for Market Developers.

ANOTHER in the ABC News series on racism in America —"Time for Americans"—will be presented at 7:30 p.m. Monday on Channel 11. It's "Prejudice and the Police."

Billied as an examination of the methodology being put into effect by law enforcement units to overcome antagonisms between people and their police, the program focuses on Houston, Tex., where the program offers some "eye-opening" exposures of prejudice.

Television

GRAY MATTER

Clayton Special Looks Exciting

By DICK GRAY
Journal Television-Radio Editor

For a long time I've been waiting for WAGA-TV to do some of those Great Special Programs live and in color from the station's Great, Large and New building on Briarcliff Road. Tonight is the magic night, apparently, because an exciting local special from WAGA is on the schedule.

The special is entitled "Themes & Variations." It will be broadcast from 6:30 to 7 o'clock on Channel 5. It will be in color, produced by Mike Fields—who regularly produces "The Don Barber Show." John Carter is director.

Dick Gray

That covers the technical details and the credits, but that doesn't start to tell the story of this program—which should be the biggest thing to hit local television since Miss Anne started "Romper Room" on WQXI-TV.

FIRST OF all, "Themes & Variations" is billed by the station as "a special on Negro contemporary life"—a subject which has been ignored generally in Atlanta and in most other American cities.

The networks finally got around to taking some action in this realm, and it's good to see an Atlanta TV station getting into the act.

Hosting this special will be Mrs. Xernona Clayton, who is community affairs coordinator for Atlanta's Model Cities Program. She also is active in more civic improvement organizations than you can shake a stick at—assuming you have a stick to shake.

MR. FIELDS, the show's astute producer, summed up his feelings about Mrs. Clayton this way:

"She's enchanting; that's all you can say. You could use all the adjectives you can think of—intelligent, witty, adorable. She's captivated everybody in the whole station.

"And she knows everybody. You wouldn't believe the big-name personalities, in all areas of American public life, who want to be on her show if it should become a series."

Which brings us to another matter. "Themes & Variations" is a strong possibility as a series on Channel 5—which should be quite a feather in the station's cap (antenna?) if it comes to pass.

MR. FIELDS explained that station officials "are strongly considering the show for a series," depending on the success of and the reaction to today's special.

From what I've seen and heard of Mrs. Clayton, I see no way the program can be anything but a success. It will be controversial, certainly, but without controversy such programs are worthless to begin with.

The show will utilize a conversation format, meaning that Mrs. Clayton will talk to her various guests about subjects pertinent to Negro life in Atlanta. That makes the subjects pertinent to white life also, of course, because you don't have one without the other.

TONIGHT'S program almost provided the shocker of the year in the guest department. Calvin Craig, the former grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, Georgia division, was scheduled to appear.

However, since Mr. Craig now is running for office, WAGA-TV officials decided it would create too many possible problems—bids for equal time, for example—to put him on the air at this time. So he will not appear tonight.

The very fact that Mr. Craig wanted to be on Mrs. Clayton's show is interesting—since it shows that times indeed are changing, and that Mrs. Clayton is an expert at attracting controversial persons of various persuasions to engage in public discussion with her.

WITH THE dropping of Mr. Craig, tonight's guest list includes Dr. Benjamin Mays, president emeritus of Morehouse College and an educator who is respected all over the world, and Cecil Alexander, urban renewal architect. Another guest was expected to be added before showtime.

The group is expected to discuss such topics as educational trends, community relations and the beautifying of Negro neighborhoods.

Another feature of the show will spotlight two young people, Cheryl Grinshaw and Reginald Morris, from the "Rent-a-Kid" program—which is making it possible for some of our city's "disadvantaged" children to earn some money during the summer months.

MR. FIELDS is quite happy with his project. He said:

"It's something that has to be done, and I'm glad we are able to be the ones to do it—and especially in the manner in which we are doing it.

"This is an area of life that's largely been ignored. We feel that the time and the circumstances are right for such a program, and we think it will be quite successful.

"And, of course, we're delighted that there is a person such as Xernona Clayton to do the program with us."

ROGER MILLER ON 'SMOTHERS'

Olivier, Leigh in 'Woman'; Palance in 'Jekyll and Hyde'

SUN. A.M.	WSB-TV—2 (c) Color Programs (NBC)	WAGA-TV—5 (CBS)	WQXI-TV—11 (ABC)
8 :00	Gospel	The Wills	Rev. Rex
:15	Jubilee (c)	Family (c)	Humbard
:30	"	Gospel Sing-	"
:45	"	ing C'van (c)	"
9 :00	Cartoon	Insight	Revival
:15	Cavalcade	"	Fires (c)
:30	"	Faith for	Church of
:45	"	Today	the Week (c)
10 :00	"	Herald of	"
:15	"	Truth (c)	"
:30	Frontiers	This Is	Bugs
:45	of Faith	the Life (c)	Bunny (c)
11 :00	Second-Ponce	First	Bullwinkle
:15	de Leon	Baptist	(c)
:30	Baptist	Church	Discovery (c)
:45	Church	"	"

Xernona Clayton 6:30

SUN. AFT.	WSB-TV—2 (NBC) (c) Color Programs	WAGA-TV—5 (CBS)	WQXI-TV—11 (ABC)
12 :00	Family	Camera	House
:15	Theatre	Three (c)	Detective (c)
:30	Sound of	Face the	"
:45	Youth (c)	Nation (c)	"
1 :00	Meet the	Amateur	Car and
:15	Press (c)	Hour (c)	Track (c)
:30	The Deputy	Movie:	Close-Up (c)
:45	"	"Ma and Pa	"
2 :00	Movie:	Kettle Go on	Movie:
:15	"Tarzan's Lost	Vacation"	"The Lone
:30	Safari"	"	Ranger and
:45	Gordon Scott	"	the Lost City
3 :00	Y. Donlan	Soccer (c)	of Gold" (c)
:15	"	"	"
:30	Movie:	"	Man in a
:45	"The Wackiest	"	Suitcase (c)
4 :00	Ship in the	"	"
:15	Army" (c)	"	"
:30	Jack Lemon	"	Leave It
:45	Rick Nelson	"	to Beaver
5 :00	"	Seahunt	PGA Golf
:15	"	"	Championship (c)
:30	Animal	21st	"
:45	Kingdom (c)	Century (c)	

Vivien Leigh 8:00

SUN. EVE.	WSB-TV—2 (NBC) (c) Color Programs	WAGA-TV—5 (CBS)	WQXI-TV—11 (ABC)	WJRJ-TV—17
6 :00	News (c)	News (c)	"	Frank
:15	"	"	"	McGee (c)
:30	Suspense	Themes and	"	Flipper (c)
:45	Theatre (c)	Variations (c)	"	"

HIGHLIGHTS

("Best Bets" in Italics)

11:30—Discovery (11): "The Busy World of Outer Space"—Rockets and satellites which are helping us get to the moon. (Repeat) (C)

12:30—Sound of Youth (2): "A Conversation with Sen. Eugene McCarthy" — Exclusive interview of the presidential candidate, who was in Atlanta this week, by a panel from the Teen Broadcasters' Association. (C)

3:30—Movie (2): "The Wackiest Ship in the Army" (1960)—Naval lieutenant is given the command of a rickety old sailing vessel. Jack Lemmon, Rick Nelson. (C)

3:30—Man in a Suitcase (11): McGill confronts suicide-seeker prisoner of conscience. (C)

5:00—P G A Tournament (11): Final round of play from San Antonio. C)

5:30—Animal Kingdom (2): "The Last Safari"—African lions on the Serengeti Plains of East Africa. (C)

5:30—21st Century (5): "Can We Live to Be 100?"—Scientific advances to prolong life. (Repeat) (C)

6:30—Themes & Variations (5): Negro life in Atlanta. Dr. Benjamin Mays, Cecil Alexander and hostess Xernona Clayton. (C)

March 18, 1969

Dr. Abner V. McCall
President
Baylor University
Waco, Texas 76703

Dear Dr. McCall:

Thank you for your letter on behalf of Mr. JohnmWard.

The Council is not in a position to provide significant sums of money for purposes such as that needed by Mr. Ward, although certainly his proposal has merit. We have, however, offered Mr. Ward a portion of the requested funds through author's fees, should he be interested in accepting these assignments.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

BAYLOR UNIVERSITY
ABNER V. McCALL • President

Waco, Texas 76703
March 7, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Last year I participated in a small weekend conference at Winrock Farms with Governor Winthrop Rockefeller and a few of his key staff people. The conference dealt with some of the economic, social, and political problems of Arkansas. One of the other participants in the conference was Mr. John L. Ward, Director of the Governor's Public Relations office. I was much impressed by Mr. Ward's grasp of the problems under discussion and of his obvious dedication to contributing to their solution.

I am advised that Mr. Ward now plans to attend Greyfriars College at Oxford University and has applied to the Southern Regional Council for a grant of $6,000 to aid him to do so. I recommend Mr. Ward to you and hope that the Council can extend him this help.

I believe that he has the intelligence, dedication, concern, and leadership potential to make a real contribution to the solution to some of the problems of his state and the South.

Sincerely,

Abner V. McCall

Abner V. McCall
President

AVM:mdt

file

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE

WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER

222 NATIONAL OLD LINE BUILDING
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72201 501 FR. 2-5431

March 20, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am grateful for your letter of March 18th, and the offer to commission two articles from me. I am most delighted to accept, and will be forwarding a suggested outline and some tentative approaches for your consideration in the next several weeks.

Naturally, I am dissapointed that so far you have been unable to find a source for obtaining the funds requested in my proposal delivered to you on February 28th. Thank you for attempting to seek out other sources. I will continue to hope for success.

In the meantime, thank you again for your helpfulness.

Sincerely,

John L. Ward

JLW:ms

March 18, 1969

Mr. John Louis Ward
222 National Old Line Building
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Mr. Ward:

This is in response to your proposal forwarded to me by Father Clancy on February 28th. Regrettably, I have not, as of this date, been able to find a source for obtaining these funds, although your proposal certainly has merit.

This is to raise with you the possibility of some assistance from the Council by the method of author's fees. We could commission an article for a fee of $1,000 to be paid during the course of this calendar year. And, we could commission a second article at the same rate during the course of 1970.

I would assume that you will do considerable thinking, and perhaps, already have plans to put some of your thoughts and ideas on paper. We

are particularly interested in any recording of efforts on the part of state governments to improve or resolve problems within a state.

I will continue to try to find other sources of support, though I am not hopeful. I have talked this morning with Brooks Hays who says that he, too, will do what he can. In the meantime, let me have your reaction to the above.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

DIOCESE OF LITTLE ROCK
CATHOLIC SOCIAL SERVICES
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72207

REV. WALTER B. CLANCY
DIRECTOR

2415 NORTH TYLER
PHONE MO 4-0340

February 28, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is the proposal I spoke to you about today.

I should arrive in Atlanta about noon on Wednesday, March 5, 1969. I will come out to your office at 2:00 p.m.

I really appreciate your taking out the time to see me.

Sincerely,

Walter Clancy

Rev. Walter B. Clancy

WBC:pb
Enclosure (1)

Telephone: (212) PLaza 1-0300

National Urban League, Inc.

Building for Equal Opportunity

55 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

March
Fifth
1 9 6 9

Dear Paul:

This letter is sent in support of the application made by Mr. John L. Ward of Little Rock, Arkansas, for a grant from the Southern Regional Council that will enable him to read for the Diploma in Social Studies at Oxford University next fall. Mr. Ward is currently Director of Public Relations for Governor Winthrop Rockefeller, and I am certain that his formal application gives all of the basic information you will need for consideration of him for this grant.

I merely want to add a personal note: that I was privileged to observe him closely over a three-day visit to Winrock on a project for the Governor; and I was deeply impressed with his capabilities and his diligence. I admire his interest in advanced studies, and can appreciate that as result of these he will bring - not only to his duties with the Governor, but to the whole area of social problems and urban development - a broader experience and enhanced value.

I hope that it will be possible for you to provide the help he has requested.

Sincerely yours,

Whitney

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director.

Mr. Paul Anthony, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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Contributions to the National Urban League are tax deductible

231

DIOCESE OF LITTLE ROCK

CATHOLIC SOCIAL SERVICES

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72207

REV. WALTER B. CLANCY
DIRECTOR

2415 NORTH TYLER
PHONE MO 4-0340

March 12, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a letter from Whitney Young that you can add to your file on John Ward.

We have written to Whitney to ask if he can find us some Urban League money for this purpose.

I really enjoyed our visit the other day. I appreciate your giving me so much of your time to bring me up to date on what is happening in the South.

Regards,

Walter B. Clancy

Rev. Walter B. Clancy

WBC:pb
Enclosure (1)

A PROPOSAL FOR A

LEADERSHIP TRAINING STUDY GRANT

Submitted to:

Southern Regional Council

By:

John Louis Ward
Director of Public Relations
For Winthrop Rockefeller
222 National Old Line Building
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

PRECIS

A proposal to the Southern Regional Council towards support of professional educational training leading to the development and operation of a program to attack certain problems of race relations in Arkansas, with a view to possible use as a laboratory for testing solutions to similar problems which exist throughout the South, in cooperation with the unique resource that is present in Arkansas in the person of Winthrop Rockefeller.

PROPOSAL

Introduction:

In necessary preparation for the next dimension of my work as Director of Public Relations for Winthrop Rockefeller since 1964, and as campaign director in his successful bid for reelection as Governor of Arkansas in 1968, I am planning to enter Oxford University in October to read for the Diploma in Social Studies, a one-year course. I am herewith requesting partial support for this project from the Southern Regional Council.

Educational Background:

I hold an undergraduate degree (Bachelor of Arts) in social studies from Little Rock University, and have been accepted for membership in Greyfriars College by the Warden, Dr. Peter E. L. Peacock.

I completed the degree in June of last year, with a grade point average of 3.026 on a four-point scale, while carrying on my regular duties for the governor. I was motivated by a growing concern for problems which I will outline, and from a conviction that this education and the additional training I seek at Oxford would be essential in dealing more effectively with such problems.

Professional Background:

As director of public relations for Governor Rockefeller and as his campaign director, I have worked closely with him in his involvement in Arkansas.

Narrative:

Governor Rockefeller has a deep and continuing interest in matters of human concern, particularly in terms of Negro aspirations in Arkansas and throughout the South. My recent discussions with the Governor have dealt with the scope of his activities in Arkansas after he leaves office at the end of 1970, and his plans for a program that would work directly on social problems in the State of Arkansas.

Among the basic elements of a creative new program for Negroes in Arkansas and, indeed, in the entire South, would be a more readily available and more relevant higher education, training for skilled jobs, development of training for "service" industry jobs, creation of a better image for young Negro workers and entrepreneurs, and development of techniques for motivating them to prepare for--and hold--better jobs.

In varying degrees, these elements are all being employed now. So it is clear that something new must evolve if significant new progress is to be made: a new approach, a new catalyst, a new arrangement or combination. Essentially, we must find the key to motivation and the key to creating new self-perceptions--a subject in which the Governor and I are deeply interested and about which I have many ideas in the process of development.

At the top of the economic ladder are a few Negroes with professional standing, such as physicians, attorneys, dentists, ministers and even morticians, but after that there is a drastic fall-off from that level down to common laborers. In short, the condition of having virtually no middle-class Negroes illustrates the present manifestation of the "problem." I share both Governor Rockefeller's concern about the problems and his determination to do something about them.

It might well be possible to devise ways and means for helping to create more of a middle class of Negroes, through the development of original programs based on new research and a compassionate philosophy.

Many organizations and movements have tried to deal with various aspects of the situation but not enough success has been recorded. . .and it is clear to me that a great opportunity for doing lasting good awaits those with vision, imagination, tenacity and resources.

We have in Arkansas a unique resource in the person of Winthrop Rockefeller. I use the word "unique" not only because of the magnitude of his financial resources, but because of the lifelong dedication that he and his family have had to the concept of human betterment. It is important that we make it possible for this "Southern Rockefeller" to utilize his resources to the fullest, in attempting to work out the particular problems of the South, first here in Arkansas and then by extension to the entire region.

My position as director of public relations for him gives me a good opportunity to cooperate in the use of these resources in the ways I have described.

Governor Rockefeller has arranged for me to have a year's leave of absence, since we believe that the intensive course of study I have outlined would prepare me for a more effective role, both because of the formal training, because of the contacts and opportunities that would naturally flow from an Oxford diploma, and because a major emphasis of whatever program is evolved would be on higher education.

I believe that my experience with Governor Rockefeller these past five years, including the pressures and discipline of directing his last campaign, have prepared me in part for the challenges in this important area of human concern.

I am convinced that the additional discipline I must maintain at Oxford, plus the original thinking which I am expected to develop and the masses of information which I intend to assimilate, will further prepare me.

The degree of success which the Governor will achieve in the field of social action will depend, in part at least, upon the quality of preparation those of us have made who will be working under his direction.

Proposed Course of Study:

My course of study will include:

Social and Political Theory--The study of political principles and their application, including political rights and obligations, the relations between states, individuals and voluntary groups, and the concepts of democracy, totalitarianism, equality, freedom and punishment.

Economic Principles.

Problems of Social Development--Social characteristics of "under-developed" territories. The process and problems of social change. Issues created by rapid population growth, urbanization and other effects of economic development, and the choice of policies to deal with these. The principles and methods of social welfare and community development in urban and rural

areas. The role of local government and of voluntary organizations.

Social Psychology--Knowledge of experiemental, clinical, and field methods of investigation in social psychology, with special reference to interaction in small groups, tensions between groups, effects of group norms and values on the individual, and forms of conflict between individual and group.

Problems of Economic Development--The definition and causes of "under-development". Economic growth and the different forms it can take. The choice of policies to promote and finance economic development. The role of government and of economic planning. International trade and finance, technical assistance, and the work of international agencies.

Specification of Needs:

I estimate that the year would cost me somewhere in the neighborhood of $14,000, since I have a wife and two children who would accompany me. I base this estimate on figures given me about the cost of living in England by the Warden of Greyfriars, and upon travel costs given me by a local travel agency.

I am asking the Southern Regional Council for a grant of $6,000 as an investment in what we hope to be able to do in and for Arkansas as a result of my further

education. I believe I can raise the remainder of the necessary funds myself.

Professional Independence:

I have deliberately avoided asking Governor Rockefeller for any funds, because in my judgment, it would not be fair or even proper to raise the question with him. I am firmly convinced that I can present my own ideas more strongly, and make better use of my professional preparation, if I have arranged independently to meet the financial requirements of this year of study.

A Book Review of "American Churches and the Negro" by W. D. Weatherford, Ph. D. Christopher Publishing House, Boston, Mass.

By

Henry T. Ware, Executive Secretary
Blue Ridge Assembly, Inc. - The YMCA
Conference Grounds of the South.

The reader of "American Churches and the Negro" is impressed with three facts - (1) The scholarship and reputation of the author, (2) The urgency of the crisis with which he deals, and (3) the religious frame of reference that undergirds and supports his thesis.

Dr. Weatherford has made a lifetime study of race relations, not as a militant crusader nor reformer, but with constant emphasis on the sacredness of persons, justice in human relationships and the oneness of God's family. In connection with his long years as International Student Secretary of YMCA, teacher of applied anthropology, and author of six other books on race, he has influenced thousands of people, many of whom have urged him to write this particular book.

The author's thesis is that the planter-slave-owner class of the old South knew the Negro intimately and was deeply interested in him as a person. While the slave was denied economic and political status, he was given full rights as a religious person. He was given instruction in the Bible and permitted to join the church of his master whom he followed to the same altar for Holy Communion. These and many other startling facts are borne out from the various church records carefully compiled and documented.

The author concludes that the modern day church member needs to take a leaf out of the past in dealing with "our brother in black", as Bishop Haygood of Georgia once called him. He sets forth no magic formulas nor pressure tactics to hasten integration but challenges the churches to live up to their pronouncements and the individual members to act in keeping with their commitments. It is his conviction that intelligent insight, spiritual depth and corporate effort will replace fear and point the way to brotherhood and racial progress.

The book is factual, timely and prophetic. It should appeal to churchmen irrespective of race or discipline and inspire them to positive action.

Day before Christmas

CLAUDE WARREN, *retired country preacher*

just traveling around — now at

Rev. Claude W. Warren
2408 Thomas Avenue
Redondo Beach, California

Editor NEW SOUTH,
63 Auburn Ave N.E.
Atlanta, 3 Georgia:

Dear Sir:

In case you have access to the Christian Science Monitor may I call atention to my letter in the issue of Dec. 18, on the last page.

It is my desire to say a good word for those liber minded Southern people who are working for a right solution of the race problem. We folks up North get a distorted idea that the entire South presents a dark picture of bombings riots and violence. During ~~After~~ a service of nearly two years serving a small church in Birmingham, Alabama it was my privilege to meet frequently with a score of white and Negro pastors for prayer and felowship. This was the happiest of my fifty years of labor in the Lord's Vineyard.

Recently I have been giving talks in schools and churches on Lee the Educator, and his work to bring about better relations between North and South in the last five years of his life from 1865 to 1870 while president of Washington College. I maintain the North should know Lee better and the South the know Lincoln better and that the lovers of both eminent Americans to join hands and hearts for better understanding and cooperation.

I enjoy every issue of New South

Yours very cordially,

Claude W. Warren

A WHITE SOUTHERNER'S PROPOSAL ON WAYS OF IMPROVING RACE RELATIONS

By Kendall Weisiger*

Next to the imperatives of winning the war and the peace, and of reclaiming and preserving our soil, the greatest task confronting Americans is the one of improving relations between the majority group and the several minority groups of which the American population is largely composed. In many areas of our country the task revolves around the pressing need for a better understanding on the part of the white people, of the hopes, aims, and fears of the colored people.

This task cannot wait; it presses now for attention; it will loom large in the post-war period. The longer we wait to address ourselves to it, the larger the task will become. We can no longer put it off - it will not work itself out!

There must now be set up a workable pattern which can be followed throughout the years, by means of which these relations can be materially improved. To leave this to chance will be disastrous.

Here then are some ways in which a beginning can be made and which are offered for earnest consideration and gradual application. These ways may seem simple; in fact they are, but they are all attainable. The main task is twofold: (1) to overcome our prejudices, no matter how deep-set they may be, and (2) to develop new habit patterns that will enable us to do what our resolution may dictate.

FIRST - We can treat Negroes in the same spirit of kindliness and helpfulness that we do white persons, and even more so, considering that they belong to a group which has long suffered the disadvantage of being treated as inferiors.

This better treatment may be begun by teaching our children - at home, in school, at church, and at play - to be considerate of all people, regardless of race, and always to remember that we live under a democracy whose Constitution guarantees the same human rights to everyone who lives under its flag.

SECOND - There are a number of simple things that we can readily do, if we will but overcome some of the many prejudices and inhibitions that we have acquired, which cause us to be unkind and to offend colored people. To speak of or to Negroes as "niggers", "darkies", or "coons" is unkindness of the most thoughtless sort.

Everything that we can do to help Negroes, or persons in other minority groups, to develop a self-respect based upon the dignity of personality, will go a long way towards the creation of a society within which all of us may live more effectively and in greater cooperation.

THIRD - Negroes, like any other people, vary greatly in intelligence, skill, emotional response, and general culture. To treat them all as though

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*Bell Telephone Company, Atlanta, Georgia. Member of Southern Area Council of Y.M.C.A.'s, Committee on Public Affairs of National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s, and Commission on Negro-White Relations in the Y.M.C.A.

all were on the lowest level of their race is to commit a great, but at the same time, a common error.

The Negro population has upper, lower, and middle strata which closely approximate those of the white population. An upper-class intellectual does not like to be treated as some persons might treat an unschooled or an illiterate person. Negroes resent the blanket generalization that all of them are alike, just as white people do.

The better-class Negroes like to be addressed by the customary titles that white people use in referring to each other - Mr., Mrs., Miss - which, after all, are merely designations of age, sex, or marital status. The traditional technique of many of us is to evade this usual form of address by, wherever possible, calling Negroes Reverend, Professor, Doctor, Captain, or Colonel, and this transparent evasion is highly unsatisfactory to most intelligent Negroes.

Although it has long been traditional for many of us not to place Negroes on a plane of equality with whites by addressing them as Mr., Mrs., or Miss, there seems to be no valid reason why this should not be done. It may be difficult to bring oneself to use such modes of address and designation, but a little practice will show how easy it is to do and how very satisfying the results may become.

FOURTH - On street cars and busses, where local and state laws may require segregation of passengers by race, we should remember not to occupy selfishly the space designated for colored passengers, or if we do, we should courteously move from this space should additional colored passengers enter the conveyance.

When traveling on trains, it is well to remember that most travelers have the urge to eat. Since there is only one dining car for all, to make a scene or to act in an unseemly manner if a colored person is seated in the car is considered by many not only as evidence of provincialism, but of extreme selfishness as well. Now that so many Negroes are traveling under Army and Navy orders, the need for a stable attitude in meeting the exigencies of travel becomes more pressing than ever before. No intelligent American will offend a man, whatever his race, who is serving his country and who is willing to give his life to preserve the freedom of all.

The eagerness of Negroes to serve in the armed forces and in defense industries brings into sharp relief many of the restraints which have long permeated our relations with our colored brothers. In these fields, consideration and fair dealing are necessary, if for no other reason as a part of our all-out war effort.

FIFTH - The time is now here for us all to take a more considerate attitude, to revise our conduct, and to throw overboard many of the traditional attitudes and practices which we have so long carried as excess baggage.

Because we have, in many places, deprived the Negro of the right to participate in representative government, he has less adequate ways than we have to express his needs and desires to those in power. Therefore, what he usually gets is what the white man is willing to concede to him.

We should now start to make more of these concessions, beginning with the ones that are apparent to us all, which can be granted with the greatest ease, and that meet with the least present resistance upon the part of the white people as a whole. We should now be willing to: -

1. Provide better school facilities for Negroes.

2. Aid in the improvement of their health and sanitary facilities.

3. Enlarge occupational opportunities for them, particularly in war industries.

4. Eliminate the poll tax and other barriers to participation in representative government.

5. Arrange for Negroes to be represented on school boards, city councils, and state legislatures by members of their own race.

SIXTH - While the widening gap between the races can best be closed by a healing process beginning at the bottom and gradually extending upward through the whole body politic, there are some bridges that can be thrown across the top of this gap which will aid in its ultimate closing.

One such bridge is built by bringing together, in active service around the conference table, some of the best men and women of both races to discuss matters of mutual interest. Here the Negroes should be given every opportunity to express their feelings without let or hindrance. This should bring about better understanding, and as a by-product the white conferees will come to have a higher regard for the capabilities of some of our better Negroes.

SEVENTH - There are now throughout the Nation, as a direct result of the war, a number of so-called "tension spots", where unfortunate and calamitous conflicts are likely to be set off at any moment as the result of some trivial incident, which in times of less tension might have caused little, if any, reaction.

An active examination of the nature of such tensions and a consideration of their causes, when conducted in good spirit and with representatives of both races, could undoubtedly lead to ways of removing the causes of the tensions, to the benefit of the peace and good will and the general reputation of the community.

EIGHTH - We can show greater interest in the problems of colored people by being willing to serve with them in friendly and helpful ways on boards of social agencies, educational institutions, and in other civic groups, thereby placing ourselves in cooperative relationship with them to the end of improving the condition of the people as a whole.

NINTH - We can bring able Negroes to speak to white civic clubs, churches, high schools, colleges, and the like. Since many such men are given to addressing their audiences in a kindly, courteous, and intelligent manner, an audience cannot help but go away with a higher respect for the intelligence and culture of the best of the race, and therefore a higher regard for the whole of it. A multiplicity of such appearances by able Negroes before white audiences cannot help but do a great deal to bring about a more cordial understanding and relationship.

These nine suggestions will appeal in whole to many of us, in part to others, and not at all to a few, but they are all worthy of mature consideration.

The Brotherhood of Man under the Fatherhood of God is not mere theory; it is a practical possibility. The extent to which it may some day come into full fruition throughout the world depends upon our capacity to grow in Christian

grace and our willingness to face up squarely to our responsibility as individuals living in a democracy.

To speak of extending freedom and brotherhood to all men everywhere becomes but theoretical idealism unless we are willing to begin at home in the application of these freedoms to the people within our midst.

* * * * * * * * *

THE FALLACY OF RACE

Never in all of recorded history has there been fabricated so misleading a myth as Hitler's thesis of the Master Race. The outrages that have been a part of this diabolical deception have shocked the world. The blood of the people of Germany is as mixed as that of any other European country. No country is made up of a race; it has population and in its population are people of various combinations of blood streams. The Aryans do not constitute a race; they are a type of people. Neither are the so-called Nordics a race; likewise they are a type of fair-haired and blue-eyed people who have lived around the Baltic Sea.

We are all inclined to over-emphasize the idea of racial differences, and use this idea to build up barriers between men who are all sons of our common Father. Much of our prejudice is based upon fear. Could this be removed, or even greatly ameliorated, we should cease to look for scapegoats upon whom to lay our own shortcomings.

Long ago Confucius said, "There are no racial antagonisms among really educated people." And being really educated no doubt means that education has brought understanding, and that through understanding a man sees himself in the light of his Maker as a part of a grand scheme, in which each creature has a purpose; that the whole scheme is a balance, and that under the broad canopy of heaven there is room for all to live, if cooperation is understood and practiced.

The greatest single task now challenging the world is to devise ways, large and small, to educate the people of the world away from race prejudice. It is unchristian, undemocratic, and un-American. To this country all people have been welcomed, here peoples of all sorts have made valuable contribution to the opening up and to the building of our fair nation. They have brought their cultures to contribute to ours, and by all of this we have profited and grown beyond any other country in the world.

We are all God's children, and as such we find our ultimate equality in our common Father, who recognizing our many external differences, and admiring them for their usefulness, looks upon our inner similarities and expects us to live in peace as members of the great family universal.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Hoffman, Hallock

REGARDING:

Ltr. to Alice Harris, Secy. to David Walden regarding a grant to the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

DATE

February 13, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Foundations - Hopkins Charities Fund

cr. ref.

VIA AIR MAIL March 5, 1958

Mr. David C. Walden
714 West California Street
Pasadena, California

Dear Mr. Walden:

Sometime ago, Frank Loescher suggested that I let you know of any approaches we might make to West Coast Foundations, particularly the Hopkins Charities Fund.

I hope you won't consider my sending you the enclosed copy of our request, with its rather bulky enclosures, as an imposition. At least it gives me an occasion to supply you with background on the work of the Council.

Frank has spoken of you often and enthusiastically. I hope our paths will cross one day soon, either there, here, or in New York, if your work carries you that far.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: Hopkins Charities Fund Proposal and Enclosures.

MF - Set up file on Walden (NOT this Fund)

THE CLAREMORE FUND
633 SOUTH SHATTO PLACE
LOS ANGELES 5

March 19, 1958

PLEASE ADDRESS REPLIES TO:
David C. Walden
714 West California Street
Pasadena, California
Sycamore 3-1176

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I was very glad to receive the packet of material about the Southern Regional Council. I have read it with interest and feel much better able to discuss your work than I was before. Please say thank you to Frank Loescher for suggesting my name, and give him my greetings if you see him soon.

I am also glad that you sent your material to the Hopkins Charities Fund. It certainly appears to be the type of work they are interested in furthering.

As to my visiting you, I would certainly like to do so, but have no idea when I may be East again. Please look me up if you come to Southern California.

Cordially,

David C. Walden

DCW:ah

VIA AIR MAIL

July 24, 1958

Mr. David C. Walden
714 West California Street
Pasadena, California

Dear Mr. Walden:

Since we submitted our request to the Prynce Hopkins Charities Fund several months ago, I have had no further word. Since I do not want to seem importunate, I hesitate to write Dr. Hopkins about its status. It occurred to me that you might know about this and be willing to advise me informally whether or not our request is still under consideration. If you can, I will be grateful, but if you cannot, please do not go to any special trouble.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

VIA AIR MAIL

September 3, 1958

Mr. David C. Walden
714 W. California
Pasadena, California

Dear Mr. Walden:

The same mail that brought your much-appreciated letter brought a note and check for $2,500 from Dr. Hopkins. Needless to say, we were both relieved and deeply grateful.

Many thanks for your interest and help in this matter.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

DAVID C. WALDEN
714 W. California
Pasadena, California

August 28, 1958

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Just today I learned why you probably have not had any word from the Hopkins Funds. Namely, that one of the co-signers of such checks as may be issued after its last board meeting has been in Europe.

I cannot promise that that is the only reason you have not heard any word from the Hopkins Funds. I can report that several applicants are in your position of not having received any word. On the other hand, I know that several applicants have received a letter telling them that they would not get a grant from the Hopkins Funds.

I personally know of no individual or agency that has been notified that it would receive a grant. I would hesitate to advise you to get too optimistic about this situation but, with you, I hope for the best.

My sincere regards and good wishes.

Sincerely,

David C. Walden

David C. Walden

DIGEST OF WAGNER-MURRAY-DINGELL BILL FOR SOCIAL SECURITY
(S.1050 and HR-2393)

May 24, 1945

A Unified System

The bill provides for a unified system of social insurance financed by contributions from employers and workers, and including the following benefits:

1. Old age retirement and survivors' insurance; extended disability insurance; lump sum death benefits;
2. Unemployment and temporary disability insurance; maternity benefits;
3. Prepaid personal health service insurance.

Old Age and Survivors' Insurance

The present system would be liberalized and extended in the following ways:

1. Approximately 15,000,000 additional persons not now covered would be added, including owners of small businesses, self-employed, professional persons and farmers, agricultural workers, domestic servants, employees of non-profit institutions. (Title II Part F, Sec. 275 (b) (c) (d) (e) (f).) Employees of state and local governmental units who are not under existing pension systems may be covered by voluntary compacts between these units and the Social Security Board. (Title II Part F, Sec. 276)
2. Benefits are increased by revising the calculation of average wage and adjusting the benefit formula, depending on the amount of the insured person's wages. The minimum monthly benefit is increased from $10 to $20 for a single worker, and to $30 for a worker and his wife; the maximum monthly benefit is increased from $85 to $120. (Title II Part C, Sec. 226 and Sec. 227)
3. Women are eligible to receive benefits at age 60 instead of 65. (A widow with dependent children would receive benefits regardless of her age, as heretofore.) (Title II Part C, Sec. 225 (a) (1) (b) (e).)
4. The provisions for determining insured status are adjusted to overcome the handicap of persons not previously in covered employment, and to protect the insured status of persons employed in government arsenals or other war work not covered by social insurance.
5. The maximum amount an individual may receive in wages and still retain insurance benefit is increased from $15 to $25 per month. (Title II Part C, Sec. 227 (c) (1).)

Extended Disability Insurance

1. Old age and survivors' insurance system is broadened to include monthly cash benefits to an insured worker who is totally disabled for six months or more before he reaches the retirement age. These benefits would be equal to those paid under old age insurance and would include additional payments for wife, children or dependent parents. (Title II Part C, Sec. 225 (a) (2) (3).)
2. Benefits are provided for disabled husband 65 years and over, of a woman entitled to primary benefit, and to the disabled widower of 65 and over of a woman who died fully insured. (Title II Part C, Sec. 225 (c) (f).)

Table 1.—Illustrative monthly old-age retirement or extended disability benefits under the bill.

Number of years of coverage	Insured person	Insured person and wife	Insured person, wife, and 1 child	Insured person, wife, and 2 children
Average Monthly Wage $100				
10 years' coverage..	$36.00	$54.00	$72.00	$80.00
20 years' coverage..	39.00	58.50	78.00	80.00
30 years' coverage..	43.00	64.50	80.00	80.00
40 years' coverage..	46.00	69.00	80.00	80.00
Average Monthly Wage $200				
10 years' coverage..	$47.00	$70.50	$94.00	$117.50
20 years' coverage..	51.00	76.50	102.00	120.00
30 years' coverage..	56.00	84.00	112.00	120.00
40 years' coverage..	60.00	90.00	120.00	120.00

Table 2.—Illustrative monthly survivors' benefits under the bill.

Number of years of coverage	Widow	Widow and 1 child	Widow and 3 children	2 parents
Average Monthly Wage $100				
10 years' coverage..	$27.00	$45.00	$80.00	$36.00
20 years' coverage..	29.25	48.75	80.00	39.00
30 years' coverage..	32.25	53.75	80.00	43.00
40 years' coverage..	34.50	57.50	80.00	46.00
Average Monthly Wage $200				
10 years' coverage..	$35.25	$58.75	$105.75	$47.00
20 years' coverage..	38.25	63.75	114.75	51.00
30 years' coverage..	42.00	70.00	120.00	56.00
40 years' coverage..	45.00	75.00	120.00	60.00

Lump Sum Death Benefit

A lump sum death benefit payment to widow or widower of an insured worker is provided if he or she was living with the insured worker at the time of death; the payment to be equal to six times the primary benefit. (Title II Part C, Sec. 225 (i).)

Unemployment Insurance

A new federal unemployment insurance system to be administered by the Social Security Board has the following provisions:

1. Weekly benefits are payable from $5 to $20 per week for a single person, depending on wages, plus additional amounts for workers with dependents; the maximum is $30 per week. (Title II Part B, Sec. 220 (b).)
2. Benefits are payable after a one-week waiting period for 26 weeks of unemployment. Extended benefits to total a maximum of 52 weeks may be provided if funds are sufficient. Attendance at a training course may be made a condition for receiving such benefits. (Title II Part B, Sec. 220 (a), Sec. 221.)
3. Coverage is extended to agricultural workers, domestic servants, seamen, employees of non-profit institutions, and employees of employers of one or more. (Title II Part F, Sec. 275 (b).) Persons eligible for these benefits must register and report regularly for work at the public employment office. Failure to report, or to accept suitable work when offered, is one of the grounds for disqualification.

(Title II Part B, Sec. 221 (a) (2) (3) Sec. 222 (a) (3).)

Temporary Disability and Maternity Benefits

1. Temporarily disabled workers are eligible for benefits equal in amount to unemployment benefits;
2. Benefits are payable for 12 weeks of maternity leave to married women workers in addition to the maximum duration for temporary disability and unemployment benefits. (Title II Part B, Sec. 220 (c) Sec. 221 (b).)

Prepaid Personal Health Service Insurance

All persons covered under old age and survivors' insurance, and their dependents, will be covered by this insurance. The Surgeon-General will administer the technical and professional aspects of the program, which includes the following services:

1. Services of the physician, with the right to choose any doctor among those in the community who have voluntarily agreed to go into the system;
2. On the doctor's advice, services of a specialist or consultant, and laboratory services (including X-Rays, appliances, eye glasses); certain dental and home nursing services, and necessary hospital care;
3. Hospital care would be limited to 60 days a year, with a possible maximum of 120 days if the insurance fund could afford it.
4. Doctors are left free to enter or remain out of the system, to accept or reject patients who may wish to select them, and every qualified hospital is eligible to participate.
5. Provisions are included to insure that medical benefits will be of high quality, will promote personal relations between doctor and patients, will emphasize prevention of disease, and will be adapted to the needs of the community in both rural and urban areas. (Title II Part A, Secs. 201 to 216 (inclusive).)

Other Health Provisions

The health service insurance system would be strengthened by the following public health provisions:

1. A 10-year program for the construction and improvement of hospitals and health centers is to be provided through federal loans and grants-in-aid to the States. This will be administered by the Surgeon-General of the Public Health Service. (Title VI Part B, Secs. 611 to 615 (inclusive).)
2. Increased federal grants for public health are provided; also to be administered by the Public Health Service. (Sec. 314 (a) to (k) (inclusive).)
3. Federal grants for maternal and child welfare and health under Title V of the Social Security Act would be increased. This would be administered by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor. (Sec. 501, 502, 511, 512, 521, 522, 531-536 (inclusive).)

Public Assistance

A comprehensive public assistance program of federal grants to the States for assistance to needy persons is set up, including the following provisions:

1. Variable grants to the States ranging from 50% to 75% of the total expended, depending upon the State's per capita income: (Title XIII Sec. 1306)
2. Federal sharing of State costs, for money payments to any needy individual without any maximum limitation on such payments. (Title XIII, Secs. 1303 and 1305.)
3. Federal sharing of costs to the States for medical services; such services as may assist in making needy individuals self-supporting, and payments for foster children. (Title XIII Sec. 1303 (a), Sec. 1305)
4. Provision for permitting the States to exempt any amount up to $20 per month from the income of an individual applying for assistance. (Title XIII Sec. 1302 (a) (8).)
5. States may retain their present systems by which persons in the categories of needy aged, dependent children, and the blind receive public assistance; or they may adopt a plan by which all needy individuals irrespective of age or special disability may receive assistance. In either case federal matching of funds is available. (Title XIII Sec. 1302 (a) (9).)

Social Security Rights of the Armed Forces

The social security rights of all persons in the armed forces would be protected and extended by giving them "wage credits" of $160 per month for the entire period of their military service without deductions from their pay. This cost would be borne by the federal government out of general revenue. (Title II Part E, Secs. 260 & 261, 285.)

Financial Basis

1. The entire program of social insurance would be financed by equal contributions from employees and employers—4% of all wages received or paid up to the first $3,600 a year. (Title II Part G, Secs. 280 & 281)
2. Self-employed persons would pay a 5% contribution; (Title II Part G, Sec. 282)
3. Employing State and local governmental units which come under the system by voluntary compact would pay a 2½% contribution, and their employees the same amount. (Title II Part G, Secs. 283 & 284)
4. All funds are to be deposited in a Social Security trust fund, managed by a board of trustees. (Title II Part D, Sec. 250)
5. Provision is made for a government contribution to the social insurance system in an amount and at such times as the Congress may determine, presumably at such time as the contributions become insufficient to meet current disbursements. (Title II Part D, Sec. 250 (a.).)

Public Employment Offices

A permanent national system of public employment offices would be established to be administered by the Social Security Board. The present Employment Service would be transferred six months after the end of the war from the War Manpower Commission to the new U. S. Employment Service. The Wagner-Peyser Act would be repealed. (Sec. 7 (a) to (h) inclusive)

Advisory Council

A national Social Security Advisory Council is established, representing employers, employees, and the general public, to formulate policies on legislation and administration, and to investigate and make recommendations on coverage, adequacy of benefits, financing, and on methods of providing incentives to beneficiaries for rehabilitation and employment. (Title II Part H, Sec. 296).)

Supplement to the National Consumers League Bulletin, July, 1945

Reprints $2.00 per 100. Address: 348 Engineers Building, Cleveland, Ohio

File

National Consumers League 348 Engineers Bldg. Cleveland 14, Ohio

Rec'd. 8-22-45

August 20, 1945

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We were very pleased to receive your order for 100 copies of the outline of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill.

The digests have just been mailed and should reach you within a few days.

Sincerely yours,

Anne Kunitani

Mrs. Mich Kunitani
Membership Secretary

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August 22, 1945.

Dr. Ernst P. Boas, Chairman
Physicians Forum
510 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Dr. Boas:

Thank you for your communication concerning the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill and the copy of a pamphlet entitled For the People's Health.

Although this Council does not as a rule endorse specific legislative proposals, it is vitally interested in the problem of health and is trying to do an educational job in that field. I am enclosing a copy of the March issue of our monthly paper, The Southern Frontier which was devoted to the subject of health. You might also be interested to know that we are cooperating with several other organizations in the promotion of the Conference on Rural Health in Georgia, which is to be held in Atlanta on September 13 and 14.

We are getting inquiries concerning the provisions of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill, and it would be helpful if you could let us have some 50 to 100 copies of the summary prepared by the Physicians Forum.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director.

GBJ: IBT

Encl.

PHYSICIANS FORUM

For the study of medical care

510 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Telephone PLaza 3-2052

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Rec'd. 8-22-45

August 1, 1945

Dear Friend:

The Physicians Forum is glad to send you the enclosed copy of a new pamphlet, FOR THE PEOPLE'S HEALTH. This pamphlet, on the all-important issues of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, is one which we believe the members of your organization will want to read and help to distribute. It tells the facts about the health needs of the American people and how they can best be met. Enclosed also is a copy of an analysis of the provisions of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill.

This pamphlet was prepared by PAMPHLET PRESS, a division of Reynal and Hitchcock, and is illustrated by Crockett Johnson, noted artist. The Physicians Forum has printed 50,000 copies as its first edition. You can order copies from this office or your organization can make arrangements to issue FOR THE PEOPLE'S HEALTH as your pamphlet with your name and statement on the back of the cover, in quantities of 5,000 or more.

We hope you will not only bring FOR THE PEOPLE'S HEALTH to the attention of your membership at meetings, but that you will discuss it in your periodicals and bulletins. We shall be pleased to help your organization in any way we can in promoting the passage of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill.

If you have already endorsed the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, we would appreciate receiving a copy of your statement of endorsement. We should also appreciate receiving copies of your own literature in which FOR THE PEOPLE'S HEALTH is mentioned.

Sincerely yours,

Ernst P. Boas

Ernst P. Boas, M.D.
Chairman

UOPWA-1

PHYSICIANS FORUM
for the study of medical care
510 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

The WAGNER-MURRAY-DINGELL BILL, *a brief summary*

Here is a short digest, section by section, of S. 1050 and HR 3293, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. Here you will find information that you need for discussions, speeches, editorials or articles which you may write. If you wish full information on Federal grants to States on a matching basis, for hospital construction, public health services and other facilities included in the bill, you should consult the text of the bill itself.

Sec. 1 — SHORT TITLE: SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1945.

Sec. 2 *and* 3 — GRANTS AND LOANS FOR CONSTRUCTION OF HEALTH FACILITIES — $5,000,000 is authorized as grants to States to assist in making surveys to assure that hospital and health center facilities are built where most needed. $950,000,000 in grants and loans to States is authorized over a 10 year period for building and expanding hospitals and health centers especially in rural communities and needy areas.

Sec. 4 — GRANTS TO STATES FOR PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES — Provides Federal grants to States from general revenues for expansion of public health services to develop adequate public health services in all parts of the country.

Sec. 5 — GRANTS TO STATES FOR MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES — Provides Federal grants to States from general revenues for maternal and child health and welfare services.

Sec. 6.—COMPREHENSIVE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM—Provides Federal grants to States for public assistance to needy individuals — aged, blind, dependent children and others who are not eligible for medical care under the provisions of the National Social Security System. Included are money payments to any aged person, dependent child, blind person or other needy individuals, medical services to needy individuals, payments for care of children in foster homes and such services as may assist in making needy individuals self-supporting.

Sec. 7 *and* 8 — A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICES — Provides for continuation of Federal operation of the United States Employment Service, an expanded and strengthened national system of public employment offices to assist war workers, war veterans and all others to find employment opportunities, to promote employment in private industry and on farms, to bring together available workers and available jobs.

Sec. 9 — NATIONAL SOCIAL INSURANCE SYSTEM — Consisting of health insurance, unemployment insurance, temporary disability insurance, and retirement, survivors and extended disability insurance.

(Over)

Part A — *Prepaid Personal Health Service Insurance for 135,000,000 Persons* — Provides for insurance of all medical care costs including hospital insurance; not State medicine. Freedom of medical practice is carefully safeguarded. Each insured person can choose his own doctor from among all physicians or groups of physicians who have voluntarily agreed to go into the insurance system. Each doctor or group of doctors is free to go in or stay out of the insurance system. Doctors who participate are free to accept or reject patients who may wish to select them as their family doctor. Participating doctors are free to choose the method through which they are to be paid from the insurance fund. Patients and doctors may change the arrangements after they have been made, if they become dissatisfied. Various provisions assure that medical benefits will be of highest quality, will emphasize prevention of disease, and will be adapted to the needs and practices of the community, in both rural and urban areas. Hospital care would be available 60 days per year, with a possible maximum of 120 days, if experience proves that the insurance fund can afford it. A National Advisory Policy Council will be established from names submitted by professional and other organizations concerned with medical service, education, hospitals, etc. The Surgeon General is directed to decentralize the administration of the program by giving priority and preferences to the use of existing State and local agencies. Two per cent of the total amount expended for health insurance is to be used for grants-in-aid to non-profit institutions and agencies for purposes of research and professional education.

Part B — *Unemployment and Temporary Disability Insurance Benefits* — On a Federal basis. Benefits of $5 to $30 per week up to twenty-six weeks for workers and their dependents; if funds are adequate, up to fifty-two weeks for unemployment.

Part C — *Retirement, Survivors and Total Disability Insurance Benefits* — Provides for more liberal benefits than existing law. Minimum, $20 per month; maximum, $120.

Part D — *National Social Insurance Trust Fund* — All funds invested in United States Government bonds.

Part E — *Credit for Military Service* — $160 wages credited under the insurance system for each month of military service. The individual war veteran and his family would thus be insured for all social insurance benefits provided in the bill, including health insurance, without deductions from his pay during military service.

Part F — *Coverage Provisions and Definitions* — Extends coverage to about 15,000,000 additional persons, including independent farmers, domestic workers, professional and self-employed persons, small businessmen.

Part G — *Social Insurance Contributions* — 4% each on employers and employees on all wages up to $3600 a year. Government contribution authorized when necessary.

Part H — *General Provisions* — Judicial review, National Advisory Council and rehabilitation of disabled persons.

Sec. 10 — DEFINITIONS — Contains general definitions.

FOR ADDITIONAL COPIES WRITE TO THE NATIONAL OFFICE OF THE PHYSICIANS FORUM,

510 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

October 18, 1945

Miss Frances Cox
Telegraph Editor
THE ROBESONIAN
211 East 7 Street
Lumberton, North Carolina

Dear Miss Cox:

Dr. Odum has sent me your letter of September 22 concerning the possibility of wider distribution of the digest of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. Although the idea of distribution to all boxholders is not practicable and is prohibitive as far as cost is concerned, I do think that we can help to put packages of the digests in the hands of a large number of SRG members and heads of civic organizations.

Incidentally, the digest of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill is not our own, but is one which was prepared by the National Consumer's League. We have been buying copies at the rate of $2.00 a hundred. If we go in for large-scale distribution of the digest, it will, of course, be much cheaper for us to print one of our own.

With appreciation for your suggestions and with best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

October 16, 1945

Miss Frances Cox
Telegraph Editor
THE ROBESONIAN
211 East 7 Street
Lumberton, North Carolina

Dear Miss Cox:

I am referring your letter to Dr. Guy Johnson who has a new publicity man.

Many thanks for your interest, thoughtfulness, and suggestions.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

CC Dr. Guy B. Johnson

Ens to Johnson

211 East 7 Street
Lumberton, N.C.
September 22, 1945

Dr. Howard W. Odom,
President, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Dear Dr. Odom:

I note in the August issue of The Southern Frontier that the SRC has prepared a digest of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. I wonder if it would be possible to obtain a wide distribution of this phamplet by having it sent to all R.D. boxes, city and rural routes. In cities where there are several SRC members, these members could perhaps finance the cost of mailing. If mailing cost should prove too prohibitive, members could perhaps secure a partial distribution by presenting copies to Grange leaders and civic club groups. An SRC member could attend meetings of these groups and hand a copy to each person attending.

This social security measure is so important and faces so much organized opposition as to make organized support urgently necessarily. Most people are not correctly informed on provisions of the bill, and when it comes up in congress the people will be bombarded through the press, radio and mails by a high-powered drive of misleading propaganda.

Your article in the August issue of the SF is, like everything else you write, very good.

Sincerely,
Frances Cox
Frances Cox
(Telegraph Editor, The Robesonian)

THE PHYSICIANS FORUM, Inc.

FOR THE STUDY OF MEDICAL CARE

510 MADISON AVE. • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Telephone: PLAZA 3-2052

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•

REBEKAH HOLLAND
Executive Director

November 20, 1945.

Dear Friend:

President Truman has taken one of his most courageous and forward-looking steps in requesting Congress to pass legislation for National Health Insurance. New bills have been introduced into the Senate and the House embodying the President's health proposals.

The Physicians Forum wired the President and sent out the enclosed release to the press of the nation the day the President delivered his message. Telegrams were also sent to Senators Wagner and Murray and to Representative Dingell commending them for immediately introducing the "National Health Act of 1945" into Congress.

After years of study and work for the improvement of medical care on a nationwide basis, the Physicians Forum feels that the President's forthright stand is the climax. Achievement of his aims is, however, still far from assured. The reactionary forces have already gone into action to oppose the measures. Now more than ever before expression and action are needed from those who want to see good medical care distributed on a democratic basis as a right for all.

The President needs every possible support, and Congressmen should have many expressions on how keenly the country needs such legislation -- expressions from individuals, organizations and community groups of all kinds. Meeting, talking, writing, speaking -- every outlet and educational means must be brought into play to back the President and the Bills now before Congress.

Sincerely yours,

Ernst P. Boas

Ernst P. Boas, M.D.
Chairman

Enclosure

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PHYSICIANS FORUM, 510 Madison Avenue, New York City - Phone: PL. 3-2052

For immediate release

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S MESSAGE ON NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

The Physicians Forum strongly approves the message of President Harry S. Truman calling for the establishment of a nationwide health and medical care program to supply the medical needs of all Americans regardless of income, race or religion.

The Physicians Forum is a national organization of doctors, all members of the American Medical Association, who are interested in the extension of good medical care to all the people. In a telegram to the President, Dr. Ernst P. Boas, Chairman of the Physicians Forum, said:

"Our membership, composed largely of practicing physicians throughout the country who belong to the American Medical Association, most warmly commend you for your able and comprehensive message to the Congress on the state of the nation's health. You have made a telling presentation of the many unmet medical needs of the country, and have rightly pointed out that the masses of our citizens do not earn enough money to buy adequate medical care.

"As practicing physicians we know better than any other group of fellow Americans the difficulties that arise, the needless suffering and death constantly occurring throughout this land because of bad distribution and scarcity of doctors and hospitals in many communities. We know that many regions in this country cannot support the doctors and hospitals they need so badly.

"We agree that National Health Insurance is the only measure that can fill these needs in accord with American tradition; that in addition there must be federal support for hospital construction, maternal and child health, extension of public health services and encouragement of medical research and education. We have learned from experience in this country that voluntary insurance plans are and always will be totally inadequate to serve the health needs of all the people. We too regard adequate medical care as a right to which all are entitled.

"Early action is needed. Within the coming year tens of thousands of doctors will be returned to civilian life. Now is the right moment to set up such a system of national health insurance which will permit an equitable distribution of doctors throughout the country, before these young men flock to the cities, leaving vast stretches of the country unprotected. As you have so truly stated: 'Demobilized doctors cannot be assigned; they must be attracted.'

"We earnestly hope that the people of the country, through their Congress, will take immediate action to improve these conditions in accordance with your worthy proposal."

Summary of Wagner-Murray-Dingell National Health Bill
S. 1606; H.R. 4730

The bill provides for a National Health Program, including—

I. Comunity-Wide Health Services

Federal grants-in-aid to States for (1) expanded public health services, (2) expanded maternal and child health services, and (3) medical care of needy persons. Federal Government will pay between 50 and 75% of what a State spends for such programs, with poorest States getting the largest percentage of Federal Aid. Administration of these programs will be coordinated with—

II. A Nationwide System of Prepaid Personal Health Service Benefit

1. What will benefits include?-- All needed preventive, diagnostic, and curative services by a general practitioner, specialists' and laboratory services, special medicines and applicances, and hospital care up to 60 days, or 120 days if funds permit; dental and nursing services are provided but may be limited at the outset of the plan if personnel is unavailable.

2. Who will be eligible for the benefits?— All employees in industry and commerce (except railroad workers), agricultural and domestic workers, employees of non-profit institutions, farmers, small businessmen and other self-employed persons, and recipients of old-age or survivor's benefits will be covered. So will wives of employees and self-employed persons, their children under 18 (or over 18 if disable), disabled husbands, and dependent parents. Other persons may qualify if contributions are paid on their behalf by a public agency.

3. Will there be free choice of doctor, dentist, nurse, or hospital?— Yes. Every eligible person will be allowed to choose his doctor, group clinic, dentist, nurse, or hospital from among those participating in the plan. Every licensed physician, dentist or nurse, and every qualified hospital is guaranteed the right to participate. No practitioner or institution will be required to participate.

4. How will the plan be financed? — Through a special "Health Services Account" in the U. S. Treasury. To this account will be credited an amount equal to 3% of earnings up to 3,600 a year in covered employment, and other sums to cover specified items of service and care for special groups such as needy persons and others on whose behalf premiums are paid by public agencies.

5. How will the physician be paid?— According to the method (fee-for-service, salary or per capita basis, or combination) chosen by a majority of physicians in an area. Individual physicians or organized groups may be paid by a method oter than that chosen by the majority, under mutual agreements between them and the insurance administrators.

6. How will the plan be administered?— Through the U. S. Public Health Service, with decentralized administration. Special provision is made to utilize State and local agencies. A National Advisory Council, with professional and public representatives, will advise the Surgeon General who must include their recommendations in his report to Congress. Local advisory councils are also to be set up.

7. Provision is made for assuring high-quality care, and for medical research, and training of doctors and other health workers, with priority being given to profects for training of men and women returning from the armed forces.

FOR THE PEOPLE'S HEALTH

Senator Robert F. Wagner says: "The (Wagner-Murray-Dingell) bill incorporates the constructive suggestions of many organizations and persons, including the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Federation of Labor, the Physicians Forum, the Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care, the National Catholic Welfare Council, the American Hospital Association, the American Public Health Association, the National Lawyers Guild, the American Public Welfare Association, the American Nurses' Association, the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, the National Farmers Union and the American Foundation for the Blind. . . .

"Legislation providing grants for hospital construction has been endorsed by the American Medical Association, the American Hospital Association, the American Public Health Association, and various labor, welfare, farm and other public organizations. . . .

"The objectives of particular provisions of the bill have been advocated by the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Military Order of the Purple Heart, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Grange, State public-welfare administrators, the American Association of Social Workers, and by numerous State legislatures."

Illustrations by CROCKETT JOHNSON

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one more victory

Like the weather, health is something that everybody talks about.

Unlike the weather, health is something that they can do something about.

"It is well to superintend the sick and make them well, to care for the healthy to keep them well," Hippocrates said 2,400 years ago. Hippocrates, the father of all doctors, wrote the Physician's Oath which to this day governs the conduct of doctors.

Almost within our time, yours and mine, the world discovered ways of fighting disease, of preventing it, of curing it. New treatments—new instruments—new medicines were found overnight. That is, overnight, if you think back those long days to Hippocrates.

America has led in many of these discoveries and inventions. Our country today has the best equipped and best trained doctors in the world. Perhaps no other country is our peer in medicine.

And yet —

With all our victories in this world battle to keep human welfare and decency from barbarous destruction, to save democracy for the peoples of the world, we need *one more victory* — for the health of the American people.

millions of young men

A committee of the United States Senate has just finished an investigation of health problems in our country. From these Senators we have learned some tough facts about the health of all of us.

During the past four years, millions of young men in the prime of life have been examined by Selective Service. You, and I, and the next

fellow were shocked at the results of these examinations. We found out that —

Four and one-half million young men have physical and mental defects which make them unfit for military service.

It is estimated that between 8 and 9 million men, out of 22,000,000 are not suited for general military duty because of reasons of health.

This is more than twice the number of men we had overseas in January, 1945 winning the battles of Europe and Asia.

more schools—more bathtubs

Ours is the richest nation. We have more schools, more bathtubs, more radios, more beefsteaks, better doctors than any other country on earth.

But —

In 1935, the Public Health Service found more than 23,000,000 Americans suffering physical impairment or chronic disease.

The Farm Security Administration examined a large number of people among 2,500 farm families in 17 States in 1940. Only one in 100 was "in prime physical condition."

In 1940, the National Youth Administration examined 150,000 youths. Out of each 100, 85 needed dental care; 20 needed eye adjustments; 19 needed to have their tonsils removed; 12 required special diets.

Approximately 1 youth in every 7 was in urgent need of some kind of medical or dental treatment.

Their conclusion: *Health defects limited the kind of work that one-third of American young people could do.*

a fight within a fight

The American people, industry, labor and farmers have done a great job on the home front during this war. They have produced guns, planes, tanks, jeeps and food as no one ever thought possible.

To do this, they have had to fight illness and disease.

The average man worker lost more than 11 days — the average woman worker more than 13 days — because of illness or injury in 1943.

80% of the men and 90% of the women lost this time because of common ailments.

If you add up the figures, you will find that more than 600,000,000 work days were lost that year.

If every man and woman who works got complete medical and hospital care under a system of health insurance, much of this lost time could have been saved.

because they earn less

The less money people earn, the more they are sick. Because when they earn less, they can't eat as good food, wear as good clothes, sleep in as good a house, or pay a doctor when they are sick.

In 1942, 21 out of every 100 American families had less than $1000 income during that year. People in families whose income is below $1000 are sick about three times as often as those who have more money.

The American Medical Association has said that families with incomes under $3000 need help to meet their medical bills. This meant more than 70% of the American people in 1942, a prosperous year.

to have strong and healthy people

To have strong, healthy men and women, physical defects which show up in youth must be corrected early.

Some months ago the United States Public Health Service went over physical examination records of school children in Hagerstown, Maryland. They compared them with the reasons given by Selective Service for rejecting young men in that city. *Here is the rub* —

As much as fifteen years earlier, when these youths were in grade schools or in high schools, their defects had been noted on a card. The young men were rejected, in many cases, because of the same defects. Nothing had ever been done about them. There was no health insurance to provide a chance of improvement or correction.

Every doctor, who is guided by Hippocrates' words which you read on the first page, has been discouraged time and again. He has found physical defects. He has recommended ways to repair them. He has seen nothing done because children and their parents could not afford, or were afraid they could not afford, the treatment he suggested.

where doctors hang their shingles

Today, we are talking about full employment. We know that everybody must have a job at decent wages to keep our country from another disastrous depression. We must have a health program for our nation. Full employment and full social security are both rock-bottom needs for really effective health.

We need better distribution of doctors throughout the country. We need more hospitals. We need more public health service. 40% of all the counties in the United States with 15,000,000 people in them, have no registered hospitals. And 40% of our counties have no full-time public health service.

We know the reasons why doctors hang out their shingles where they do. They have to earn a living. They choose a town where people have money to spend, where people are earning money at work. They choose a town or location where there is a hospital.

In New York City, there is a doctor for every 700 people. In Mississippi, there is a doctor for every 2100 people. In New York City, there is a general hospital bed for every 196 people. In Mississippi, there is one to every 667.

it is your right

Before they wrote our Constitution with its Bill of Rights, the fathers of our country declared that we are free men. They said that our freedom rests on rights that are plain for everyone to see, the rights of *life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.*

To live those rights today we need one more thing. The basic human right of health. The right to live with mind and body whole in order to be free.

In January of 1944, our late President Roosevelt gave us a new Bill of Rights. He said:

> *We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights, under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all — regardless of station, race or creed.*

And then he added that among these is:

> *The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health; the right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment.*

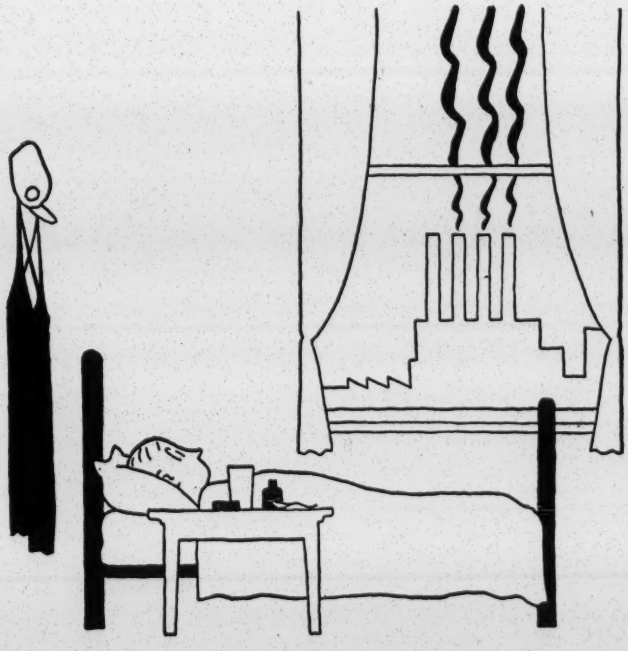
congress has a plan

A plan which will begin more adequately to meet the social security needs of all the American people is before the United States Congress. Senators Robert F. Wagner of New York and James E. Murray of

Montana have introduced this plan in the Senate and Representative John Dingell of Michigan has introduced it in the House.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill broadens our social security program for all the people.

It increases money to the States to help them give aid to the needy. Old age benefits would be increased. For those permanently disabled it would provide benefits. The temporarily disabled, who now get nothing, would be entitled to benefits.



Men in the armed services would get full social security "wage" credits of $160 a month for the period they are in the service. Their families, their children, their dependents would be covered, too.

Farmers, professional and small business men, the self-employed, merchant seamen and domestic workers would be brought under the new social security system.

The *Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill* makes the United States Employment Service a permanent national employment system.

National unemployment insurance with larger benefits would replace the present inadequate and limited State systems. President Truman has underscored the need for more adequate unemployment benefits. Asking Congress for reconversion unemployment legislation, he said:

> *Even if reconversion proceeds rapidly, no amount of planning can make jobs immediately available for all displaced personnel. We must provide maximum security to those who have given so fully of themselves on the fighting and production fronts.*
>
> *The transition from war to peace is part and parcel of the war and we cannot shirk our obligation to those temporarily unemployed through no fault of their own.*

for the health of 135,000,000

For the first time in our nation's history, 135,000,000 Americans — those who work and their families — would be included in an overall health insurance plan.

Today we know that people want adequate medical care. They are willing to pay for it on a basis equal with everybody else. They know that one-third of our country has inadequate medical care. They know this is because people haven't got money to pay for it.

The *Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill* sets up a means of collecting premiums for insurance on a pay-as-you-go basis. Regular payroll contributions from employers and employees will enable people to pay their own medical costs out of their earnings. That isn't charity. It is insurance, paid by the people for the people.

Today people have to lay out money every time they see a doctor — $3 or $5 each visit — $100 or $150 for an operation. Under this bill they wouldn't be suddenly burdened with doctor's bills or hospital bills.

This bill does not affect the present set-up of medical practice. Doctors can refuse patients; patients can choose doctors. Administration is put in the hands of States and localities when they wish to undertake it. Local committees on which doctors and patients serve will control the medical program.

there are some who say—

There are some who oppose health insurance.

They say that quality of medical treatment will be lower.

They say that it will regiment doctors and patients — that it will prevent you from having the doctor of your own choice.

They say that health insurance will mean political medicine, socialized medicine, state medicine, bad medicine.

They say that it will destroy private initiative, free enterprise and States' rights.

These arguments are very old hat, as the saying goes. The same arguments by the same kind of people have been used against every forward advance our country has made in the last one hundred and fifty years—against our post office, our public roads, our water systems.

These words were hurled against public education. Nobody today argues against the right to a public education.

The same arguments were shouted against giving the Federal Congress the power to tax income. Today, during this war almost everybody in America pays income taxes.

The same arguments were howled against workmen's compensation. Now, every State but one has workmen's compensation laws.

Even ten years ago, the same shouts rose to the rooftops, trying to defeat our present social security laws.

and now it works

Today, our social security system works. Nobody says we should not have it. The *Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill* seeks only to expand it logically for the benefit of all the people. It seeks to make it work better.

The United Nations is organized on the basis of the Four Freedoms. Along with freedom of speech and freedom of religion, there are two freedoms which go together — freedom from want and freedom from fear.

The calamity howlers who shriek political medicine, socialistic medicine, even dare invoke our Four Freedoms. One little leaflet handed out all over the country warns the people that in seeking "freedom from want" through the *Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill* "it may well develop that you will have to confer with your ward political leader about the choice of a doctor or a hospital in the event of illness."

That's not true! It is completely false. Under this bill you will not have to get health treatment from a government agency or confer with

a politician. *You will choose your own doctor and your insurance will pay your doctor bills.* This bill is a real step toward the Four Freedoms.

what do you think?

What do you — an American — think about National Health Insurance?

Fortune Magazine notes a survey made by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver, Colorado a few months back. The surveyors asked you what you think about health insurance. Or if they didn't ask you personally, it was several thousands like you, so it amounts to pretty much the same thing. *Here is what you said:*

> Out of every 100 Americans, 81 think that some people can't afford to see a doctor as often as they should.
>
> 82 are not satisfied with the medical care now given the public. They think something should be done to make it easier for people to get medical care when they need it.
>
> 68 said that it would be a good idea for social security to provide medical insurance to cover cost of seeing a doctor and going to a hospital, and 92 said that they feel it is a good idea for some people to have hospital insurance.

the only fair way

Ask yourself what happens to you when you get tuberculosis or appendicitis?

Do you have the money or does everyone you know have the money to pay for hospitals, doctors, nurses, medicine?

When the *Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill* becomes a law —

— if you have cancer or other disease, you can have a doctor's care, a hospital bed, a specialist if you need one, a surgeon, x-rays, laboratory tests, nursing, because your insurance will cover all these.

— if your wife has a baby, she can have all the medical and hospital care she needs because your insurance will cover it.

— if your child has measles, he or she will be covered too.

— if you are a farmer or live in a small town, a hospital can be built in your area so you won't have to travel 40 or 50 miles for care.

— if illness begins, it can be spotted early — be nipped in the bud. This bill emphasizes prevention of disease.

The only fair way to assure that the people's health is cared for is through a national social security system. We already have a national social security system. All we have to do is broaden it.

On the road to the Four Freedoms, we need this one more victory.

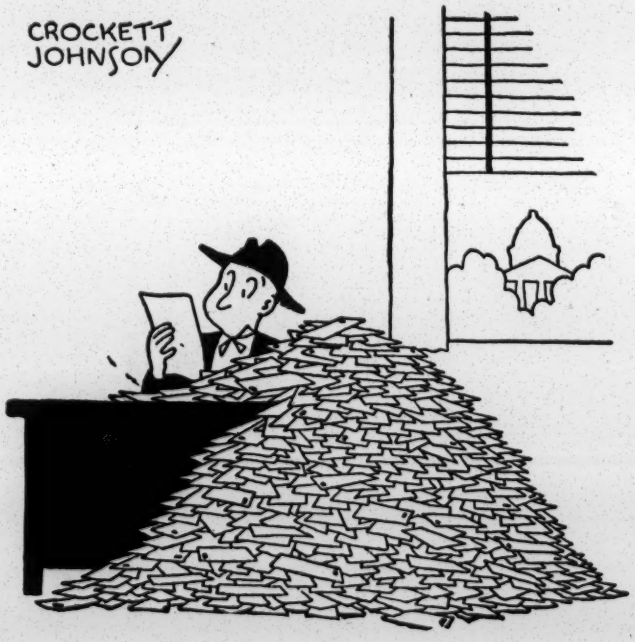
it's up to you

To have the full program of National health insurance and other benefits of the *Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill*, you, and all the people you know, will have to get behind it. So, in a very real sense, it is up to you —

— you can write letters to your two Senators asking them to vote for S 1050, the number of the *Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill* in the Senate.

— you can write a letter to your Congressman asking him to vote for HR 3293, the number of the *Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill* in the House of Representatives.

— you can write a letter to the Readers' Column of your local newspaper, telling your editor why the readers of the paper should back the *Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill*.



— you can ask your organization, your union, your club, your church, your community group, to discuss the *Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill* at its next meeting.

— you can arrange with your local radio station for a discussion of the *Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill.*

— you can promote a series of public forums in your town around various phases of the *Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill.*

But most of all be sure that you yourself, the members of your family and your friends write letters to your Senators and your Congressman. The protection of your health is up to you.

If you want a summary of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, write to the National office of the:

PHYSICIANS FORUM
510 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

PHYSICIANS FORUM
for the study of medical care

The Physicians Forum looks at the problem of medical practice and medical care from what may be your own viewpoint. The Forum believes that medical care is a problem that concerns the entire nation — and that physicians should take leadership in helping to solve this problem. The membership of the Physicians Forum wants the voice of America to be heard intelligently and productively— for the best interest of the people of the United States and of the physicians who live with and serve them.

PAMPHLET PRESS, a Division of Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

Because the cost of medical care cannot be predicted, and may be far beyond the ability of the family to pay, medical care is not an item for which people can save.

Voluntary insurance plans for complete medical care now cover only 5% of the population of the United States, while hospital insurance covers less than 15% and does not cover the cost of doctor's fees. They cost too much for the average person.

Voluntary health insurance plans are expensive and rarely provide for complete medical care. They have merely scratched the surface of the people's needs and those who need medical care the most can afford it the least.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill sets up a means of collecting premiums for insurance on a pay-as-you-go basis. Regular payroll contributions from employers and employees will enable people to pay their own medical costs out of their earnings. This isn't charity. It is insurance.

℞

FOR DR. .....

For clear thinking and good citizenship one copy of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill (S. 1050), and one set of the reports of the Senate Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education.

DOSAGE: To be read daily until finished.

Signed .....

WRITE YOUR SENATOR TO FILL THIS PRESCRIPTION

Dear Doctor:

As I address this prescription to you, I am mindful of the excellent medical services which you have rendered to me and to my family in the past. Such medical care is not available to everyone and I am one of many who want to make it available to all of the people.

It may seem presumptuous for the patient to prescribe for the doctor, and it may be unnecessary, but the time has come when patients must challenge the assumption of the American Medical Association that only practicing physicians understand the health needs of the American people.

Millions of Americans who lack adequate medical care have a deeper understanding of "medical economics" than the writers who prepare the attacks on health plans for the professional journals.

The American Medical Association admits that 75% of all American families need assistance in meeting the costs of serious illness. We know that 4½ million young men in the prime of life were found unfit for military service because of physical and mental defects, most of which modern science makes preventable or remediable.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill deserves your attention. I know that the American Medical Association has expressed its hostility to this legislation and that several "physicians'" lobbies endowed by pharmaceutical houses and others are spending huge sums to make us think that health insurance legislation is "socialistic". But as good citizens, as patients and doctors, we should get our information from less prejudiced sources.

We must plan to improve the national health. I am sure that both as a physician and citizen, you want to take part in that planning, and so I suggest that if you haven't already done so, you write for copies of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, and, in addition, that you write Senator Pepper, Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education, Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D.C., for copies of the revealing reports of his committee. You may also be interested in contacting the Physicians Forum, 510 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y., for information prepared for doctors and the public.

Sincerely,

.....

(*Cut on Line*)

Send this prescription to your doctor. Fill in his name and sign your name. This will help your doctor understand that America's patients want health insurance.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"THE WASHINGTON SCHOOL STORY - TRANSCRIPT OF AN ATLANTA TELEVISION PROGRAM FEATURING DR. CARL F. HANSEN"

Sponsored by

The Georgia Council on Human Relations
on
WAGA-TV

May 3, 1959
Atlanta, Georgia

SRC
July 1959

Announcer:

The following program has been produced by the Georgia Council on Human Relations. Featured as questioners are Mr. Devereaux McClatchey, Atlanta attorney and former chairman of the Atlanta Board of Education; Mr. Harry Boyte, chairman of Help Our Public Schools, Inc.; and Dr. John A. Griffin, director of community education at Emory University. And now, Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D. C., who is our guest speaker.

Dr. Hansen:

May I say at the outset that I am delighted to be in Atlanta. It is a great honor to visit this beautiful and hospitable city, and I am especially grateful for the opportunity to talk about the Washington Public School System, our problems, our gains, and what is happening there in respect to educational improvement.

Dr. Griffin:

Dr. Hansen, we are glad to have you here because in Atlanta we have a deep concern with our own school crisis as well as with the Washington schools. In addition, of course, we have from our own Fifth District, Congressman Davis who has had a particular concern with the Washington situation as the chairman of a committee which has investigated Washington schools. So, we have some real reasons for wanting to talk to you today.

Mr. McClatchey:

I know, too, that from my experience people here are very gravely concerned with this situation and would like to have a close-up of the developments as they have taken place in your school system.

Dr. Hansen:

It may be of some interest to you to know that in Washington we went through many of the difficulties and problems that you are confronted with here in Atlanta; the adjustment to a unified school system is not an easy one to make. It takes great care and planning on the part of many people.

I think it significant in Washington that there was a great deal of preparation preceding the actual desegrega- in 1954, and that there was much support from the community, including the President of the United States and the Board of Commissioners, for the movement which the Board of Education initiated. A part of the education for desegregation is, obviously, learning through experience and overcoming the fears which surround a movement of this kind. And I can tell you that in Washington now we have practically total desegregation. There is no discrimination in terms of race in the placement of pupils or in the assignment of teachers.

We have an enrollment of 114,000 pupils attending our public schools every day - in good order and under able instruction. So that when we have visitors coming into our buildings from all parts of the country -- in fact, from all parts of the world -- they are often surprised because of what they've heard about our school system to see that education is going on in such an orderly fashion.

Mr. McClatchey:

Do you still have schools that are totally white and totally Negro?

Dr. Hansen:

We have a very limited number of schools in both of those categories - in terms of the pupil populations. Actually, we have rather widely distributed the assignment of teachers so that in some all-white schools, for example, we have a few Negro teachers who are doing admirably. We place them on merit now. Where we find a teacher who is competent, we assign her wherever she is needed.

In general, we have a rather extensive degree of biracial staffing; although we have a very high per cent

of Negro pupils in this school system - 74 point per cent of the population enrolled are Negro while only 62 per cent of the teachers are Negroes. We have a kind of geographic grouping by race in Washington, as I believe is characteristic, generally speaking, throughout the country. But we have a unified school system. This is a significant point -- single administration, single supervision, single standards for academic achievement, instructional programs and evaluation of teaching. And we have an opportunity for communication among all elements of our school system as a means of improving the quality of instruction.

Mr. Boyte:

Dr. Hansen, since the schools were desegregated, have the superior students suffered or have you made some provision in your planning to take care of their needs?

Dr. Hansen:

I think it's fair to say that one of the greatest concerns that many of the parents had when we desegregated in 1954 was this - would the brighter child, a child who is academically superior, be held back by intermixing in classes of youngsters with severe academic retardation. We took it upon ourselves to reassure parents that every child would have a maximum educational opportunity. And in order to do this we established an ability-grouping system for senior high schools that made it certain that the bright child, the slow child, and the group in between would be given instruction suited to their levels and their capacities to learn. I think we have succeeded, generally, in establishing confidence in the community on this point. Remember that in this system of curricular organization no child need suffer academically through the desegregation process.

Dr. Griffin:

In other words, you're divided up by sections according to abilities?

Dr. Hansen:

We call this plan, in the senior high schools, the four-track curriculum. We have an honors group curriculum for the child who has the drive and motivations of a superior child. We have, in addition, the general college preparatory program, the general program, and the basic program. We have said that even the youngster who comes into the senior high school with a sharp retardation or a lower achievement level in reading and mathematics should have an opportunity to become better. This is the basic group. Achievement levels have definitely improved as a result of this concentration.

Dr. Griffin:

When you made this division in the high school, did you find any racial differences? We would assume that you have from what we have read.

Dr. Hansen:

We found that we have membership in each of the four tracks by Negro and white pupils, but quite clearly the larger number of basic students were Negro students. I think this is to be expected. People have said that we lowered standards when we desegregated. But the fact is we simply discovered that the great numbers of Negro students who formerly were in a separate school system were not being given the educational opportunities they needed. Class sizes were larger, the part-time situation was more severe and in many ways, the doctrine of separate-but-equal just did not work.

Secondly, great numbers of the Negro students come from economically and culturally deprived families. There's a high incidence of family breakdown among the Negro population in the city of Washington. There is some of that, of course, in the white population too, this is a difference in degree, not a difference in kind. And the result is that children who come from socially and economically deprived backgrounds cannot be expected to achieve at the same rate as children who come from good family situations where they have cultural experiences which serve as a background for education. This, it seems to me,

makes it imperative that we establish a program of education for all the children which will make up, as far as education can, for the deficiencies in the home and community situations.

Mr. McClatchey:

Dr. Hansen, have your rearrangements in your educational process caused a substantial increase in your school budget or not?

Dr. Hansen:

One of the very interesting aspects of desegregation or unification of our school system has been this - we have been able to identify the totality of our educational problem; we are able to see the problem in its entirety. Secondly, we've been able to move out of the area of concern and conflict which preceded desegregation into a unified community approach to improvement of our school facilities. As a result, we've been able to get increased budgets, to reduce class sizes, to increase the number of special education classes for slower learners, to employ special teachers for work in social adjustment of the maladjusted child, to increase the funds for psychologists, and to establish certain facilities for severe behavior cases. One of the magnificent results of this unification of community interest has been a gradual improvement of educational facilities in Washington. I think we're on our way. We're not satisfied with what we have; I want to make that clear. We have many, many problems.

Dr. Griffin:

Do you have data which supports the assumption that you've actually made academic progress since desegregation?

Dr. Hansen:

We have substantial data to prove that. We've recently done a three-year study of the four-track curriculum. I'm not sure that these charts will show, but I'd like to indicate very roughly, at least, the

kinds of achievements which our several tracks have made.

The group in Track One - the honors group - are achieving at levels which put them very high in terms of national standards. For example, in social studies, 93 per cent is the median percentile rank, which means that the average of this group of honor students did better than 93 per cent of the children who took this test throughout the country, very significantly above the national standard. But also, there is an indication of improvement in the rate of growth from three years ago as is shown by the gain in percentile rank. We are finding that our gifted children made more than average progress in academic achievement. When we group them together, we find that they are performing at a highly superior level. This reassures, I'm sure, the people of the community that the bright child is being given an educational opportunity which is adequate for him.

In Track Two, which is the regular college preparatory program, gains are even more significant. In social concepts the median percentile moved from 56 in the ninth grade to 71 in the twelfth grade. In correctness of expression the change was from 69 percentile to 74 over the same period of time.

The median percentile rank of 2,481 seniors who were tested in the ninth grade and later in the twelfth this year in the social sciences improved from 19 points in 1955 to 45 points in 1958. This indicates, I think, a phenomenal increase during the two years and eight months between the two testing periods. In correctness of expression, the gain was from 54 to 72, showing more than normal improvement over a period of two years and eight months of instruction.

Mr. Boyte:

These studies also answer a question I had in mind - that you have a stepped-up program to assist the average and the retarded child as well as the superior child.

Mr. McClatchey:

Dr. Hansen, what has been the effect of this program? Has there been friction between white and Negro children in your schools? Has it resulted in delinquency or troublesome experiences? There's a good deal of interest in this particular question and I would like very much to have an answer to it.

Dr. Hansen:

I think we have to say at the outset that, to some extent, especially in the earlier stages of desegregation, pupils had some difficulty learning to go to school together in a system where this had never been done. And the fact that there is a difference in race tended, in some cases, to add another dimension to the problem of control.

On the other hand, we are finding that many of the problems that we have are primarily the problems of children. And, taken by and large, discipline in our school system is showing improvement. We are developing the means and techniques, we're getting at the needs of children better, so that I think it will be increasingly possible to correct some of the causes of behavior problems.

Now, as to social activities and relationships, we have a relatively small number of friction cases resulting from them. Most of our schools have gone ahead with their social activities. Senior proms have been held at every senior high school except one - and this one will have a senior prom there this year. The students have continued with their inter-scholastic activities; we've had championship games fought out between all-Negro teams and all-white teams with as many as 19,000 youngsters in the spectator group, for the most part, setting a pretty good example for adults in terms of behavior.

I don't want to gloss over the problems; I certainly do not want to leave the impression that children who come from difficult home conditions come to school prepared to show adequate educational results; this just doesn't happen. What I'm saying is that the problems

of discipline are those which are inherent in the situation, in home conditions of children, in their attitudes and their motivations rather than in desegregation.

Dr. Griffin:

In other words, desegregation and the attendent attitudes tended to focus new attention on some of these problems which were there all the time?

Dr. Hansen:

And also, I think, tended to assist us in devising, on a unified basis, new approaches to these problems, developing a more intelligent, scientific attitude toward the problems of pupil behavior, rather than trying to hide them or suppress them under autocratic controls in order to concentrate on the education of the more responsive youngsters. We've now come to the point of working in a planned and scientific way to alleviate the conditions which have been described.

Mr. Boyte:

Do you have any data as regards delinquency rates since 1954?

Dr. Hansen:

We have some very impressive data on that. The Commissioners' report to the Congress in 1959 presented information which showed the decline in delinquency rate of non-white children, ages 5-17, since 1954. The decline has been phenomenal - from 37.1 cases per thousand in 1954 to 21.2 in 1958. The decline is dramatically shown in the bar graph which indicates a reduction of nearly 50 per cent in the number of cases per thousand among the non-white children aged 5-17.

Now the school system doesn't take credit for all of this, but I think it has made a contribution. The

result certainly can be attributed first, to the tremendous interest shown by Negro leadership in the improvement of social conditions for their children. We have a constantly growing effort toward rehabilitation of the family structure and aid to the broken families, undertaken by the Negro leaders of our community. We have also in our city a Commissioners' Youth Council which represents many areas of service in the community. It has been, through the past several years, concentrating upon the reduction of juvenile delinquency. Certainly, it cannot be said that desegregation has increased delinquency - at least this much we know.

Dr. Griffin:

You're saying two things aren't you? You're saying that desegregation hasn't necessarily been responsible for these decreases in delinquency that you've showed us here, and you're also saying that the fact that there has been some delinquency also is not caused by desegregation.

Dr. Hansen:

Yes, this is a very important point. All of us are very much concerned, for example, about the number of pregnancies among girls between the ages of 14-18. The common tendency, even among some of the scientifically-minded people in the city of Washington, is to relate this to school membership. Actually, the school is one of the major instrumentalities for the reduction of this problem. It does not cause it. These conditions arise outside the school; in the home situation and in the community situation. And I resent the implication that, in the first place, the schools cause these difficulties, and secondly, although we have a relatively small percentage of the children involved in these difficult situations, that the entire school system should be discredited for it -- 114,000 youngsters discredited, and the parents in the community discredited because of the difficulties that a few - in the neighborhood of 200 girls under 16 years of age - have in this particular problem area.

Mr. McClatchey:

Dr. Hansen, I wonder if you would tell us a bit about your practices in hiring teachers - white and Negro - and your practices in placing teachers in classrooms - that is, whether you place Negro teachers in white classrooms and vice versa.

Dr. Hansen:

The Board of Education's policy in 1954 established the rule that all personnel should be employed, assigned and promoted on merit only. There should be no discrimination because of race in the assignment of anyone in the school system.

Since that time we have employed all teachers and all officers on the basis of merit. All teachers are required to meet the same standards as to experience and education; we require the A.B. degree for all permanent teachers in the elementary schools. Our recruitment standards are among the highest in the nation. We place the teachers where we think their services will be needed. We've found actually that there are times when our teacher needs have been better met when we can hire without regard to race. We are definitely reassured, that given the capacity to do the kind of concerned teaching that every teacher must have, the parents and children soon forget about whether the teacher is Negro or white. In fact, I've had many favorable comments from parents about some of the Negro teachers.

Mr. McClatchey:

There has been some suggestion that a Negro teacher who had, say an A.B. degree, wouldn't necessarily be of the same competence as a white teacher with an A.B. degree - perhaps drawing a distinction between some of the Negro educational institutions and the white ones. Do you have any opinion as to whether there would be any difference - given equal training - in the white teachers and the Negro teachers?

Dr. Hansen:

I think this could be said of practically any college graduate - the quality of the school from which he graduates may have some effect upon the meaning of his record. This could be said of schools that serve white pupils exclusively as well as of the Negro colleges. We guard against that variation in standards and college backgrounds by requiring the elementary teachers to take the National Teachers Examination. This is prepared by the Educational Testing Service at Princeton and is national in scope and application, so that the standards are uniform.

For our other teachers, we prepare our own examinations, which are very difficult - and our teachers will attest to this. And all of the teachers who come into permanent status must pass this examination. So, although there may be variations in backgrounds and preparation, we are assured that we have above average intellectual competence on the part of the teachers when they come into the school system.

Dr. Griffin:

Has this proved any recruitment problems for you? I notice that in this data somewhere you have a good many teachers who are not permanently appointed - that is, they have not met basic requirements. This suggests that maybe you've had recruitment problems.

Dr. Hansen:

We have recruitment problems which, I think, are generally national in scope. There has been a shortage of teachers especially in the elementary schools for many years. We do have an additional difficulty in that some teachers are not willing to undertake the rigorous kind of professional work required to teach in the downtown schools. This is not unique to Washington; every major city has the same problem.

I think we have to pay more money to teachers who are willing to come into the heart of the city where the problems of social mal-function are the most severe.

But on the other hand, we've had some teachers, at least, say this: "I want to teach in the Washington school system because I agree with what you're doing and I want to be of service to the children who need help most."

With regard to this teacher situation, I want to introduce another set of figures that I have on achievement gains made in the sixth grade, keeping in mind that I'm talking about a sixth grade class that was tested just last February, which has a membership of almost 8,000 youngsters 72 per cent of whom are Negro and have been taught largely by Negro teachers. I do not have the percentage on the number of sixth-grade Negro and white teachers, but remember from the proportions we have in general that many of the children have been taught by Negro teachers.

This year, in five of the test categories, the sixth grade class has reached or exceeded the national standard and has fallen below by four months in only one of the six categories. This, then, can be used as a demonstration of several things. First, that since 1956 there has been an improvement in educational opportunities and the instructional program for the children, and secondly, given the right kind of opportunities, Negro children can respond to education. And, thirdly, I'd like to suggest that our staffing must be good or this couldn't have happened.

This line on the graph represents the national median at 6.6 grade at the time the test was given. We are behind in this one category only by four months. But most significant is the up-grading from 1956 through 1959 - step by step, showing definite improvement in academic achievements of the total sixth grade class this year as against the total sixth grade class of 1956.

Dr. Griffin:

Does this mean that your sixth grade is now above the national median, whereas two or three years ago you were generally below it?

Dr. Hansen:

That is correct. For the city of Washington to achieve national standards with its atypical distribution of school population - that is, the great numbers of children coming from deprived homes, is an achievement....

Dr. Griffin:

Let's face it, a good many of them come from the South and we note from our own data that our expenditures in the South for neither whites nor Negroes are adequate. They fall far below national standards. And you have many children in Washington who come from the Southern states and so they've been deprived, whatever their color.

Mr. Boyte:

Do you consider the desegregation of the District schools to have been a sound educational decision or more of a sociological experiment?

Dr. Hansen:

I consider it primarily to be sound educational management to run a unified school system. Let's assume that our responsibility in education is to give as much educational opportunity as possible to every child who comes into the building -- into our school system. In a unified school system, where we can join hands in setting a common pattern of standards and opening doors which heretofore have been closed, we can do a better job of education. And I think that it is just sound American doctrine that every child, every citizen, must be given maximum opportunity for self-development for the good of the country as a whole. This is certainly in line with the doctrine of individual rights and the Christian principle that every individual is sacred under God.

Mr. McClatchey:

What would you say has been the reception among the people of Washington to the new system?

Dr. Hansen:

Of desegregation?

Mr. McClatchey:

Yes.

Dr. Hansen:

I think the vast majority of people in Washington feel that this has been a good thing to do. I think there is becoming widely spread now the feeling that Washington schools are moving; that they're setting a course in history which has some significance and that despite all the problems - the heartbreaking problems of deprived children - what we've actually done is to give them greater opportunity and have come closer to fulfilling our responsibilities as a social agency, as an educational agency, than ever before. Now, this isn't to say that many people did not go into this in opposition to their basic traditions. One of the great stories that comes out of this transition has been that many teachers and many principals accepted their new responsibilities even though they felt personally that this wasn't the proper thing to do.

Dr. Griffin:

I think you've given us a most interesting report.

Announcer:

Time for the program you have just seen was purchased by the Georgia Council on Human Relations. Interviewing Dr. Carl F. Hansen of Washington, D. C. were Devereaux McClatchey, Harry Boyte and John A. Griffin. Thank you, and a most pleasant afternoon.

- END -

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM August 4, 1959

To: Members of the Southern Interagency Conference

From: Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

Re: "THE WASHINGTON SCHOOL STORY"

:

Enclosed is a copy of the transcript of an Atlanta television program featuring Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D.C.

Additional copies of the transcript are available. We also have tape recordings of the program which are available on loan without cost. If you prefer, copies of the tape may be purchased for $4.00 each.

:

Mike Feder

jac wasserman 39 EAST DRIVE, N.E. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30305
TELEPHONE 404/237-1968

ES
MT-Mi

8/25/67

MEMO

~~TO:~~ Dear Paul!

I thought that you would be interested in knowing that I am now working on a four-month assignment for the Foundation for Cooperative Housing (1012 Fourteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20005, Tel. 202/737-3411) and therefore will not be available for any other assignments until after the first of the year.

My specific assignment for the Foundation is to develop the first rural housing cooperatives in the United States. These cooperatives, to be situated in communities with a population of no more than 5,500, will be financed through the Farmers Home Administration under Section 515 of the Housing Act, as amended. This is a very exciting pioneering project. As you may know, the Foundation is the only nonprofit national organization that has been working in developing cooperative housing in this country and in Latin America. There are now more than 150 housing projects in the United States sponsored by FCH.

I am telling you about my work on the chance that you might know some groups that would be interested in sponsoring cooperative housing projects in their areas. I should be happy to hear from you or directly from such groups and to provide any additional information that may be required. While I personally am specifically concerned with cooperative housing projects in rural communities of less than 5,500 people, FCH in general is prepared to assist other groups in rural or urban areas which do not fall into this category.

I will be working out of the Washington office of the Foundation and can be reached there until about December 15, or at home in Atlanta most weekends.

Jac